Thor Heyerdahl

The Art of Easter Island

The full story of Heyerdahl’s explorations on Easter Island
The dramatic discovery of art treasures in secret caves
The mystery of the great stone men explained: why and how they were carved, transported, and raised
The historical and religious meaning of the art of Easter Island revealed
New findings on the ancient and later history of the island and its people
A worldwide museum survey of Easter Island art

With 336 pages of photographs, including 16 in color
No other island has had so much appeal to the imagination of writers and world travelers as tiny Easter Island, one of the loneliest inhabited islands anywhere, halfway between Polynesia and South America. Its more than six hundred giant monoliths have puzzled laymen and scientists ever since the island was discovered by Europeans in 1722.

Yet, because of its remoteness and the unpromising barrenness of its open landscape, no professional archeologist had ever attempted stratigraphic excavations on the island until 1955, when Heyerdahl brought a team of American and Norwegian archeologists there. They, and up to a hundred manual assistants, worked for six months in all major areas of archeological interest.

The Art of Easter Island is the fully documented review of their discoveries. It is also, for the first time, a richly illustrated presentation of all known art objects created on the island—those obtained during Heyerdahl's own visit and those that had previously reached public and private museum collections throughout the world. Heyerdahl was the first to penetrate the subsurface soil and the hidden entrances to secret family caves on Easter Island, and he also was the first to visit every museum in the world that housed Easter Island art. Thus he had a unique opportunity to unravel one of the most remarkable lost civilizations ever known.

The Art of Easter Island contains a wealth of hitherto unknown facts, and it demonstrates how completely erroneous previous assumptions have been in maintaining that Easter Island art lacked variety and was a monotonous repetition of conventionalized prototypes. The book summarizes the turbulent past of the statue makers as it was revealed to Heyerdahl by oral tradition, new archeological evidence, and pollen borings. It reveals the purpose of the various giant statues and the manner in which they were carved, transported, and erected. It shows how the islanders regularly made use of secret family caves with concealed entrances to hide themselves and their women during the frequent tribal wars, and to store personal property and cult heirlooms.

(continued on back flap)
The Art of Basler Island
The Art of Easter Island

by Thór Heyerdahl, Ph. D.

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The Art of Easter Island

by Thor Heyerdahl, Ph. D.

Foreword by Professor Dr. Henri Lavachery

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1975
To Comandante Arnaldo Curti,  
former Governor of Easter Island,  
and to the late Father Sebastian Englert,  
resident missionary,  
both of whom gave the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition  
invaluable assistance in 1955–56
Contents

FOREWORD
by Dr. Henri Lavachery .................................................. 11

COLOR PLATES .................................................................... after 16

THE DISCOVERY OF AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ENIGMA ..................... 17

PART 1
STEAL-TRADING, PORTABLE SCULPTURES, AND STORAGE CAVES ON EASTER ISLAND ............................................ 27

A Historic Perspective ......................................................... 29

Archaeological background: The Early and Middle Periods ........... 29
The Huri-moai, or Late Period of war and destruction .................... 31
Roggeveen’s visit of discovery in 1722 ....................................... 34
Gonzalez’ rediscovery in 1770 ................................................ 35
Cook’s visit in 1774 ................................................................ 37
La Pérouse’s visit in 1786 ........................................................ 39
The nineteenth century period of pre-missionary raids and hostilities 42
The great Peruvian slave raid in 1862 ........................................ 44
The early missionary observations ............................................. 45
The visit of the Topaze in 1868 ................................................ 50
The visit of the O’Higgins in 1870 .............................................. 53
The expulsion of the missionaries and the visit of the Vitjaz in 1871 53
The visit of La Flore in 1872 ................................................... 53
The murder of the last European on the island in 1877 ................. 56
The visit of the Hyâne in 1882 ................................................ 57
The visit of the Mohican in 1886 .............................................. 60
Salmon’s introduction of commercial art .................................... 64
Art in the period of Chilean annexation ................................. 64
The Chilean expedition in 1911 .......................................................... 66
The Routledge expedition in 1914 .......................................................... 67
Visits by Skottsberg in 1917 and Macmillan Brown in 1923 ...................... 70
The Franco-Belgian expedition in 1934 .................................................. 70
Father Sebastian Englert’s re-establishment of the mission on the island ...... 76
Summary: historic records of secret caves .............................................. 78

Cave Disclosures to the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition in 1955–56 ........ 82
Preliminary events .................................................................................. 82
The stone figures of Esteban Pakarati ....................................................... 92
The rongo-rongo manuscript of Esteban Atan .......................................... 96
The closed inland cave of Atan Atan ....................................................... 102
The open sea-cliff cave of Lazaro Hotu .................................................... 105
The green-stained sculptures of Domingo Pakarati ................................. 111
The closed coastal cave of Henrique Teao ............................................... 112
The closed inland cave of Andres (or Juan) Haoa .................................... 115
The Ika brothers and the open coastal cave of Santiago Pakarati ................. 121
The open coastal cache of Pedro Atan ..................................................... 125
The turmoil following the disrupted cave secrecy ..................................... 131
The open coastal storage cave of Pedro Pate .......................................... 140
Modern imitations .................................................................................. 144
The origins of secret storage caves ......................................................... 148

PART 2

ART OBJECTS FROM EASTER ISLAND ................................................. 151

Early Period Monolithic Art ................................................................... 153

  Monument Type 1 .............................................................................. 153
  Monument Type 2 .............................................................................. 154
  Monument Type 3 .............................................................................. 154
  Monument Type 4 .............................................................................. 154

Middle Period Monolithic Art .................................................................. 156

  Monument Type 4 .............................................................................. 156
  The Early Period model behind the uniform Middle Period statues ......... 157
  The working technique in the quarries .................................................. 158
  The temporarily erected statues buried in silt ....................................... 159
  The transport and erection of the statues ............................................. 160
  The superimposed topknots .................................................................. 162
  The rebuilding of the ahu .................................................................... 164
  The purpose of the ahu images ............................................................ 165
  Possible origins .................................................................................... 168
Late Period Tapa Figures ............................................................. 176
  The large paina .................................................................... 176
  Small stuffed figurines ............................................................. 177
  Possible origins .................................................................... 178

Standard Wood Carvings ............................................................. 181
  Moai kavakava ("ribbed figure," male) .................................... 181
  Moai papa, or pa’a-pa’a ("flat figure," female) ......................... 186
  Moai tangata ("human figure," male) ..................................... 189
  Moai tangata-manu ("bird-man figure," male) ......................... 189
  Moko ("reptile") ................................................................ 193
  Rei-miro ("wooden-" or "boat-pectoral") also known as rei-marama ("moon-pectoral") .... 195
  Tahonga (ball-shaped pendant) ............................................ 198
  Ua and paoa (long-handled and short-handled clubs) ............... 199
  Ao and rapa (large and small dance paddles) ......................... 200
  Kohau rongo-rongo (inscribed tablets) .................................. 203

Aberrant Sculptures in Wood and Stone ..................................... 217
  General description .............................................................. 217
  Possible inspirations ............................................................. 226

Summary and Reconstruction ................................................... 246

PLATES ..................................................................................... after 256
  Photographic credits ............................................................. 256

APPENDIX .................................................................................. 257
  Museum references .............................................................. 259
  Acknowledgment ................................................................. 261

CATALOGUE ............................................................................. 263
  Textual references to Pls. 1–15 ............................................... 263
  Catalogue of tapa figurines ..................................................... 264
  Standard wood carvings ......................................................... 269
  Catalogue of aberrant wood carvings collected prior to the
  Norwegian expedition in 1955–56 ........................................ 276
  Catalogue of aberrant stone carvings collected prior to the
  Norwegian expedition in 1955–56 ........................................ 309
Foreword

By Dr. Henri Lavachery

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Hon. Director of the Royal Belgian Museum of Art and History;
Hon. Secretary for life of the Royal Belgian Academy of Sciences, Letters and Fine Arts;
the archaeologist of the Franco-Belgian Expedition to Easter Island in 1934.

The two important volumes published by the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island on its researches in the East Pacific have their logical sequel in the present study, for which I have been invited by the expedition leader to write a brief introduction, a request which I am deeply honored to accept.

The investigations on Easter Island not only furnished Heyerdahl with archaeological evidence which is difficult to dispute regarding the validity of his theories concerning the first peopling of eastern Polynesia, but also disclosed the existence of strange, portable sculptures in stone, associated with hitherto unknown customs and revealing almost new Easter Island art forms. The present volume is devoted to these non-archaeological discoveries.

The outstanding originality of the ancient culture of Easter Island is particularly manifest in the arts.

The principal functions of art are indeed the same on this remote island as in Polynesia proper: to serve the communion between man and the supernatural world. The mnemonic role of Easter Island art as represented by the inscribed tablets and the petroglyphs is however more developed here than elsewhere in Oceania. In the plastic domain the art of Easter Island also follows its own particular rules. Whereas the main concern of Polynesian art is the striving for a decorative effect, thus often ignoring the original meaning of the ornaments, Easter Island art strives to represent definite objects and beings. Although this realism is neither free from simplification nor from stylization, it tends to show real subjects instead of putting the stress on the decoration alone. This tendency is in accord with the above-mentioned development of mnemonic art. If we compare these facts with the remarkable development of local architecture, it may perhaps seem natural that the ancient culture of Easter Island derived from civilizations more developed than those of other islands in the Pacific.

Ever since its first discovery, Easter Island, because of its art, has never ceased to strike the imagination.

1722—Roggeveen and his companions unexpectedly discovered the large statues: “These idols were all hewn of stone . . . yet all made with skill, whereat we wondered not a little . . .” (Corney, 1908, p. 136.)

1774—Cook and his companions marveled at the dimensions of the statues: “Colossean,” “gigantic,” “stupendous,” “most extraordinary thing,” etc. (Beaglehole, 1961, Vol. 2, pp. 353, 358, 760, 825.)
Indeed, the first reproductions which illustrate the comments of these pioneers, from the incredible ogres invented by the cartographer of Felipe Gonzalez in 1770 (Corney, 1908, Chart II) to the gravures which reproduce the drawings made on the spot by Hodges, who came with Cook in 1774, and Dubois, who came with La Pérouse in 1786, give nothing but a vague idea of the appearance of the statues. And this vagueness came to linger on even though some actual samples were brought from Easter Island to Europe. In fact, statues have been exhibited in the British Museum, London, since 1868, a head in Jardin des Plantes, Paris, since 1873, and innumerable photographs were published, the first taken by Paymaster W. J. Thomson of the U. S. Navy in 1891. In spite of all this, a distinguished French encyclopedia published, as late as 1922, yet another illustration of the Easter Island statues which was a product of sheer imagination. Will Easter Island never become entirely disengaged from an antiquated romanticism? Who could, indeed, dam the flood of romantic impressions that has swept the world since Pierre Loti (Reflets sur la Sombre Route) in 1899 made famous these stone images erected at the end of the world in front of the boundless ocean? To avoid quoting myself I shall recall the last phrases in the scholarly study which Mrs. Routledge (1919, p. 184) devoted to the quarries where these statues were carved:

"...on the slopes of a mountain, gazing in impenetrable calm over sea and land, the simplicity of outline is soon found to be marvellously impressive. The longer the acquaintance the more this feeling strengthens; there is always the sense of quiet dignity, of suggestion and of mystery."

There is no end to the number of pseudo ethnologists who subsequently have abused this scientifically recognized mystery in films and magazines. Yet these colossal statues represent but a single chapter in the art complex of this island.

There exists a class of small statuettes carved from wood with very delicate workmanship, whose descriptive style differs in every detail from that of the stone images. These figurines have been known since Cook’s visit in 1774, and it is pertinent to recall the enthusiasm they evoked with Oediddy, the Tahitian whom Cook brought along aboard the Resolution for several months. Oediddy bought a whole collection of them from the local natives, claiming that they would fetch a high price in his own country.

While non-Polynesian in the size and style of its statuary sculpture, the art of Easter Island is still more so in its graphic design which was exceptionally rich for an island with no other materials than lava, wood or the live skin of men. The first visitors describe the variety of tattoo patterns and body painting, stating that the figurative representations of animals and plants were numerous. Métraux (1940, p. 247) noted: "An outstanding feature of Easter Island tattooing is the number of realistic motifs used." Unfortunately, the tattoo patterns which one can still study are abstract and extremely few. Since human skin is perishable and tattoo patterns lost with deceased generations, it is in the petroglyphs and the characters of the rongo-rongo tablets that the great wealth of Easter Island design reveals itself. The petroglyphs and the rock paintings first reported by Pinart (1878) and studied only at the site of Orongo by Routledge (1919) became for the first time the object of a systematic examination by the Franco-Belgian expedition in 1934 (Lavachery, 1939, 2 vols.). These rock carvings mainly represent animals such as birds, turtles, fish, shells, etc., and artifacts such as boats, implements, ensigns, etc. Only some very rare human effigies are to be seen, but there are numerous masks with large round eyes, a very common motif throughout the Pacific islands as well as on the American continent, and also a creature with bird’s head and a beak like that of an albatross. These representations illustrate local religious concepts. There are, however, other designs of persons who combine a human mask with a fish’s body and the tentacles of an octopus, for which a satisfactory explanation has not yet been found. The motifs of the petroglyphs reappear partly in the ideograms on the wooden rongo-rongo tablets.
Everywhere Easter Island graphic art, like the statuary art, displays evidence of a pronounced sense of synthesis. Such a development seems to bear witness to a long artistic tradition of which Easter Island itself has not yet furnished us with any evolutionary traces.

The Norwegian expedition in 1955-56 further widened the field of Easter Island art expressions. Towards the end of the archaeologists’ stay some islanders who were first timid but gradually less discreet, brought Heyerdahl certain figures sculptured in fairly soft volcanic rock. It caused surprise to find how little resemblance these heads, animals, and strangely composed objects bore to the previously known art. It was learned that these stones came from family caves the secret of which in each case had been strictly guarded by a single person. Heyerdahl’s usual generosity and his willingness to submit to bizarre rites enabled him to gain access to certain of these sanctuaries. As a result, the storerooms of the expedition ship were filled with nearly a thousand sculptured stones.

I must admit that the very graphic description of these operations (Aku-Aku, 1958) at first produced in me, as well as in the late Alfred Métraux, considerable uneasiness. As if we had not heard enough talk of secret caves containing treasures during our own expedition to that same island in 1934. While, on the one hand, I was fascinated by the results of the expedition’s archaeological excavations, the first to be carried out on Easter Island. I was, on the other hand, skeptical about the cave stones. It was in such a state of mind that I left for Oslo at Heyerdahl’s invitation in April 1964, to visit the storerooms of the Kon-Tiki Museum for a personal examination of the extraordinary stones (Lavachery, 1965).

With the exception of some pieces which depicted unique and extraordinary objects, most of these sculptures were represented by a series of ten or more examples. Each series offered one, two, or occasionally three prototypes which were finer and better executed, and presented traces of surface erosion. One could recognize traces of roots on some statues which must have been deposited on the ground, as well as spots of lichen. These pieces were, in my opinion, old. Although we have no scientific means of determining the exact age, they could well antedate the visit of our Franco-Belgian mission in 1934. The others were cruder, either copies of the former, or later imitations made without access to the model. In fact, Heyerdahl had himself almost instantly realized that the latter category contained modern products, due to their great contrast in execution and patina.

How can we explain that artifacts existing prior to our visit some twenty years before Heyerdahl’s were not made known to us?

The Norwegian expedition evidently made a far more brilliant entry than we did. Their ship, which anchored off the coast and thus was inaccessible for visits, was visualized in the Polynesian imagination as containing infinite riches. The expedition leader had the benefit of being attributed supernatural prestige. The islanders knew of his exploits with the Kon-Tiki, entirely in line with the Polynesian legend. It was his mana that caused marvelous things, the existence of which nobody had suspected, to emerge from the soil of Easter Island, such as the kneeling statue at Rano Raraku.

We ourselves had undoubtedly not been looked on with antipathy by the majority of the population, but we had some declared enemies who certainly knew of secrets of which our guides were ignorant. This we discovered when it was too late. In addition, and above all, we were considered to be too poor. Our supply of exchange objects and its limitations were soon known. It was very easy to hide the superstition relating to such very rare objects, which were to be disclosed only under more favorable circumstances.

Let us look at the superstitions themselves. It should not surprise anyone that the Rev. Father S. Englert, resident missionary on the island, was ignorant of all this. Undoubtedly, the Easter Islanders are nominally Christians, and reckon themselves as such. But pagans so recently converted do not like to talk to priests about stories of demons, particularly when these, as in the present case, are the ancient images baptized “devils” by the good Fathers, and definitely specialized in evil.
We are suddenly confronted by family caves of which only a single member knew the secrets. The sacred stones which are preserved there, exhibited in ancient times at feasts, are guarded by jealous demons which, however, can be made friendly through special rites. There is nothing in this which is improbable; nevertheless, no one prior to Heyerdahl knew anything about it. Why can we disregard any fear of deceit?

First of all a great number of these stones are ancient. In addition, an inquiry recently conducted by Heyerdahl in a large number of museums, has brought to light, among objects obtained on Easter Island during the last century, a considerable number of analogous specimens. The existence of demons referred to as aku-aku has long been recognized by all Easter Islanders. Only their functions as “guardian angels” are new. The practice of the expiatory rituals and the role of chicken offerings have been known to represent ancient traditions; their application to aku-aku, however, is new.

Are the recently revealed phenomena, which we may here class together under the denomination aku-aku, ancient or modern? Even if it were possible that they were defined and affirmed after 1934, that is to say after the visit of the Franco-Belgian mission, would that have deprived them of all value? Do we not have many examples in Africa or in America of superstitions developing parallel with Christianity, a kind of revival of the glowing pagan passion, through which ancient societies, collapsed under the impact of our civilization, manage to regain some human dignity?

We should not be surprised at the differences between the small stone sculptures and the previously known Easter Island statues and statuettes. Firstly, we find numerous similarities between them: The faces of bearded men are the same as on the figurines of emaciated persons, only more coarsely treated due to the material; the bird-men exist in wood and in the petroglyphs, particularly at Orongo; the turtles have the realistic composition of the fishermen’s charms engraved on the slabs of lava. There is also a feline with a human mask, an old woman with a fish lashed to her back, a whale carrying on its back an ancient house resembling an overturned boat, none of which has precedents, whereas the numerous skulls are imitations of those in the sepulchres found all over the island. Let us consider a list of the various types of art manifestations already known to have existed on Easter Island:

1. Large and small statues with rounded heads and realistic features (the oldest local type of statue).
2. The aku images, carved from the quarries in Rano Raraku to commemorate the dead, conventionalized in form and reduced to the essential features.
3. Wooden figurines, carved in detail and smoothly polished, sometimes naturalistic, sometimes decorative.
4. Rock carvings executed as low reliefs or as line incisions where, side by side with realistic animals such as fishes, turtles, lobsters, mollusks, etc., there are bird-men, birds with double heads, and even mysterious mythical beings which combine the features of an octopus with those of a fish or even a bird, all treated with the freedom of an artist scribbling with a pencil on paper.
5. Rock paintings representing in enduring colors the mask of a weeping god, flying birds, boats, etc.
6. Ideograms on wooden tablets, beautiful hieroglyphic signs which no one has so far been able to decipher, and which include motifs of the most diversified character, some of which are not yet clearly identified.
7. The figures of the Easter Island tattooing patterns of which we know very little apart from the fact that all the early visitors reported a great variety.
In addition to the above it is quite natural that the Easter Island sculptor, once he began working in volcanic tuff and lava, undoubtedly due to the lack of wood which had long ago become scarce, was immediately able to create new forms adapted to this different material. Easter Island is unique in Polynesia in the way its artists have adapted their styles and products to the material used. The imagination of the proper Polynesians is poor compared to that of the Easter Islanders. Even on the islands where art is most abundant, as in the Marquesas group or in New Zealand, this poverty is only overcome by a repetition of great numbers of motifs of a similar character. Thus, in the Marquesas the motifs are continuously tied to the conventional mask with large, round eyes and to the traditional arabesque decoration, whether it is applied to free sculptures in stone and wood, to low reliefs on shell, bone, or wood, to petroglyphs, or tattooing. On the other islands in Eastern Polynesia the art motifs show even more limitation in inventiveness. Does, then, the capricious and varied art of Easter Island present us with another mystery? Undoubtedly, as with so many of the problems of this island, we ought to direct our attention towards South America, as Thor Heyerdahl has now taught us to do. Have we nothing to learn as to imagination, variety of motifs, realism and conventionalism from the unique versatility embodied in the painted or modeled pottery of the primitive Mochica art in Peru?
Plates I–XIII and XV are reproduced from the original color photographs of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island in 1955–56. Photographic credits appear on page 256 preceding the illustrations to the main text, and additional information on the plates appears in the catalogue section from page 263 to 329.
The only Easter Island statues standing at the arrival of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition were at the foot of the Rano Raraku volcano, where they had been quarried. Buried deep in silt, they were popularly referred to as the Easter Island stone heads. A section of the abandoned quarries with unfinished images is shown in the background of Plate II.
PLATE III  Image no. 295 was 5.55 meters tall before excavation. Previous scientists had assumed that these “stone heads” rested on a peg-shaped base set in the ground.

PLATE IV  The same statue after excavation proved to be 11.40 meters tall, and had in fact a complete torso with a flat base that rested on a crude, provisional stone pavement.
Image no. 400 after excavation. This 6 meter-tall statue is a typical example of the images on Easter Island during the Middle Period, which lasted almost until European arrival. Completed except for the deep eye sockets, these temporarily erected images at the foot of the quarries had been abandoned when ready for removal to image platforms, termed *ahu*.

A kneeling statue of a previously unknown type was discovered through excavation and re-erected. This and other round-headed statues of aberrant type proved to belong to the earliest period of the island's civilization (see also PIs. 3, 303).
PLATE VII  Top: Hook-beaked bird-men incised on the rocks at the ceremonial stone village of Orongo. Bottom: Middle Period images near the rim of the crater ready for lowering to the foot of the hill where they were to be temporarily erected so that the carving of their backs could be finished.
Top: The crater lake of the Rano Kao volcano. The earliest aboriginal settlers had introduced two useful South American fresh-water plants: the *totora* reed used for house construction and boat building, as well as a medicinal plant (*Polygonum acuminatum*), both of which had spread to form an almost compact bog on all three Easter Island crater lakes. Neither of these plants could have crossed the intervening ocean without human agency. Bottom: The Puna Pau topknot quarries with the cultivated village area in the background (see also Pls. 1, 6 b, c).
Plate IX  Head of tapa figurine (Belfast 1910–41). Very few of these small stuffed bark-cloth images have been preserved. They are probably small household versions of the large paina figures seen by the early European visitors (see also Pl. 21).
Moai maea, or small household image carved from volcanic stone. This figurine (K-T 2193) represents the bust of a woman carrying a fish roped to her back. This stone sculpture belongs to an art form with an endless variety, in contrast to the homogeneous Middle Period statues and some of the standard portrait figures among the Easter Island wood carvings.
Easter Island is honeycombed with caves of volcanic origin. Some are shallow shelters, while others extend deep into the rock, often forming one or more large subterranean chambers. Numerous caves with small openings have had their entrances artificially concealed with slabs and boulders, so as to serve as secret hideouts and storage places. The Poike Peninsula seen from an open-mouthed cave.
Top: The interior of a secret storage cave. Atan Atan with a selection of inherited *moai mace* stored on shelves of stones covered with *totoro* matting. Bottom: *Moai mace* in the shape of a reed boat with three detachable masts and sails (K-T 1343).
Red topknots intended for Middle Period statues abandoned at a once-cleared landing place near an ahu, or image platform. All such pukao, or image topknots, were quarried in the Puna Pau crater, and although most of them were rolled to the image sites as crude cylinders, some, like these, must have come on large totora reed boats.
The standardized paddle (Washington 129, 947), unlike all other paddles in Oceania, had a blade at each end. Furthermore, the upper blade was invariably decorated as a conventionalized human head with two never-failing characteristics: pendent disks on each side symbolizing plugs of extended earlobes, and vertical bands on top representing a feather-crown. This ensignia was carried by chiefs as badges of rank. Right: Pre-Inca chiefs from the coast of Peru shown with paddles of *ao* type; top, Mochica or Early Chimú (Larco Hoyle Coll.), and bottom, Late Chimú (Amano Coll.). (Cf. Pls. 54-57, 183 a, 273 a, 320.)
Totora reed boat at sea. Small reed boats were still in use at the arrival of the early Europeans, and old Easter Islanders still knew how to make them at the time of the Norwegian expedition in 1955–56. Subsequent experiences of the author’s in 1970 have shown that reed boats were capable of crossing world oceans. As opposed to a plank-hulled ship, a reed boat can be built to any size as long as sufficient material is available, as in ancient Peru and on Easter Island.
The Discovery of an Ethnographic Enigma

Two noteworthy peculiarities distinguish Easter Island and make it stand out conspicuously among all other islands in the Pacific hemisphere: its unique geographical position and its unequaled archaeological remains. Is it a coincidence that the island with a unique geographical position happens to be the one that also has unique archaeological remains?

No other Pacific tribe lived farther away from land in any direction, so remote from Asia, and yet so close to South America, as the people that left its traces on Easter Island. Nevertheless, no other island has such impressive and extraordinary vestiges of former high cultures as this tiny and barren outpost, although the Pacific hemisphere holds a vast number of islands many of which are larger, more fertile, and far less isolated from possible cultural influences. There are tens of thousands of islands and atolls in the Pacific Ocean, but not one of them, with the exception of Easter Island, possesses the remains of a pre-European writing system, spectacular temple platforms constructed of gigantic stone blocks of different sizes that have been shouldered, polished, and fitted together with absolute precision, as well as several hundred anthropomorphic stone colossi around its shores.

Ever since Easter Island became known to Europeans in 1722 it has been debated whether its remarkable remains are the result of local invention or of outside influence. Countless theories have been advanced defending both views.

Today we know from pollen borings and archaeological excavations that long before European arrival, Easter Island had received impulses both from the high cultures on the South American mainland to the east and from the island population of Polynesia to the west. In fact, it was on the basis of recent investigations on Easter Island that an international science congress resolution in 1961 for the first time officially linked Polynesian anthropology to that of the New World. Previously, most anthropologists had assumed that only Asia could have contributed to the settling of Oceania. The evidence presented by the members of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island proved this long-standing dogma to be untenable. The unanimously accepted resolution of the Tenth Pacific Science Congress was that not only southeast Asia but also South America was a major source area of the peoples and cultures of the Pacific islands.*

In spite of recent findings on Easter Island, many problems remain to be solved. In fact, it seems that no sooner is one problem concerning the complex past of this remote maritime community solved than another one immediately emerges. This seems to have been the case ever since Roggeveen stumbled upon the island en route from South America in 1722 until modern expeditions have camped ashore and attempted to wrest the secrets from the island soil. The Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to

Easter Island in 1955–56 was no exception. A number of the problems pertaining to the island's past found their solution (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, 1965), but others pertaining, in fact, to the present day population, quite unexpectedly arose. A conspicuous example of a recent problem is seen in the great quantity of aberrant stone sculptures that became known to the Norwegian expedition. A number of large and small stone statues and figurines of hitherto unknown types were unearthed by the expedition archaeologists. These widened our knowledge of the island's past without presenting extra puzzles, since the fact that these objects were formerly unknown is simply attributable to the previous dearth of sub-surface archaeology on Easter Island. Then, unexpectedly the islanders themselves disclosed a rich collection of small, aberrant stone carvings. Some of these were brought to the expedition camp by their owners while others were shown to expedition members where they were hoarded in hitherto undisclosed caves. The revelation of this unfamiliar form of native art solved no problems. Instead it created a new mystery. The present work has no other purpose than to record the evidence available pertaining to this and other examples of Easter Island art, old and new. The writer and his expedition companions have no satisfactory explanation for the background and origins of the heterogeneous sculptures presented here and the frequently unknown concepts and art motifs they embody. There have been other writers who were not long in judging the collection, unseen and at that time unpublished, as simple tourist frauds. If this had been the opinion of someone who had seen the material, it could be a plausible working hypothesis. However, rather than serving as an answer to the riddle it would merely confront us with another problem.

Suppose we assume that the carvings are imitations. If so, where are the originals? Or are we to consider this aberrant art collection as something spontaneously created for our benefit? If so, where else in the world has a potential market for barter been enough to stimulate a similar sudden outburst of mature art manifestations among a single village population, causing them to invent, produce, and hoard in all but inaccessible storage places nearly a thousand sculptures most of which display previously nonexisting motifs and designs? Since the art objects under consideration have no known prototypes on the island or anywhere else, and since they are created on the island by the Easter Islanders, they are at least genuine samples of Easter Island art whether we choose to consider them old or new, ceremonial or commercial. For this reason alone they merit the attention of art historians and ethnologists. Although the author, personally, was deeply involved in the series of confused and often quite bizarre events that led to the harvest of these specimens, he has never lost sight of the complexity of the problem, and will in the following pages attempt to present available evidence whenever it is felt that this throws additional light on the history of Easter Island art.

The expedition came to the island in 1955 only to look for archaeological stratigraphy and possible pollen deposits. For this reason none of the participants was prepared for the need for ethnographic acculturation studies or investigations of the customs and beliefs of the modern island population. It was well known that the parents of this generation, and in most cases even the grandparents, had abandoned paganism in favor of Christianity. When on its arrival the expedition was received by the small community of 842 Polynesians of pure and mixed blood, there was nothing in their material culture, in the dwellings, clothing, or general behavior that indicated any ties with the ancestral past. During the first weeks, the expedition members, including those with previous experience of similarly acculturated aborigines on other Polynesian islands or elsewhere, saw the friendly Easter Islanders as no more than a welcome source for manual labor, for company, and for the usual barter of commercial souvenirs. The few attempts to bring us fake miniatures of the giant stone busts were easily seen through by all but the least experienced among the ship's crew, and so were the attempts to imitate ancient birdman figures incised on boulders, or the offering for sale of replicas of old wooden figurines, clubs, or
paddles as family heirlooms. None of us took more seriously the often distorted, if not concocted, fragments of myths and oral history that some of the more eloquent Easter Islanders volunteered. Two previous sojourns in Polynesia, including a full year in the Marquesas group, had made the author sufficiently familiar with the Polynesian mentality, and this experience coupled with the professional background of the archaeologists made the customary attempts at fraud, starting at the very moment of landing, most unprofitable. There was, in fact, no need to disguise newly made sculptures as old ones, since the scientific staff and the ship’s crew, in search of souvenirs, never turned down any offer of traditional, standard carvings. These were purchased faster than the island artists could turn them out and at prices that did not vary with “age”.

It was the more surprising to find a large number of completely aberrant stone sculptures that turned up very suddenly toward the latter part of our stay. These bore every mark of patina and authenticity although they were clearly in contrast in motif as well as in workmanship with anything we had seen before. The appearance of these unexpected objects was preceded by a rapidly growing change in the attitudes and behavior of the population. As the activities of the expedition expanded over the island, we gradually encountered a degree of superstition under the surface polish of this Christian community. Noticeable superstition was at first provoked by the fact that the expedition members had prior knowledge of the island’s prehistory. It was subsequently increased by their ability as archaeologists to locate images and ruins in buried sites that were previously not known to the living population. Strangely enough, nobody had conducted sub-surface archaeology on the island before. The growing superstition was gradually focused on the leader of the expedition, who became entangled in a series of events already described elsewhere (Heyerdahl, 1958). As a result of this attention, figures of the type illustrated in Plates 185–299 of the present volume began to emerge. In motif, artistic composition, workmanship, and degree of patina these heterogeneous figures were entirely different from any frauds ever offered for sale whether to us or to any previous visitors. As already stated, these carvings were without known prototypes anywhere. This was perhaps the most noteworthy fact when we bear in mind that the historic Easter Islanders, like the artists of all other Polynesian groups, invariably repeat already existing designs. Wherever Polynesians have been encountered since the time of European discoveries, they have been known as master imitators, piously copying ancestral models, first for themselves and later for tourists, but never creating new art styles and rarely ever changing traditional motifs.

If we look to the past, we will find that the ancient as well as the modern sculptures of Easter Island, whether religious or purely commercial, have been considered to constitute an almost slavish repetition of a very few constantly recurring and highly stereotyped forms. In fact, the monolithic statues encountered throughout the island by the first European visitors were all copies of one prototype. They were homogeneous but strikingly unlike monuments in any other area. Correspondingly, the small sculptures in wood found in the hands of the contemporary natives were dominated by a limited number of highly conventional forms, carved, as in the case of the large monoliths, with great artistic skill according to an already developed and accepted local pattern. In wood as in stone, it was as if remarkable prototypes had been modeled by artists who had great talent and creative power, whereupon all imagination had been lost by subsequent craftsmen who merely copied these existing models faithfully.

This local limitation in artistic style and motif and the consistent adherence to preconceived prototype forms made a classification of Easter Island sculpture seem an easy task for subsequent ethnologists: they merely adopted the natives’ already existing denominations for each individual form.

Although the island owes its fame to the large stone busts of unknown origin, the living population seen on the island by European visitors has inevitably chosen wood as the favorite material for sculp-
ture, as is true of the rest of Polynesia. The main wood used for carving was the formerly available, endemic *Sophora toromiro* tree with its hard, finely grained, reddish wood, from which the following eleven characteristic forms have been manufactured in large numbers:

*moai kavakava,* “ribbed (male) figure,” Plates 24–27.  
*moai papa* or *pa’a-pa’a,* “flat (female) figure,” Plates 28–31.  
*moai tangata-manu,* “bird-man figure,” Plates 38–41.  
*moko,* “reptile,” Plates 42–43.  
*rei-miro,* “wooden-” or “boat-pectoral,” also known as *rei-marama,* “moon-pectoral,” Plates 44–50.  
*tahonga,* a ridged, ball-shaped pendant, Plates 51–52 a.  
*ua* and *paa,* long-handled and short-handled clubs, Plate 53.  
*ao* and *rapa,* large and small dance paddles, Plates 54–57.

Authentic samples of each of these standard art manifestations were collected in considerable quantities by the European visitors of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the latter part of the last century the alert Easter Islanders realized the commercial value of their own carvings, and began a commercialization of their own art forms. This increased in intensity with the years, to the point where the carving of wooden images has become the only regular industry of the present island generation. As shown by Métraux (1940, p. 249), the early commercialization of Easter Island art is manifest in the poor quality of many wooden statues acquired locally in the second half of the last century. He points out that the pieces collected by Pierre Loti in 1871 are decadent as are the specimens that Paymaster Thomson brought back fifteen years later. Métraux adds: “In 1882 there were still a few old images on the island that the natives were unwilling to sell. All the images which have been purchased on the island since that time exhibit the same clumsiness of form, the same crudeness of detail, and denote the same decadence in taste and in technical skill of native artists.”

This no longer holds true, however. In recent years a few among the many Easter Island wood carvers have demonstrated a technical skill in carving and polishing which equals in every respect that of the foremost eighteenth-century sculptors. They faithfully copy original pieces that were taken from the island a century ago and are now returning to the present population in the form of illustrations in ethnological publications.

During the twentieth century many of the sculptors of Easter Island added a wooden sword, or rather saber, to their traditional repertoire. The very form clearly suggests it is of modern origin, although the prototype of this popular and incessantly repeated curio is not clearly known (*Ibid.*, pp. 169–70). During the same period stereotyped figurines, carved in wood although they depict the giant statues carved in stone, were innovated by the Easter Islanders as popular trade items. These ranged in size from three or four feet down to a couple of inches or less. To crew and passengers of passing ships these wooden busts, which were not in existence formerly, have perhaps become the most frequently requested souvenirs. Identified by the Spanish name *moai medio cuerpo,* “statue with half body,” they outnumber even the *moai kavakava* in production. They are usually stubby and disproportioned, lacking the slender elegance and sophisticated expression of their giant and ancient stone prototypes. In recent years a couple of intrepid Easter Islanders inspired by foreigners have initiated the carving of chess sets; the chess “men” are carved as miniatures of the conventional images listed above. These sets have since become the highest-priced booty of modern souvenir hunters, visiting the island. Apart from their minute size and necessary pedestals, these figures, like the ornamental head on the wooden sword, represent nothing but a slavish repetition of the same restricted and well-known series
of moai medio cuerpo, moai kavakava, tangata-manu, etc. In fact, this addition to the artists' repertoire embodies nothing new except the idea of adapting old motifs to a new game.

The various characteristic Easter Island sculptures listed above are carved from wood. If certain stone items had not been too large to be destroyed or carried away into hiding, very likely nobody would have suspected that anything but wood was ever employed as working material by the Easter Island sculptors. However, the giant and immobile monolithic statues, the exquisitely fitted megalithic masonry, and relief carvings cut directly into some bluffs and mountain summits are there as witnesses that at some time before the Europeans arrived stone carving had flourished on the island. Although the terrain is literally strewn with ancient fragments of carved stones, many of which are the remains of deliberately broken gigantic statues, the quantity of small portable stone sculptures made available to foreign visitors has been almost conspicuously low, and generally limited to very crude, freshly made replicas of the monolithic outdoor monuments. Authentic stone images collected by early visitors are indeed so few that no typological classification has ever been made. Not even the commercialization of the ancestral art, which included imitations of the bone and stone fishhooks and the written wooden tablets called kohau rongo-rongo, brought to the market stone carvings other than the clumsy copies of the giant busts, boulders with crude incisions, relief carvings of the big-eyed mask of the god Makemake, or hook-beaked birds and crouching bird-man reliefs copied from the familiar outdoor carvings on the cliffs of the ceremonial center at Orongo. The Easter Island commercial imitator invented nothing that was not already familiar to the outside world.

Against this background it was rather unexpected to find as native property on the island in 1955–56 literally hundreds of aberrant and heterogeneous stone sculptures, none of which conformed to the familiar Easter Island pattern described above, but yet evinced a rigid local style that would seem to indicate a background of long tradition.

What was the reason for this sudden outburst of hitherto unknown art motifs, themes, and styles toward the end of our stay? For some time we were confronted with a considerable quantity of such sculptures which bore every sign of originality and authenticity. As the secret transactions of their owners went on and became gradually known to the other islanders, we began to receive dubious specimens, many of which, like the common frauds, were quite obviously manufactured for our benefit and during our stay. Between the two extremes there were sculptures that were certainly not very old and yet could well have been carved several decades before our arrival. What was most significant, however, was that nearly every one of the recently manufactured pieces proved to be an imitation of one or another of the finer specimens that had unquestionable patina.

Even in the midst of the confusing experiences that befell the expedition, it became clear to everyone that the existence of art objects of hitherto unknown characteristics had been disclosed to the expedition and that, knowing this leakage to have taken place, some of the sculptors tried to benefit from the new situation by expanding the previously restricted list of imitations. They began to copy in stone additional motifs that were no longer secret to outsiders, just as they had formerly copied the well-known Rano Raraku stone busts and the bird-man relief carvings from the Orongo cliffs. The freshly carved imitations were now as before generally so distinctive that they could be recognized at first glance, even in the dim candlelight of a cave, such as the one once arranged for the expedition by the island's mayor. A couple of weeks before the expedition's departure freshly made products imitating this hitherto unknown category of motifs became so common that several specimens were rejected, undoubtedly to turn up for sale to subsequent visitors. Later, the author regretted not having collected even these specimens, since post-expedition analysis of the collected material showed that in most, but not all, cases the freshly made carvings were inspired by older prototypes that also came into our possession. This tends to indicate that other carvings of equally recent manufacture but
of types not present in our collection might duplicate genuine pieces still kept in hiding on the island. Our bewilderment at being unexpectedly confronted with a vast assortment of stone carvings of a mature nature that did not seem pertinent to the island can in part be ascribed to the dearth of similar art objects in previously published literature. The most extensive modern reference to small stone images consists of some casual remarks in Métraux’s (1940, p. 299) otherwise rather exhaustive monograph on Easter Island culture. Although he admits that “small stone idols were certainly carved in olden days,” Métraux devotes only a single paragraph to the mere listing of four samples known to him: one eroded figurine encountered during his own visit to the island; one encountered in 1911 by Walter Knoche and subsequently lost; and two preserved in American museums. Any other related pieces known to Métraux were identified by him as probable door posts. It was not until after the Norwegian expedition confronted the rich assemblage of ethnological specimens that the author realized the need for more exhaustive study of the Easter Island art that is widely scattered in museum exhibits and storage rooms throughout the world. The remarkable assemblage of hitherto unpublished and generally unknown Easter Island art objects in stone, wood, bone, clay, and stuffed tapa (bark cloth) that thus emerged was as surprising as it was rewarding. It gives added meaning to the unexpected motifs and designs in the sculptures encountered as property of the living island population. Art forms that had seemed aberrant and irrelevant to Easter Island culture when discovered on the island in 1956 now turned out to be represented among unpublished museum specimens that long antedated our visit and even the arrival of the first missionaries. In fact, they appear to be closely interrelated with a tradition of vivid imagination and freedom of art that was fully mature when the first European settlers arrived. These art forms had remained generally unknown to outside observers because of the literally global dispersion of the comparatively few samples that had earlier found their way into the hands of foreign visitors. There is hardly any doubt that some genuine Easter Island sculptures are still lost or tucked away in the “unidentified” department of art dealers and collectors because they are aberrant types that have never been published. As late as fifteen years after initiating the search for obscure specimens, the writer came across samples hitherto hidden away and ignored, even in public museums. When the writer revisited the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1972, he learned that in addition to the standard Easter Island wood carvings on exhibition, a few other wooden specimens were stored on a sliding screen for convenient inspection in the basement. Only when the writer mentioned how aberrant stone sculptures from Easter Island were often stored out of context, did the keeper remember a peculiar stone hidden away behind some boxes on a high shelf. This proved to be the genuine Easter Island sculpture reproduced in Plate 156 d and described on p. 312. The museum catalogue showed that the piece (no. 18056) had been received as a gift from another collection when the museum was founded in 1891. Two notes had been added to the original catalogue entry. The first stated that, on consultation, William Churchill (the noted authority on the Easter Island language) had questioned the correctness of attributing this carving to Easter Island as it had reached the museum in a round-about way from a person named C. D. Voy. The second annotation showed that the noted Easter Island authority, Alfred Métraux, had examined the piece in 1938 and said that it was “undoubtedly from Easter Island.” Nevertheless, Métraux had not even illustrated or referred to this aberrant stone carving in his Easter Island monograph published two years later. Renewed research on the part of the museum* now shows that the stone head was collected by C. D. Voy probably on his Pacific voyage about 1874–75. The packing notes of Mr. Voy are still preserved and read, “1 Stone-head,

* Memorandum from W. Davenport to the Director, Dr. F. Rainey, in a letter from Rainey to the writer dated October 27, 1972.

22
supposed to have been the head of an Idol or Image, old spec. from Easter Island S. P." This aberrant stone head which reached the museum together with the collection of authentic Easter Island wood carvings therefore left the island long before the local introduction of commercial art. It is noteworthy that even at that time, the packing list mentions the piece as "old".

The widely scattered museum evidence of a concurring art tradition antedating modern influence on Easter Island gives a background to, but does not in itself explain, the sudden reappearance in 1956 of this seemingly forgotten cultural heritage. The fact that several islanders, including some very young men, began to carve stones with old motifs different from the standard type they had previously produced commercially suggests that our stay on the island, as opposed to previous visits, provoked an introduction of an industry formerly dormant, forgotten, or maintained in secrecy. One essential task of this study, accordingly, will be to analyze the possible stimuli that were the result of our presence and distinct from that of previous visitors and residents, and to determine whether the art produced was the result of a new spontaneous outburst of creative imagination and skill, or the resumption and imitation of an industry already known.

A cursory perusal of evidence will show that the problem is quite complex. The expedition did not bring art objects or illustrations to the natives that were not already familiar to them. Nor, as stated, were the sculptures they suddenly brought forth a repetition of anything found elsewhere. Therefore, we have to search for the roots of this mature and potent art form with intrinsic qualities in the island community itself. This is equally true of the sculptures that were newly carved for us. The entire island population, of exactly 842 persons at the time, was clustered together in the little village of Hangaroa. The majority consisted of women and children, and many of the men were engaged by us as full-time laborers in our excavations. This left barely enough leisure for the artists among them to keep up the regular production of profitable souvenirs. The richest hoards of aberrant sculptures happened to come from some of these workmen, among them notably Esteban Pakarati, Lazaro Hotu, the Atan brothers, and Henrique Teao, and at a time when they were assisting us all day long re-erecting a large statue at our camp in Anakena, the first stone giant ever to be erected in historic times. In that period these men were sleeping in an open cave next to the camp.

It was later, after they had brought us their most impressive specimens and after they had moved back again to the village that Esteban Pakarati, Pedro Atan, and others began, with the aid of a number of young friends and relatives, to carve small stone sculptures of the same general type. The crudity and lack of patina of this secondary lot were so pronounced that the fraud was detected on the spot, as reported elsewhere (Heyerdahl, 1958, Ch. 9).

With extremely few exceptions these purely commercial pieces were rough copies of the finer specimens presented to us in the initial phase of the cave disclosures. The rest of them were so poorly designed that their lack of artistic quality set them apart from the finer specimens as distinctly as did the treatment of their surface with its lack of patina.

The sharp drop in quality when the production of stone figurines became commercialized was immediately followed up by corroborative reports from village friends. To collect and sculpture stones in secret is a very cumbersome task in a native village where all sounds are heard and everybody knows what his neighbor is doing and loses no time in spreading the gossip. As soon as Esteban began to assemble a suitable pile of lava boulders in his back yard to initiate his fraud, his secret was disclosed to expedition members, and all similar attempts quickly became common knowledge.

Although the artistic inspiration behind this new industry was undoubtedly local, the sudden mass appearance of these aberrant sculptures during our visit nevertheless reflects an outside stimulus. The most evident stimulus would seem to be an economic one: the presence on the island over several months of a group of potential customers. Potential customers, however, reached the island at irregu-
lar intervals via cruising ships, and regularly once a year by a passenger-crowded Chilean warship, creating a literally inexhaustible demand for wooden *moai kavakava*, *moai medio cuerpo*, and other traditional carvings, a demand which at the time of our visit considerably surpassed the limited native capacity for production. Expedition scientists and the ship’s crew bought and bartered available wood carvings as souvenirs as fast as the island artists could produce them, and the annual visit of the Chilean warship *Pinto* provided customers who numerically surpassed the artists. This resulted in greater competition among the buyers than among the sellers. There was no necessity to attract buyers with a new merchandise. Production and sales of traditional wooden figures continued at full capacity throughout the period when the sudden flood of aberrant stone figures appeared. Only in the last weeks of our visit did we notice a lull in the constant production of wood carvings among those of the village sculptors who, like Pedro Atan, had now transferred their activity to clandestine carving in stone.

Undoubtedly, this transfer from traditional souvenirs in wood to secret work in stone was calculated to increase economic gains. The very simple and crude stone heads or nondescript monsters wrought from semi-natural forms in twisted lava during the last weeks of our visit were less time consuming to produce than the skillfully carved standard forms of wooden figurines, and yet they were sold for the same prices. It had been quite a different matter with the original stocks of aberrant stone sculptures, however. They were, as opposed to the later appearing commercial souvenirs, brought to the writer as gifts without any price or request for barter. As soon as each of the early donors had brought us into his hidden family cave the ownership of its entire contents became ours through a simple ceremony, with no cost or barter involved. The donor was therefore deprived of additional supplies for continued trading. This was not so with those villagers who initiated their own crude production. Their purely commercial pieces were usually sold one by one or in small units, and naturally kept on coming forth as long as they found a market. There were obvious reasons for the sharp drop in quality when commercial stone sculpture started in the village. The original specimens represented numerous different forms, most of them requiring considerable creative thought and industry, and could therefore not have been as conveniently mass-produced as many of the trade items. Time consuming, too, would have been all the secrecy involved in production and delivery. Attempts to produce a fictive patina on a freshly carved piece of stone required considerable ingenuity and labor and was effective only on very coarse-grained or strongly vesicular volcanic tuff or lava, material poorly suited to fine detail. The bulk of the stone sculptures in the initial period of cave disclosure was often collected by us with the greatest difficulty from almost inaccessible hiding places in far sections of the island, and only by climbing with the aid of ropes. Previous to our arrival on the spot the sculptures must have been deposited in these hiding places in the same cumbersome manner and, if recently, with infinite labor to avoid scratch marks in the vulnerable patina. There would have been no reasonable compensation for such extraordinary effort on the part of present day artists. In any case, the men working and sleeping near our camp would hardly have had the time for the awkward maneuvers involved in clandestine production and transport.

Whereas the manufacture of aberrant stone sculptures for commercial purposes was initiated on Easter Island in the early months of 1956, it is clear that a similar art that had no commercial function was familiar to various members of the local community prior to our arrival. In several instances we were shown the dangerous rope descents to secret caves previously known only to the owner of the inside hoard. In two such almost inaccessible caches a deep layer of exceedingly fine aeolian dust was deposited on the cave floor and on all the hoarded contents, and remained as a thick coat inside artificial concavities when the objects were brought up to the island surface. This airborne dust is so fine and weightless that an evenly spread layer could in no way have been deposited by human agency.
Neither could such a deep coat have accumulated except over a very long period (pp. 130, 143). In a third instance expedition archaeologists, hanging from a free rope at great risk, managed to enter a narrow cliff cave where stone figurines in human and animal form, as well as ancient human burials, were found individually wrapped in tight-fitting coverings of totora matting. These wrappings were so old and brittle that they crumbled to dust upon touch (pp. 124–25). There was obviously no question of recent deposits or fresh handling of the hoarded art objects in these instances. In view of this and other evidence discussed later, we cannot escape the conclusion that the ethnographic collection of art objects assembled on Easter Island in 1955–56 falls into three overlapping categories: those that were already present in caches prior to our arrival; those that were carved during our sojourn, and an undetermined quantity of sculptures that cannot readily be classified and might belong to either of the two aforesaid groups. In most cases, the latter two groups contain art motifs known from the first category.

Why, then, were sculptures and motifs of this nature retained in secrecy; why had they not been used commercially before, either through selling the original pieces or through carving copies? How could, in fact, their owners have succeeded in keeping their presence unknown to previous visitors and even to local residents, and indeed to the rest of the island population?

From personal observation we are at least in a position to say that a considerable number of underground caves of volcanic origins and with artificially concealed entrances are known to the present-day natives, and yet their whereabouts are kept rigidly secret, even from near relatives. In fact, the islanders spend considerable time searching for caves belonging to others, or inherited by themselves and subsequently lost. These caves, which occasionally contain burials, were storage places for material possessions, and they were associated with superstitions and surviving fragments of rituals concerned with family spirits of a class called aku-aku. As shown by one of the expedition archaeologists, E. N. Ferdon (1958, pp. 146–48), secret storage caves were a functional necessity for the personal preservation of family heirlooms and capital assets on Easter Island. What Ferdon terms “steal trading” was an integral part of local community life.

In his Foreword to this volume Professor Henri Lavachery, the only professional archaeologist who had visited Easter Island prior to our expedition, points out that the concept of secret storage caves on Easter Island was not new, nor were independent references to aku-aku or to rituals of baking chicken in earth ovens for the benefit of supernatural beings. Even the existence of non-conforming stone sculptures on Easter Island was not new, as subsequently discovered by the present writer through a thorough investigation of widely scattered museum collections. Although the complete picture of the ritual and use of Easter Island storage caves was unknown and the bizarre events that led to their disclosure were unheard of before our work on the island, nearly all the various composite elements in the experiences that befell us had been independently recorded by earlier visitors.

It therefore seems natural to begin the present study by re-examining historic records for the purpose of including here a synopsis of earlier references to aberrant carvings, secret storage caves, beliefs in aku-aku, and other superstitions associated with the hiding of portable heirlooms on Easter Island. Only against a historic background have we any reasonable hope of understanding the sudden outburst on this lonely island, in the middle of the twentieth century, of seemingly unwarranted and unprecedented activities that stirred the population and resulted in the almost explosive appearance of quite anomalous and previously unrecorded art styles.
PART 1

Steal-Trading, Portable Sculptures, and Storage Caves on Easter Island
A Historic Perspective

Archaeological background: The Early and Middle Periods

The unique geographical position of Easter Island had a direct influence on the scientific assumptions about the local monuments. Since it was generally presupposed that all settlers of Polynesia had migrated by long island-to-island jumps from the direction of Southeast Asia, Easter Island was held to be the last discovery by man in the entire Pacific Ocean. In fact, it was generally assumed that this lonely outpost that lay directly in front of America had remained undiscovered until as recently as some time between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, shortly before the first European arrival in 1722. The direct result of this theoretical reasoning was that in spite of the island’s archaeological fame, no archaeologist had bothered to go there for the purpose of excavations, because it was felt that in such a short time nothing could be concealed in this barren, treeless landscape where there could be no deposit of humus.

The excavations conducted by our expedition, however, showed that wind erosion and descending silt in certain areas had in some cases built up as much as nearly six meters (nearly 20 feet) above identifiable levels of human activity (Skjølsvold, 1961, p. 348). Carbon datings also disclosed that man had reached this remote island at least a thousand years earlier than had been previously supposed. Finally, as the expedition archaeologists initiated stratigraphic investigations in various parts of the island, it was found that three different cultural periods had succeeded one another before the time of European discovery. The first two periods have both left striking evidence of some form of megalithic masonry and monumental stone-shaping art while there is no such evidence from the third and last period. There was accordingly no indication that this art had gradually evolved to its final perfection in the short period before the coming of the Europeans. On the contrary, stone sculpture is a deeply rooted art on Easter Island. An analysis of early pollen deposits reveals that a virgin forest vegetation with palms and other trees was cleared with fire by the early settlers, who looked for stone quarries rather than for timber as material for dwellings, sanctuaries, and images (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, pp. 519, 527–33).

The artists and architects who left enduring monuments from what the archaeologists have termed the island’s Early Period (Smith, 1961, pp. 210–13), probably during the first millennium A. D., were master-sculptors who quarried various types of stone in different parts of the island. They started shaping blocks and images from basalt, scoria, and volcanic tuff of different densities and colors. The remarkable expertness of the first settlers suggests a long tradition in stone-shaping technique. Since a long tradition among newcomers would have had roots outside the island, it is logical to assume that the Early Period settlers brought the art of stone sculpture with them. At no time in the subsequent periods did the artists sustain as great a skill in designing, shaping, and fitting images and megalithic masonry blocks as during this earliest period. The finest masonry walls (Pl. 7), exquisitely shaped and
polished house-foundation stones (Pl. 15 d), and a variety of both realistic and conventionalized statues, often carved from the hardest basalt (Pls. 2–5, 8 d, 304 a) are stratigraphically datable to the Early Period. Some of the smaller statues of various forms re-used in Middle Period masonry, either as core rubble or building blocks in temple platforms, in all probability also date back to Early Period origins (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, Pls. 68, 86–88).

There is a clear relationship between the cultures of the Early and Middle Periods although the one does not appear to descend directly from the other. The people of the Middle Period culture consistently destroyed the alien statues of the Early Period. Both of them, as will later be shown, display strong affinities with pre-Inca cultures of South America. There is no clear evidence of arrival from Polynesia until in the final or Late Period of the island’s history. This sequence even seems logical in view of the island’s special geographic location. General theories formed before our stratigraphic excavations, assuming a late Polynesian arrival in Easter Island, are therefore correct. The new elements are the discovery of an underlying Early and Middle Period. Their cultural characteristics point to America rather than to Polynesia proper.

According to carbon datings (Smith, 1961, pp. 210–13, 393–96), the Early Period seems to have covered most of the first millennium A.D.; perhaps it started even before that. The architects and sculptors of the Middle Period seem to have taken over all activities after a time when the island appears to have been at least partly depopulated and the impressive, sun-oriented temples of the Early Period had been left to erode and decay. The Middle Period probably lasted from around A.D. 1100 to about 1680.

A breakdown of Easter Island prehistory into superimposed architectonic periods automatically made it possible for the first time to identify a chronology in the local statuary art. Although the homogeneous Middle Period statues were clearly inspired by one of the Early Period types, there is a clear difference between the monuments of these two early stone-working periods. Unlike their predecessors, the Middle Period people were not concerned about the esthetics of fitted masonry walls, but built their crude ahu, or image terraces, from unshaped boulders and re-used Early Period carved slabs, house foundation stones, and image fragments. Their all-devouring interest and ambition was to carve the tallest possible busts which were raised side by side on ahu platforms to represent sacred ancestor figures. Whereas the Early Period statues had pegged or convex bases to stand upright in the soil, the Middle Period busts had flat and flaring bases to balance safely on top of the stone pavements of the ahu terraces. Whereas in the Early Period at least four different types of stone were used for image making, the giant Middle Period statues were invariably carved from the yellowish-gray tuff of the inner and outer walls of the volcano Rano Raraku. Also, whereas Early Period images sometimes represented a standing person, sometimes a kneeling one, and were sometimes legless busts or even mere heads without body, the Middle Period monuments were invariably legless busts of one single type carved in a conventionalized pose with long fingers that met on the lower abdomen (Pls. 6 a, 10 b, 12–14). The heterogeneous Early Period statues were in most cases smaller than the average Middle Period statues since the latter often assumed colossal dimensions, ranging from life-size to giants more than thirty-seven feet tall and weighing over eighty tons (Smith, 1961, pp. 202–4; Skjölsvold, 1961, p. 349). Finally, the Early Period images invariably had the top of the head realistically rounded, while the Middle Period monoliths had the upper part of their heads truncated. The purpose of this was for each Middle Period statue to carry a cylindrical pukao, or “top-knot”, of a quite different stone, a red scoria, usually weighing another ten tons or more (Pl. 6). These enormous busts represent the one homogeneous form of free-standing sculpture clearly datable to the Middle Period. It is likely, however, that some of the small stone statuettes of different types found concealed in cavities inside Middle Period ahu ruins (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, Pls. 82–87).
were deliberately hidden there at the outbreak of war at the end of the Middle Period, rather than representing core-rubble originating from the destruction of Early Period sanctuaries. It would indeed be surprising if nothing but colossal outdoor images were sculptured by the artists who worked in stone during Easter Island’s long Middle Period.

Archaeology supports firm local tradition in showing that all activities in the Easter Island quarries came to a sudden end about A. D. 1680, at the legendary uprising twelve generations* ago of the population group referred to as the “Short-ears.” From this period on, all the standing ahu images raised in the Middle Period were overturned and destroyed, and no new monolithic statues were thereafter carved or re-erected. The Late Period Easter Islanders, like their own kin in all the rest of Polynesia, were typical wood carvers who, in fact, resorted to drift wood as working material when the scarce supply of toromiro trees was completely exhausted. Nevertheless, archaeological evidence shows that even Late Period artists occasionally resorted to boulders and lava blocks for the carving of smaller images, such as the crude tuff figurines excavated in the Late Period silt at the foot of the Rano Raraku quarries (Skjoldsvold, 1961, p. 349, Pl. 64 a, b).

The Huri-moai, or Late Period of war and destruction

There was a marked contrast between the observations of early explorers and the assumptions of modern scientists. All of those who set foot ashore in the early years of Pacific exploration found the Easter Island statues eroded, with decomposed surfaces and crumbling foundations. In 1774 Captain Cook’s party walked eastwards from Hangaroa finding damaged image ahu all along the south coast until they reached the Rano Raraku statue quarries near the eastern end of the island. Here Cook’s artist, Hodges, drew an illustration (Fig. 1) of an unfinished stone giant lying head down in the crater wall, long abandoned and overgrown with ferns and other vegetation, while other statues, erected but equally abandoned, stood buried to the chest in silt at the foot of the same quarries. Cook (1777, p. 296) in fact expressly described the Easter Island statues as “monuments of antiquity” and stated that, “the present inhabitants have most certainly had no hand in them, as they do not even repair the foundations of those which are going to decay.” His companion Gilbert (1774, p. 179) wrote that the Easter Island monuments “to appearance must have been executed some centuries back, . . .”

Today, with the aid of archaeological stratigraphy and radiocarbon dating, we are in a position to state that Cook and his companions were correct. Work in the Rano Raraku quarries ended abruptly about A. D. 1680, and thus the most recently carved monoliths among the total of some six hundred readily visible ones antedated Cook’s visit by almost a century, most of them being older. After this abrupt interruption no ahu images were carved on the island and those in the process of manufacture were left short of completion in all stages of progress. Those in the process of transportation were left face down along the roads, and those already erected on ahu platforms were undermined or toppled over, often breaking as they fell, their red scoria topknots rolling away.

Today we are also in a position to state that the cause of this sudden interruption of many centuries of cultural tradition was the initiation of a period of civil wars. Archaeology supports native oral history in showing that this period of cultural destruction began about A. D. 1680 with a traditionally recorded battle along a pyre in a defensive ditch at the Poike peninsula (see front map) and it continued with a series of tribal feuds well into historical times. Thus, another violent war of similarly disastrous nature must have raged on the island in the period between Gonzalez’ visit in 1770 and

* Genealogists reckon an average of twenty-five years to a Polynesian generation.
Cook's arrival in 1774. In fact, this period of cultural decadence and tribal warfare, termed the Huri-moai or "overthrow-of-statues" period by the Easter Islanders themselves, extended from about A. D. 1680 to about 1868, when the last Easter Islander was converted to Christianity. Sporadic wars continued even after this period, as is shown by the fact that the first missionaries were driven out by local hostilities.

These two centuries of internal wars left their traces all over the local terrain and in the minds of the people living there. The parents of many of the still-living Easter Islanders had participated in the tribal wars and experienced the introduction of Christianity. The landscape is everywhere littered with evidence of destruction. Crude lava boulders, once forming the walls of contiguous, circular stone houses, are torn down and scattered over the plains. Beautifully cut and fitted house-foundation stones, paenga, of the island's other type of secular dwelling, the boat-shaped, pole-and-thatch houses, are often fire-cracked from incendiary burning and usually pulled out of the ground. The perfectly fitted megalithic walls of large temple terraces are laboriously torn apart and destroyed. Everywhere, at the foot of damaged sanctuary walls, lie giant statues face down. Not one of the many hundreds had been left to stand as originally erected, gazing over temple squares with red cylindrical topknots balanced on their heads. The only ones standing were some of those temporarily erected for the completion of their backs at the foot of the Rano Raraku quarries. The first rains after the abandonment of work in the quarries above these statues had made the large mounds of quarry rubble descend as sediment to cover these unfinished hairless and blind figures up to their chests or chins, and the wood-carving vandals of the subsequent Huri-moai period were unable to overthrow them because their large bodies were firmly buried in gravel. Sporadic attempts to demolish even the partly buried and thus firmly standing statues are quite apparent from deep scars in their necks made by fruitless attempts to behead them with primitive stone adzes.

Until the very recent tourist invasions, literally thousands of mataa, or black obsidian spear points, could be collected between the ruins and fragments of sculptures in every part of the island. Excavations and subsequent radiocarbon datings have disclosed that these weapons all belong to the decadent Late Period which, as stated, began about 1680. As late as 1864–66 the missionaries observed them still in use, together with long and short wooden clubs.

In the midst of all this demolition of sanctuaries and artistic heirlooms, visible evidence is left to the effect that those who owned the statues actually tried to drag the smallest ones away to hide them and thus save them from destruction. In a cave at the Poike peninsula the writer (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 469–70) discovered the beheaded torso of a life-sized statue partly hidden under sand on the floor, and the discarded torso of another broken statue of similar, barely portable dimensions lay on the slope outside the same cave entrance. When intact neither of these statues could have stood erect under the low ceiling of this cavern, and to all appearances the two images had been dragged to the cave for concealment, only to be discovered by the enemy who broke off their heads and carried these away as trophies. Undoubtedly, the considerable weight of these fair-sized statues precluded their successful transportation into less accessible hide-outs with better concealed entrances.

The still larger statues, of course, could only be left to the mercy of the enemy in the battlefield, as it would have taken an organized team and ample time to remove them. But what about small and readily portable sculptures? Are we to assume that, in wartime, figurines and statuettes small enough for easy removal and safe hiding were left with the monoliths in the open landscape?

The native houses represented no safety during the Easter Island internal wars. Caves and underground caches thus provided the only security. Thomson (1889, p. 491), Routledge (1919, p. 261), and Lavachery (1939, Vol. 1, p. 23) explored some of the Easter Island caves, and all reported the discovery of some small, portable stone statues hidden inside. This was in spite of the fact that none of
the caves they visited was of a secret character. The small statuettes thus discovered, however, are remarkably few in number compared to the large quantity of giant statues abandoned on the battle fields. The importance of such small stone sculptures in the local community is nevertheless clearly stated by early visitors who arrived before the commercialization of religious art. Our expedition archaeologists showed that complete and fragmentary stone figurines are still to be found through excavation (Mulloy, 1961, pp. 156–57, 326, Figs. 43 h, k, 44 d, 87 u; Ferdon, 1961, p. 246; Skjølsvold, 1961, p. 349, Pl. 64 a, b; Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 466–67, Pls. 87 a, 88). In addition, specimens occasionally turned up in the core rubble of ahu (Heyerdahl, Ibid., pp. 469–78, Pls. 82–87). It is quite natural that small stone figurines turn up on an island whose naked landscape is dominated by giant monoliths. Giant stone statues in human form have an extremely limited distribution throughout the world, but nowhere else where monolithic art prevailed did the sculptors limit their production to cyclopean monuments without also carving an even larger quantity of smaller statuettes and household images. In the Marquesas group and also in the Tiahuanaco-influenced regions of South America (the two areas that at least geographically stand closest to Easter Island in stone-carving art) stone images occur in a continuous range from monoliths of superhuman size down to figurines less than fifteen to twenty centimeters tall.

Since the overwhelming majority of Easter Island stone sculptures are represented by the colossal images left in the field, one may assume that the bulk of the smaller ones were either completely broken up, thrown into the sea, or hidden from the vandals. Few people in the world, if any, were in a more difficult situation in case of a threat of enemy assaults or military defeat than the Easter Islanders. The tiny, barren island permitted no retreat into distant hinterlands or deep forests, and with thousands of miles to the nearest speck of habitable land there was little hope of successful escape. For this reason the Easter Islanders developed a special ability to disappear underground, and the geological formation of their island, which is literally honeycombed with volcanic caves and tunnels, gave them exceptional opportunities. Their oral history is filled with references to individuals, families, or war parties who found refuge in caves during the Huri-moai period, when dwellings were looted and destroyed, plantations uprooted, and the sparse remaining forests set on fire to impoverish the enemy. Vivid descriptions narrate how the underground refugees could venture out only at night in attempts to secure food or make reprisals, that often resulted in cannibal orgies and further revenge. The entrances to these hideouts were either in the precipitous seaward cliffs, and then accessible only by ropes from above, or else they were ingeniously sealed up and invisible to the uninitiated. The latter category of hideouts often had their natural entranceways constricted with masonry to form a narrow and intricate tube, through which only one person at a time could wriggle ahead, in the event of the sealed opening being detected. A considerable number of these refuge caves were shown to our expedition by the local population. Some of these were now familiar to the total island community; others were still rigidly guarded as family secrets.

Several of these refuge caves had accumulated thick deposits of refuse on the floor, evidence of their having served as regular dwellings for a considerable time, as had been the case with some of the cliff shelters and open-mouthed caves. An analysis of the refuse, including carbon dating, showed that the caves were occupied as dwellings only in the decadent Late Period. No evidence was found to indicate that caves had been utilized as dwellings in the preceding Middle or Early Periods which represented the bloom of local culture. The reason is probably that the technical and artistic enterprises of the Early and Middle Periods needed a well-organized community with village settlements, such as were archaeologically established from these periods by our expedition. The teamwork and ready-to-hand labor necessary for monolith carving and erection would have been impossible if the population lived in widely scattered caves all over the island. Not until the complete disintegration of community
life at the beginning of the Late Period, with each family struggling for survival in the face of enemy assaults, did the caves begin to assume importance to the people of Easter Island. Apart from the Huri-moai period there is no archaeological evidence of weapons and warfare on Easter Island. The cultural discontinuity between the Early and Middle Period, however, is still to be explained. Similar discontinuities, where it might seem as if one completely new dynasty had taken over from obviously related predecessors is a generally occurring feature on the nearest continent to the east, South America. Well-known examples are the Early and Late Chimu, the Early and Late Nazca or the at least three distinct periods of Tiahuanaco.

To sum up, animosity and destruction were the most marked features of Easter Island community life in the centuries immediately preceding European arrival. Archaeological vestiges from this period reveal that the heterogeneous types of secular dwelling were alternately destroyed, rebuilt, and destroyed again, while underground caves began to play an important role as places of refuge and residence.

It must be assumed that portable art objects and other family possessions small enough to be carried to safety were not left behind with the immobile alu monuments whenever the war-ridden people cautiously withdrew into underground hiding. The period of wars ended when the missionaries arrived in 1864 and re-established order by moving the entire population to a newly built village in Hangaroa bay. Even then, however, the families would maintain the use of their secret caves. Barely converted from paganism, they would in all likelihood have hesitated to bring any possessions from their hide-outs that displeased their foreign spiritual leaders and, as we shall see, were ordered by them to be burned or otherwise destroyed. This proto-historic background will give a better understanding of the often fragmentary references to Easter Island art made by the early European visitors. Since a full review of early observations made on the island is presented elsewhere (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 33–90), only information with a direct bearing on the present study will be repeated below.

Roggeveen’s visit of discovery in 1722

When the Dutch Admiral Jacob Roggeveen stumbled on Easter Island on Easter Sunday in 1722, while en route westward from South America, his visit of discovery lasted only a single day. Little of value to the present art study was reported other than the fact that the Dutchmen recorded that they were met by a clearly racially mixed population. Among the first islanders to come on board the arriving ships was one who differed from the others by being “an entirely white man”. C. F. Behrens, in command of the soldiers accompanying Roggeveen’s fleet of three ships, was the first to set foot on Easter Island soil. He wrote (Behrens, 1722, pp. 14, 17–18) of the people seen ashore: “They are generally brown, like the Spaniards, still one finds among them some who are rather black, and others who are entirely white. There are also some with a reddish skin color, as if they were burnt by the sun.” The only evidence of art seen other than the giant statues was the tattoo: “They paint their bodies with all kinds of birds and other animals, the one more perfect than the other.” This early reference to a variety of animal motifs is interesting, since the local fauna is so poor that the only terrestrial vertebrates were rats and small lizards. Roggeveen (1722, p. 17) made a point of having seen “no more than two or three old women . . . young women and lasses did not come forward amongst the crowd, so that one must believe the jealousy of the men had moved them to hide them away in some distant place in the island.” This remark about hiding assumes particular importance in the light of observations made by subsequent visitors. Roggeveen (Ibid., pp. 11, 17) found the local population
to be expert thieves who quite openly and without embarrassment tried to carry away everything they could lay their hands on. They even stole the seamen’s hats and caps off their heads. This specific Easter Island attitude towards the moral aspects of theft was thus inherent in the local population prior to European contact and explains the need for secret storage and hiding places even in times of peace. It is obvious that at the time of Roggeveen’s visit the *Huri-moai* period had not yet ended since some of the tall statues were still venerated, as appears from the following statement of Behrens (1722 a, p. 13): “They also kindled fires at the feet of their idols by way of offerings and to worship them. . . . In the early morning we saw that they were kneeling down with their faces turned towards the rising sun, and they had lit several fires which were apparently meant as morning oblations in honor of their gods.”

Similarly, Roggeveen wrote (1722, p. 15): “What the form of worship of these people comprises we were not able to gather any full knowledge of, owing to the shortness of our stay among them; we noticed only that they kindle fire in front of certain remarkably tall stone figures they set up; and there-after squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them.”

The Dutchmen apparently saw neither the written tablets nor the small carvings that must have existed and were probably kept in hiding, together with most of the women, during this unexpected first visit by Europeans. On the other hand, Roggeveen’s party arrived in time to see something never again reported by visitors to Easter Island, as put on record by Behrens (*Ibid.*, 16): “They make use of earthenware pots, like we do, to prepare their dishes.”

As the day passed on, the island men let their women emerge, and even offered some of them to be taken onboard the ships. “Touched by this token of humility and complete submission we did them no harm”, says Behrens (1722 a, p. 15), adding nevertheless in the same context that, “by firing towards them we unfortunately killed many, among them the first visitor to have come on board . . .”

After this initial encounter with Europeans, the Easter Islanders were left to themselves for almost half a century more.

**Gonzalez’ rediscovery in 1770**

In 1770 when Don Felipe Gonzalez de Haedo rediscovered Easter Island with two ships sailing from Peru, the Spaniards found the same mixed population, and also referred to three distinct skin colors. Gonzalez’ companion Agüera (1770, p. 96) writes: “these islanders being in colour between white, swarthy, and reddish, not thick lipped nor flat nosed, the hair chestnut coloured and limp, some have it black, and others tending to red or cinnamon tint.” The mixed origin of the Easter Islanders was at that time also reflected in the local language. The Spaniards, who remained at anchor off Easter Island for six days, compiled the first brief dictionary of the local speech (*Ibid.*, 1770, pp. 109–10) which includes certain Polynesian words as well as others which are completely alien. For instance, the numerals recorded by the Spaniards are (with the modern Polynesian Easter Island numerals in parentheses): 1 = coyana (etahi); 2 = corena (erua); 3 = cogoju (etoru); 4 = quiroqui (eha); 5 = majana (erima); 6 = feuto (eono); 7 = fegea (chitu); 8 = moroqui (evaru); 9 = vijoviri (eiva); 10 = queromata (etahi te anguhuru).

* Although subsequent visitors never recorded having seen pottery in use on Easter Island, sherds of thick, non-European ware have turned up during garden work at the ancient habitation site of Mataveri (*Heyerdahl*, 1961, pp. 431–52). The Easter Islanders also had their own word for pottery, *maengo*, and as later shown, some families hid coiled, utilitarian pots of South American, non-European make as sacred treasures kept in caves.
Today there are no similar words in any Polynesian dialect, neither for numbers nor with any other meaning.

Agüera (1770, pp. 98–99) goes on to write of the local people: "... they are so fond of taking other people's property that what one man obtains another will take from him, and he yields it without feeling aggrieved: the most he will do is to resist a little, then he loosens his hold of it and they remain friends ... and I believe they conceal as much as they can get possession of below the ground, for we never saw afterwards any of the things we gave them."

The Spaniards, who made the first fairly extensive survey of the island, reported: "Most of the natives of the island dwell in underground caves, or in the hollow of some rock, the entrances to which are so narrow and inconvenient that I have seen some of them introduce themselves in the opposite manner to what is natural, beginning by projecting their feet and the head last." (Ibid., p. 102).

Although they remained on the island for six days, the Spaniards were not shown any portable art objects of any nature. In fact, it is important to note that they were struck by the puzzling lack of personal property among the Easter Islanders. They stressed that all they saw were some fishing lines, fish nets and small bone needles. Some of the otherwise naked men wore feather-crowns on their heads, and colored garments "like a poncho." Not even the magnificently carved _ua_ and _paoa_ clubs were made visible to the Spaniards, who stressed that the only weapons seen were some "sharp-edged stones." This is an obvious reference to the obsidian _matata_, since they were said to leave wounds as if inflicted by cutting instruments of steel (Ibid., p. 99).

Although the Easter Islanders still cautiously kept all their small stone and wood carvings in hiding, they did reveal their own artistic talent and activity by carrying forth colossal _paina_ figures in the presence of the Spaniards. These were skillfully made light-weight dolls of superhuman size, fashioned from painted bark-cloth stuffed with branches, grass, and reeds. They were carried in processions and erected at the side of old image platforms, as if they represented some substitute for the giant stone men of the Middle Period that this historic or Late Period population was unable to carve or erect. Agüera (Ibid., p. 95) gave the following account of the _paina_ figures, after a description of the ancient stone statues of which an unspecified number were still standing on _ahu_: "They have another effigy or idol clothed and portable which is about four yards in length: it is properly speaking the figure of a Judas, stuffed with straw or dried grass. It has arms and legs, and the head has coarsely figured eyes, nostrils, and mouth: it is adorned with a black fringe of hair made of rushes, which hangs half-way down the back. On certain days they carry this idol to the place where they gather together, and judging by the demonstrations some of them made, we understood it to be the one dedicated to enjoyment ..."

Apart from the giant _tapa_ or bark-cloth images, so big that they could be exposed to foreigners without any fear of theft, the only other evidence of artistic ability disclosed was, as before, the spectacular designs safely tattooed onto the live skin of their owners: "The principal men, or those in authority, paint the whole of their bodies with some herb, or liquor, having a bright red hue, drawing great numbers of lines, pyramids, cocks, and most hideous masks, but all disposed in such order and symmetry that it would require the most dexterous pencil to imitate them. In particular they figure on the back a maze of convolutions with so much skill that it excited our wonder, not a dot nor a line from right side to left side wanting in regularity. On the vacant parts of the abdomen they depict two fearsome monstrosities which they call _pare_, and I believe they look on them with veneration, but they do not like one to touch them with the hand. The young people do not paint themselves in this fashion, only a few of them have a collar of the same colour traced round the neck, and depending from it the figure of a small animal resembling a toad, or frog, which they call _cogé._" (Ibid., p. 98). The exceedingly poor Easter Island fauna included no monstrous animal, or anything resembling a
frog or a toad. Frogs and toads, although common in the fauna and art of South America, are non-existent in the whole of Polynesia. This early reference has a specific bearing on this study since froglike animals were common motifs among the stone sculptures which we received from storage caves (pp. 222, 235, Pls. 172, 173, 216 a, 217, 238–41).

Cook’s visit in 1774

When Captain James Cook reached Easter Island four years after the Spaniards, the island had evidently been ravaged by another of the disastrous Huri-moui wars. The Englishmen found the plantations abandoned and a decimated population in great poverty and distress. In fact, food was so scarce and conditions were so bad that Cook (1777, p. 285) recorded that he did not find “any thing which can induce ships that are not in the utmost distress, to touch at this island.” His companion, Forster (1777, p. 598) wrote: “Indeed, when I consider the wretched situation of the inhabitants, I am surprised that they parted with a quantity of provisions to us, of which the cultivation must have cost them great pains and labour.”

Both the Spaniards four years earlier, and the original Dutch discoverers, had spoken of a racially composite and thriving population (Behrens, 1722, pp. 134, 136; Gonzalez, 1770, p. XIV; Agüera, 1770, pp. 96, 99; Hervé, 1770, p. 127) estimated at about 3,000 persons (Gonzalez, 1770, p. XIV). The Englishmen, however, found only between six and seven hundred men and less than thirty women, all described as Polynesian but small, lean, timid, and miserable (Forster, 1777, Vol. 1, pp. 564, 584–85, 594–95; Cook, 1777, Vol. 1, p. 290). This is in marked contrast to the Spaniards’

Fig. 1: The Easter Island image quarries were found abandoned and overgrown by Captain Cook’s party in 1774. The expedition artist, Hodges, illustrated an unfinished statue lying head down in a section of the crater wall, whereas two standing images are shown partly buried in silt below.
report only four years earlier, stating that the men were generally of large stature. They had even measured out of curiosity, two who stood respectively 6 ft., 5 ins. and 6 ft., 6½ ins. (Agüera, 1770, p. 99).

Cook and his naturalist companions, the Forsters, were sharp observers and as referred to elsewhere they made it very clear that the stone monuments were vestiges of a past culture in which the contemporary islanders had no hand. The statues as well as their supporting platforms were reported weathered and damaged both by time and vandalism, most of them having fallen. The Englishmen explored as far as the Rano Raraku quarries that were abandoned and overgrown. Silt and rubble descended from above had already buried the long stone bodies at the foot of the quarries up to their chests, almost as we know them today (Fig. 1). Even the trees needed for bark-cloth manufacture were now reported to be so scarce and stunted that they no longer sufficed to cover the local demand.

Undoubtedly, their desperate need urged the natives to bring forth from hiding personal possessions hitherto not revealed to visitors, and considered too sacred and treasured for trade. Forster, Jr. (1777, Vol. 1, pp. 580–81) reports that the poverty-stricken Easter Islanders badly wanted some tapa the Englishmen had obtained in Tahiti, adding: “The desire of possessing this cloth prompted them to expose to sale several articles which perhaps they would not have parted with so easily under other circumstances. Among these were their different caps or head-dresses, their necklaces, ornaments for the ear, and several human figures, made of narrow pieces of wood about eighteen inches or two feet long, and wrought in a much neater and more proportionate manner than we could have expected after seeing the rude sculpture of the statues. They were made to represent persons of both sexes; the features were not very pleasing, and the whole figure was much too long to be natural; however, there was something characteristic in them, which showed a taste for the arts. The wood of which they were made was finely polished, close-grained, and of a dark-brown, like that of the casuarina. ... Mahine was most pleased with these carved human figures, the workmanship of which much excelled those of the e Tees [Tiki] in his country, and he purchased several of them, assuring us they would be greatly valued at Taheitee. As he took great pains to collect these curiosities, he once met with a figure of a woman’s hand, carved of a yellowish wood, nearly of natural size. Upon examination, its fingers were all bent upwards, as they are in the action of dancing at Taheitee, and its nails were represented very long, extending at least three fourths of an inch beyond the fingers end. The wood of which it was made was the rare perfumewood of Taheitee ... Mahine afterwards presented this piece to my father, who has in turn made a present of it to the British Museum.” (See this vol., Pl. 94).

Cook (1777, Vol. 1, p. 293), preoccupied with the urgent problems of securing fresh supplies for his scurvy-ridden crew, did not pay much attention to any of these acquisitions from the local natives. He merely stated: “Some pieces of carvings were found amongst them, both well designed and executed.” And Forster, Sr. (Op. cit., p. 588) simply added: “They had likewise some small crooked human figures made of wood, of which we could not learn the use or signification.”

We can hardly assume that these remarkably well made and highly conventionalized pieces of art were the result of a sudden local outburst of carving subsequent to the Spanish visit four years earlier. Undoubtedly, the Spaniards were correct in suspecting that the wily natives had kept their personal treasures in hiding underground.

Cook and his party, in fact, discovered natives disappearing underground through narrow holes among piles of lava boulders, and Forster (1777, pp. 570–71) actually suspected that they communicated with natural caverns: “We should have been glad to have ascertained this circumstance, but the natives always denied us admittance into these places.” Both he (Ibid., pp. 595–96) and Cook (1777, p. 289) once more noticed a striking disproportion between the number of the sexes, and suspected that women and children were concealed in subterranean hiding places. In fact, Forster concluded:
“It is true our party did not see any valley or secluded glen, to which the women might have confined themselves during our stay; but I must remind the reader of those caverns mentioned before, to which the natives always refused to admit us. The caverns of Iceland are spacious enough to contain several thousand inhabitants, and nothing is more probable than that, in a similar volcanic country, such caverns may afford room for a few hundreds.”

The English, like the previous Dutch and Spanish visitors, noted the very peculiar attitude toward theft. In the local culture this appeared to be considered a virtue rather than a crime. The natives openly stole from one another whenever an opportunity occurred, without showing the slightest sign of shame or irritation. Cook (Ibid., p. 279) remarks: “It was with some difficulty we could keep the hats on our heads; but hardly possible to keep anything in our pockets, nor even what themselves had sold us; for they would watch every opportunity to snatch it from us, so that we sometimes bought the same thing two or three times over, and after all did not get it.”

La Pérouse’s visit in 1786

Only one more expedition visited Easter Island in the eighteenth century: the two French frigates commanded by J. F. G. de La Pérouse. The Frenchmen, who reached the island twelve years after Cook, found the population recovered from the last period of utter distress. The islanders were again able to provide a much-required supply of fresh agricultural products and live chickens, and carried out a successful barter with their visitors without resorting to their personal stock of religious or non-
comestible belongings. A number of women and children were now reported to be present among a crowd of about two thousand that gave the Frenchmen a very friendly reception. La Pérouse (1797, Vol. 1, pp. 321–22) stated: “We all entered into those caverns in which Mr. Forster and some officers of Captain Cook had first supposed the women might have been concealed. They are subterraneous dwelling-places, of the same form as others which I shall describe hereafter, and in which we found small faggots, the largest not exceeding five feet in length, and six inches in diameter.” The expedition engineer, Bernizet, in a further description of these caverns, stated that the natives often took advantage of the natural cavities found in the huge torrents of lava, and removed projecting points with crude tools to give them smooth surfaces. “In these subterraneous cells the islanders store up their provisions, their utensils, their wood, and in general all the little property they possess.” (Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 348).

The Frenchmen make no reference at all to any of the small sculptures seen by preceding and subsequent visitors, or to the large quantity of sacred *rongo-rongo* tablets, though they often exhibited considerable age when later seen by the first missionaries. Although the French were let into habitation

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**Fig. 3:** Circular stone houses of a type common in ancient Peru but unknown in Polynesia were still seen in use on Easter Island during the French visit in 1786. Archaeology shows (Pl. 15 b) that they were common on the island in the early periods although displaced in the nineteenth century by the other of the two ancient Easter Island house types, the boat-shaped reed house with carved stone foundation (Pl. 15 c, d).
Fig. 4: Some statues were still standing on their ahu with their topknots balancing on their heads during La Pérouse's visit in 1786. However, his illustration (La Pérouse, 1797) shows also a half buried, fallen topknot in the left hand corner. Note two islanders stealing a hat and a scarf.

caverns, apparently they were not shown the real caches of the secretive Easter Islanders. The Frenchmen speak of no other images than the giant statues, many of which are expressly reported as lying face down. “All the monuments which at present exist, …” says La Pérouse (Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 322), “appeared to be very ancient. … We did not, however, observe any traces of religion; for I cannot imagine that any person could take these statues for idols, though the Indians showed a kind of veneration for them.” La Pérouse made the first attempt to introduce foreign animals to Easter Island. He brought ashore a pair of pigs, a pair of goats and three sheep which caused much wonder among the natives but were killed and eaten before they had time to multiply. This early attempted introduction of these animals among the still pagan natives might have left sufficient impression to be reflected in subsequent local art.

Fig. 5: La Pérouse's cross-section of a still undestroyed ahu shows a stepped, unroofed temple platform of a form known from some other islands in eastern Polynesia and common also in ancient Peru (Fig. 30, p. 164).
The nineteenth century period of pre-missionary raids and hostilities

After the French in 1786, no more visits were made to Easter Island until the nineteenth century. In 1804 a Russian ship under the command of U. F. Lisjanski arrived, but bad weather prevented an organized landing and no recorded observations were made except from a distance (*Lisjanski*, 1814, Vol. 1, pp. 83–98). However, a lieutenant was sent ashore in a yawl with some trade goods. The fine collection of Easter Island carvings which was transferred without any record from the Admiralty Museum to the Ethnographical Institute in Leningrad in 1826 is generally considered to date from this visit. However, as mentioned below, a second Russian visit, in 1816, also managed some brief trading with scraps of iron and knives before being driven away by hostile natives (Pls. 38, 39, 63 a, 65, 66). The year following Lisjanski's visit the first of two slave raids was carried out by the captain of a New London schooner who wanted to secure native labor for a project on the Juan Fernandez islands off the coast of Chile. As a result the Easter Islanders became violently hostile to foreigners, and when Captain Adams in 1806 and Captain Windship in 1809 attempted to make landings on the island, they were prevented by hostile natives.

In 1816 the second Russian expedition arrived under the command of O. E. Kotzebue. Observing the island from their ship, the Russians believed they saw some colossal statues still standing on the south coast, but on anchoring off Hangaroa they recorded that the monuments seen there by Lisjanski in 1804 were no longer to be found. This clearly shows that the destructive *Huri-moai* period continued into the nineteenth century. The Russians had a rather confused reception, and barely managed to set foot ashore after shooting a native amidst stone-throwing and signs of friendship. They saw "only few women", indicating that once more many were in hiding. They returned to their ship without achieving anything except a short moment of trade, and recorded that the European animals and plants introduced by La Pérouse were no longer to be seen on the island (*Kotzebue*, 1821, Vol. 3, pp. 140–41).

In about 1822 the unscrupulous crew of an American whaling schooner called and succeeded in carrying off some women. The following day they threw them into the sea and one officer shot an islander for mere entertainment.

Shortly afterward, in 1825, Captain F. W. Beechey arrived accompanied by (later Admiral) E. Belcher. This time the Easter Islanders tried to persuade the foreigners to come ashore by exposing some of their women with inviting gestures for the purpose of luring the Englishmen into a trap. When a few of the sailors ventured near the shore the natives threw some produce of the land as well as some nets and "idols" into their boats, seemingly as gifts. The sailors had hardly reached the shore before they were forced to retire without a chance for barter or observations, due to the sudden appearance of a chief with a cloak and headdress of feathers who came hurrying from a cluster of huts attended by men with "short clubs" (*Beechey*, 1831, Vol. 1, pp. 43–50).

Very few attempts to get ashore on Easter Island are on record for the following decades, and no visitors succeeded in reporting important observations or in any way affecting the local culture. The only possible exception was Admiral du Petit-Thouars in 1838. Although he never even went ashore, he left for posterity the first drawing of an Easter Island *pora*, or tusk-shaped *totoru* reed float, on which some natives swam to his ship. While off shore he was able to acquire from native visitors a wooden image in the shape of a double human head, the eyes of which were inlaid bone with "lava" (obsidian) inserted as pupils (*Petit-Thouars*, 1841, Vol. 2, pp. 222–34). This could perhaps be the specimen illustrated in Plate 97 a, that reached the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1851. Only a few years later, in 1860, a double-headed figure with full body was brought to La Rochelle in France by the naval surgeon Dr. Gilles, and was ultimately purchased by Museum Lafaille
The statement that double-headed figures were first collected by Geiseler in 1884 (Métraux, 1940, p. 257) is therefore erroneous.

In 1843 the French missionary Monseigneur E. Rouchouze sailed for Easter Island with a group of twenty-four religious followers of both sexes. They were never heard of again. But twelve years later the master of a visiting bark, J. Hamilton, discovered that the Easter Islanders were in possession of some looted European lifeboats. Hamilton (1856, p. 50) reports that on this occasion the islanders succeeded in capsizing his lifeboat, too, as they had probably done to the boats of the lost missionaries. They even tried to drag the clothes off Hamilton's crew and they actually managed to kill his second officer.

During the first half of the last century a number of most remarkable Easter Island art objects found their way to the outside world. Some of these specimens collected in Hawaii during that early period may well have reached this northern archipelago through the activities of Captain Alexander Adams who sailed from Hawaii to Easter Island in 1806. Even though he was unable to land, he had contacts with the captain of the slave vessel Nancy from New London who had just then carried away twenty-two Easter Islanders. The remarkable stuffed tapa figurine in the Belfast Museum in Ireland (Pl. 21) and the strongly related tapa figurines in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University (Pls. 16–20, 22, 23) were probably all brought from Easter Island by these early slave raiders. The Belfast specimen was obtained in Hawaii before 1838 by G. A. Thomson of Belfast, whereas the Boston specimens were probably carried directly to the New London home port of the Nancy, from where they found their way to the nearby Boston Museum collection, together with the bizarre wood carving illustrated in Plate 123 b. In 1899 the Boston Museum collection was transferred to the Peabody Museum.

An exceptional type of wooden image (Pl. 80 a), obviously manufactured on Easter Island, was correspondingly acquired in Hawaii by Admiral J. V. B. Bleecher, who brought it to America between 1850 and 1860, according to his daughter who later donated the piece to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

Another truly unique figure of composite nature carved in Easter Island toromiro wood (Dodge, 1959, pp. 18–26; this vol., Pl. 121), now in the Peabody Museum at Harvard, has a very obscure provenience, but its antiquity cannot be doubted since it was part of the old Brown University Collection, Rhode Island, to which nothing was added after 1840. It was probably either carried away from Easter Island by some of the first slave raiders or acquired by an early whaling vessel as suggested by Dodge.

At the same early period some specimens of Easter Island art also found their way westwards to New Zealand. For instance an aberrant version of a moai kavakava, now in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. (Pl. 61 b), was obtained by Wilke’s expedition at the Bay of Islands in New Zealand in 1838–42.

More remarkable still is the fact that a rei-miro inscribed with a continuous row of rongo-rongo signs was found in the hands of Te Rangihiati at Waikanae on New Zealand as early as March 1851, when it was presented to Sir George Grey. The name of this crescent-shaped tablet was recorded to be Te Matumotu-o-te-ahi-o-te-okoro. Although this specimen is among the best-known Easter Island objects in the British Museum and is frequently referred to and illustrated, all scholars have overlooked the important fact that it was collected in New Zealand thirteen years before the first rongo-rongo signs were recognized on Easter Island. In fact, Pacific travelers and even residents in New Zealand had seen and possessed this fine sample of Easter Island rongo-rongo (Pls. 45, 46 a) before the alleged discovery of this script in 1864 by the first arriving missionary, Eugène Eyraud. Thus, although in all current literature Eyraud is credited as being the first non-Easter Islander to have
seen *rongo-rongo*, a sample of this script had actually been collected and brought to New Zealand before Eyraud's time.

An unusual female figure with a turtle incised on the head, accompanied by a stooping male, both carved from fairly light yellowish wood and in characteristic Easter Island style, were found on board the Spanish slaving schooner *Esperanza* when it was stranded at Caicos in the Bahamas in 1841. The slaves were rescued and got the privileges of other British subjects on these islands. Their carvings became part of the local G. J. Gibbs Collection, and in recent years they were purchased by the American Museum of Natural History in New York (this vol., p. 280, Pl. 81 a, b).

Two of the most grotesque and aberrant Easter Island figures (Pls. 104, 118 a) reached Germany in the same early pre-missionary period. These were donated by Dr. Karl Andree to the Übersee-Museum in Bremen as early as 1855.

The great Peruvian slave raid in 1862

A few years later, in about 1859, more natives were kidnapped on Easter Island and this time sold as slaves to work in various parts of Peru.

An additional raid that had a truly disastrous effect on both the island population and its aboriginal culture occurred in December 1862, when Captain Aiguirre came from Peru to recruit more guano workers. On arrival he found seven other Peruvian ships anchored off the Easter Island coast for the same purpose. All the slave raiders decided to co-operate, and eighty armed men were set ashore to spread trade goods on the ground. When about five hundred of the bewildered Easter Islanders were gathered, mostly on their knees examining the goods, the visitors fell upon them, killed nearly a dozen, and captured two hundred. They were tied and carried to the ship where they encountered a great many more of their own kin who had already been captured when they came aboard to trade. The last island king, Kaimoko, his son, and nearly all the *maori*, or learned men, were among the captives who subsequently died in Peru.

Bishop Jaussen of Tahiti protested the crime and finally succeeded in having the Peruvian authorities order the return of the enslaved Easter Islanders, then about a thousand in all. Diseases and unaccustomed living conditions killed off about nine hundred in less than a year, however, and a smallpox epidemic played havoc among the returning group. Only fifteen survived the experience to be repatriated on Easter Island, where they spread the epidemic to the rest of the population. The islanders once more took cover underground for fear of further raids, but they were unable to escape this introduced foreign disease (*Eyraud*, 1864, p. 54; *Olivier*, 1864, p. 50; *Jaussen*, 1894, p. 242).

A most remarkable Easter Island figure with inlaid obsidian eyes (Pls. 109 b–111) was found on one of the Chincha Islands near Paracas on the central coast of Peru. In 1872 it was presented to the British Museum by Mr. A. W. Franks. Since neither wood nor obsidian was available on the Chincha Islands, it would be tempting to assume that this carving had been completed on Easter Island and brought to this Peruvian island by one of the deported slaves, since the raids were carried out in pre-Christian times. However, recent research by Prof. H. E. Maude, Lucila Valderrama G., and G. McCall has shown that there was no foundation for the former assumption that some of the Easter Island slaves worked on the Chincha Islands. The possibility of pre-European trade should therefore not be entirely ruled out, since it is historically known that the Spaniards, prior to any island discoveries in the Pacific, were given the exact position of Easter Island by the Incas of Peru (*Heyerdahl*, 1964). Paracas was a main Peruvian navigation center since early pre-European times, as is shown from the fact that elaborate center-boards from pre-Inca times are common in local tombs.
Another highly interesting wood carving of equally obvious Easter Island manufacture (Pl. 89 b, 90) was discovered in Trujillo on the north coast of Peru together with aboriginal pottery and bronze artifacts, and donated in 1886 by two officers of the Italian Navy to Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico Luigi Pigorini in Rome. It will probably never be known if this Easter Island specimen had been brought to Peru by one of the slaves since, like the previous specimen, it could also have reached the continent through earlier contact.

The early missionary observations

In January 1864, hardly more than a year after the final and disastrous Peruvian slave raid, Lay Brother Eugène Eyraud of the Congrégation des Sacré-Cœurs went ashore on Easter Island as the first European settler. This incredibly courageous missionary arrived by way of Tahiti and brought with him a native from Mangareva as well as six repatriated Easter Islanders whose presence actually enabled him to get ashore. The island population now proved to be extremely savage: “The people are horrible to look at. They are menacing, armed with lances, and most of them are naked. The feathers they wear as ornaments, the tattoo, the savage cries, give them altogether a dreadful appearance.” (Eyraud, 1864, p. 54.)

There was no thought among the local population of celebrating the return of the repatriated natives; along with Eyraud they too had their hands full guarding their belongings from theft by everybody present. In the nine months that followed, Eyraud constantly struggled to protect himself from violence and stealing. He reported that all the natives were thieves: “if some stole less it was due merely to the lack of opportunity.”

Eyraud was the first outsider ever to settle ashore and was subject to experiences that had befallen no other visitor. His first night was spent sleeping among the aborigines in one of their huts. In a letter to his superiors he reports (Ibid., pp. 59–60, 69):

“At daybreak, the first object I observed was a small house idol, to which they seemed to pay but little attention.” He later states: “...although I have always associated with them in the greatest familiarity I have not been able to discover any truly positive act of religious cult. In all the houses many statuettes are seen, about thirty centimeters high, representing male figures, fishes, birds, etc. They are undoubtedly idols, but I have not noticed that they have been attributed any kinds of honors. I have occasionally seen the natives taking these statues, lifting them into the air, making some gestures, and accompanying all of it with a sort of dance and an unimpressive song. What do they mean by that? I believe they do not know much about it. They do quite simply what they have seen their fathers do, without giving it any further thought. If you ask them what it means, they answer you as about their games, that such is the custom of the country.”

As stated, a rei-miro with a complete line of Easter Island inscriptions had reached New Zealand before 1851, but now the normal written tablets, kohau rongo-rongo, were observed for the first time by a foreigner (Ibid., p. 71): “In all their houses one can find tablets of wood or sticks covered with many kinds of hieroglyphic signs: these are figures of animals unknown on the island, which the natives trace by means of sharp stones. Each figure has its own name; but the little they make of these tablets makes me inclined to think that these signs, the vestiges of a primitive script, are for them at present a custom which they preserve without being concerned about the meaning.”

Eyraud recorded that the large, stuffed paina figures first reported by the Spaniards were brought forth at the annual spring celebrations at Mataveri, when an islander was selected to become the sacred bird-man of the year. When these important religious activities ended, it was customary to
resume instantly the destructive family feuds. The entire population was again involved in new island-wide pillaging and incendiary fires. “The chief, escorted by his men, falls upon the houses like a bird of prey. This is what has reduced the island to a state of utter distress,” wrote Eyraud. His own problems rose to a climax during this period. He locked up his property in a solid cabin he built of imported planks, yet most of his possessions were already stolen by his own native protector, Torometi, and he had the greatest difficulties guarding whatever little was left. In this connection Eyraud (Ibid., p. 133) makes some interesting remarks which have a direct bearing on the present study:

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

Although Eyraud refused, Torometi, aided by some relatives, obtained the keys to Eyraud’s cabin by force, and actually carried away all the portable property to a secret storage cave unknown to Eyraud as well as to the rest of the island population. This, then, becomes the first tangible evidence in support of the existence of secret storage caves, although their presence had been suspected by the Spaniards almost a century earlier.

Eyraud, having lost all his property, fled to another part of the island, but was soon fetched and literally carried back. He was finally stripped even of the clothes and shoes he was wearing, while some natives tore off the pages of his religious scriptures and tried to attach them to their own bark-cloth apparel.

After nine months Eyraud, shorn of all material possessions, was finally able to escape from the island on a casually calling schooner. He was brave enough to return in March 1866, accompanied this time by Père Hippolyte Roussel and three native Mangarevans. This event marks the establishment of a permanent European settlement on the island, even though the missionaries themselves were, in fact, once more driven away. Shortly after this second arrival of Eyraud, Père Gaspard Zumbohm and Frère Théodule Escolan were landed and the natives were talked into moving out of their reed huts and underground hideouts. The entire population, hitherto widely scattered, was concentrated in two villages, mainly in Hangaroa and some in Vaihu. There the first European-type houses were built as well as two small churches. Eyraud died on the island in 1868, just after the last islander had been baptized.

In 1866 these missionaries brought with them sheep, pigs, horses, cattle, donkeys, cats, rabbits, and pigeons, all of which made a profound impression on the inhabitants of an island where the rat was the only mammal and the chicken was the only domesticated animal.

Eyraud and his companions either showed a remarkable lack of interest in primitive art or else they abhorred pagan images and paraphernalia. Eyraud wrote his superiors that all the houses contained many statuettes and tablets of wood covered with hieroglyphic signs. After that, the other letters from the four missionaries were conspicuously silent on the subject. Naturally, the pagan heirlooms seen by Eyraud in the aboriginal huts upon his arrival in 1864 were not openly transferred into the new wooden houses of the baptized congregation. Undoubtedly, some tablets and wooden images were burned at the introduction of Christianity. Some of the scorched fragments of aberrant
figurines preserved in the Bishop Museum at Honolulu may represent the result of this destructive activity (Pl. 135 b, c). Father Zumbohm's native companion-traveler proudly told the Bishop in Tahiti that the Easter Islanders now lit their kitchen fires with their ancestral rongo-rongo tablets (Jaussen, 1893, p. 12). The natives on Easter Island, on the other hand, told Paymaster W. J. Thompson (1889, p. 514) that "the missionaries had ordered all that could be found to be burned, with a view of destroying the ancient records, and getting rid of everything that would have a tendency to attach them to their heathenism, and prevent their thorough conversion to Christianity." This missionary hostility towards pagan art objects which were of such profound value to their owners represented a sudden and bewildering interdiction to the Easter Islanders. For centuries all aspects of local art had been intimately associated with ancestral beliefs and traditional rituals. The profound belief in magic and mana linked with ancestor worship was at least as deeply rooted in the local community as elsewhere in Polynesia or on the nearest continent, but nowhere else were the people equally well provided with traditional hiding-places, for generations even kept secret from other families in the same community. The attempts of the arriving nineteenth century missionaries to destroy overnight all religious links with deceased relatives and supernaturals venerated on the island into the present century could hardly have been easy on an island honeycombed with family caves and hideouts. On the contrary, this sudden religious suppression might well be seen as a strong impulse for underground activity with the preservation of threatened heirlooms; perhaps even a stimulus to perpetuate in lava magic objects that would perish if carved in wood for underground storage, and be forgotten if not immortalized by those still familiar with them. After all, the faith in the foreign missionaries was so superficial that they were all subsequently driven from the island.

In fact, if it had not been for the wise interference of Bishop Tepano Jaussen in Tahiti, posterity might not even have known that written tablets had ever existed on the island. Through sheer coincidence, the Bishop received an incised tablet from one of the four Easter Island missionaries who had left the island for a short visit to Chile. The Bishop wrote as follows: "Father Gaspard Zumbohm, in passing through Tahiti to go to Valparaiso for a return voyage to Easter Island, presented me with braids of hair rolled around a flat piece of wood, 30 by 15 cm. big, but broken and damaged at the ends. My attention was immediately drawn to this piece of board where, on both sides, I discovered characters placed in lines and well designed. This sight did not then remind me of the statements of the dear Brother [i. e., Eyraud's letter referred to before] and the surprise of his friend Father Gaspard Zumbohm shows that Brother Eugène Eyraud had not shown a single tablet to the other missionaries on Easter Island, where he died on August 20, 1868. At the first opportunity I begged Father Roussel to gather together for me what he could find of these tablets, which from now on are useless to the natives." (Jaussen, 1893, pp. 12–17).

It remains a fact that during the first nine months' visit of Brother Eyraud to Easter Island, he managed to cause the images and inscribed tablets to disappear from all the dwellings so completely that, due to their absence and his own silence on the topic, the three missionaries who followed him on his subsequent return to the island did not for some time realize that script had ever existed locally. Zumbohm (1880, pp. 232–33) had been ignorant of the very existence of rongo-rongo until, on an excursion with native children, one of the boys found a weathered fragment of a written tablet on a cliff, and seeing the excitement of the missionary at this discovery, a native next day brought him a well-preserved specimen in exchange for a piece of cloth. Zumbohm was subsequently also shown a still larger and finer specimen, but while the barter was going on the piece suddenly disappeared into hiding never to be found again anywhere. The owner simply said it had been burned.

Would the shrewd Easter Islanders have burned or destroyed all their heirlooms as a result of the nine months' visit of a humiliated missionary whom they robbed and stripped naked? They certainly did
not burn all Eyraud’s possessions, and yet these disappeared forever from sight as quickly and effectively as did the images and tablets. For two centuries the Easter Islanders had been accustomed to make their portable possessions disappear in this manner from the surface whenever threatened with robbery or destruction. Father Roussel (1869, pp. 423, 424) wrote that, whenever war was declared on Easter Island, the natives had to prepare their weapons, “and to place all valuable objects in caches.” Even the well-informed Bishop in Tahiti apparently had some suspicion regarding objects, for he wrote about the tablets in the preface (p. 5) of an unpublished manuscript preserved at the headquarters of the Congrégation des Sacrés-Cœurs in Rome: “They write them no more; and if others are to be discovered in the future, it would be in the old stone structures, or in the caves.”

Father Sebastian Englert (1948, pp. 317–18), the first missionary to establish himself permanently on Easter Island after the final expulsion of the aforesaid pioneering group, wrote: “What has happened to the great number of tablets which Brother Eyraud still saw in 1864? . . . Eyraud saw numerous tablets in the houses when the epoch of wars had just ended. What has happened to these tablets? It is difficult to understand how they have disappeared. The most probable explanation is that they have been safeguarded in secret caves. . . . The secret caves served for hiding objects of value and of a sacred character, like the tablets.”

Father Roussel and his missionary colleagues, upon receiving the order from the Bishop, had the greatest of difficulties in tracing any tablets or images among their just converted congregation, who would naturally hardly dare to reveal that they had disobeyed the former order to burn the pagan objects. Yet such objects were still present in considerable numbers, and a great many were gradually to emerge from hiding and fall into the hands of profane visitors. In 1868, precisely when Father Roussel had received Bishop Jaussen’s urgent request to try to secure tablets, a Norwegian merchant captain, Petter Arup, called at Easter Island. As a non-clerical customer he immediately managed to obtain a variety of ancient images and artifacts, and also one of the by then presumably non-existent written tablets. When he showed his purchases to the missionaries, who actually lived on the island and frequented all the houses, Roussel was so keen on obtaining the rongo-rongo tablet that Arup presented him with his specimen, which then went to the Bishop in Tahiti (Nielsen, 1907).

As a result of these belated efforts by the four missionaries to save for their own superior what they had themselves already caused to perish among their congregation, they were eventually able to send to Bishop Jaussen five tablets and a total of about half a dozen other wood carvings of a sacred or ceremonial nature. Yet this was but a fraction of what later emerged from various hide-outs. On the basis of this very incomplete collection Jaussen (1893, pp. 8–12) attempted the first classification of Easter Island wood-carving art. He concluded that, apart from the written tablets, it was possible to enumerate five kinds, which he describes and also illustrates by line drawings (Fig. 6 b). These represent 1) an ua (anthropomorphic club), 2) an ao together with a rapa (a large and a small type of double-bladed dance paddle), 3) a rei-miro (moon-shaped pectoral), 4) a tahonga (egg-shaped pectoral), and 5) a moai (human statuette). Native Easter Islanders who were transferred to Tahiti told the Bishop that these wooden objects had served as emblems or ensignia of the learned men. Some were carried by the singers on the days of their solemn festivities.

Jaussen’s incomplete collection of type specimens was later sent to the headquarters of his Congregation, then in Belgium, now in Rome. Without attempting detailed classification, the Bishop added a brief reference to three distinct art forms executed in stone to his descriptions of the wood carvings. He also made sketches of these forms. His drawing of an Easter Island moai, or monolithic statue (Fig. 6 a), is so fanciful that it clearly reflects the fact that the Bishop never went to Easter Island. But his line drawings of a small stone sculpture (Fig. 6 c) and a group of rock paintings (Fig. 6 f) are just as realistic as those that represent his wood carvings and reflect the fact that he had either seen the
Fig. 6: Bishop Jaussen’s sketches illustrating his list of Easter Island art manifestations subsequently adhered to by most modern scholars. **a** a *moai* or stone statue with its *pukao* or topknot, drawn from imagination as a result of verbal reports from returning missionaries; **b** the categories of wood carving including a written tablet suspended from a cord; **c, d** double-headed *iuhonga*; **e** animal carved in high relief on a vaulted stone; and **f** rock paintings.
actual specimens or else copied drawings made by his missionaries. His only comment (Jaussen, 1893, pp. 10–11) on the two latter illustrations is:

"The artists, however, have always been hampered by the absence of wood, since it did not permit them to express the genius which they certainly had. One can see it in the sculptured lizard [Fig. 6 e], to which the artist, carried away by his own imagination, gives a nose, ears, a tail and some sort of wings. One can see it in the designs copied hurriedly by Father Roussel in a cave, representing four-legged birds in white, red and black, manu-avae e maha, and in a red and white trident. One can also see it in the rona* or ideograms of the artist Punakea. I know only those rendered here [Fig. 6 f], but the natives say that on the rock of Raraho, where only the artists or learned men have the right of access, one can still find a fine collection of rona or ideograms which they have engraved there." The animal of Fig. 6 e, captioned merely as "Sculptured lizard" by the Bishop, is carved to curve across the vault of what must be a loaf-shaped stone of the type illustrated for instance in Plates 229, 241 d, or 242 a. On Easter Island similar sculptures have never been found in wood, whether on the edge of a tablet, paddle, or other artifact, and although nothing is specified, we can only deduce that the material must be lava or tuff, since the animal sculpture is included together with rock paintings to show examples of Easter Island art encouraged by the lack of wood.

Bishop Jaussen was, in fact, familiar with the existence on Easter Island of a variety of small stone carvings of the same class of the lizard sculpture that he illustrated. This is proved by the fact that the archives of the Etnografiska Museet in Stockholm include an envelope containing photographs of the heterogeneous stone figures reproduced here in Plates 148, 149, 162, 163, and 181. They were obtained by the Swedish anthropologist Hjalmar Stolpe from Bishop Jaussen in Tahiti in 1884. The actual specimens were collected on Easter Island by the Gana expedition in 1870. The fate of the lizard sculpture illustrated by the Bishop is not known. Nothing similar occurs in existing collections antedating our visit to the island in 1955–56 when we actually encountered such lizard stones (Pls. 241–43).

Bishop Jaussen's attempt to decipher the rongo-rongo tablets in his possession is discussed on pages 203–5.

The visit of the Topaze in 1868

The Norwegian Captain Arup, who brought away from Easter Island a collection of pagan wood carvings including artistic fish and turtle heads not incorporated in Bishop Jaussen's type list (e.g., Pls. 52 d, 113, 114 d, 126 c, 129 b), far from exhausted the existing supplies. Immediately after his departure in 1868, the English battleship Topaze arrived from Peru, and the ship's surgeon, J. L. Palmer, possessed sufficient curiosity to make a personal investigation of the island archaeology as well as of the native customs and their pagan paraphernalia hidden from the missionaries.

In his various reports Palmer (1870 a, p. 111; 1870 b, p. 180; 1875, p. 287) says that he was shown a large variety of wooden effigies still carefully preserved by the natives. Those shown to him were wrapped in tapa and tucked away in niches, or even quite simply kept suspended in their wrappings from the ridgepoles of the native huts. He claims to have seen some wooden images of great antiquity, whereas others were only a few months old. In addition to human figurines, he saw a quantity of what he terms very odd and grotesque effigies carved to represent shark forms, lizards, a man with a tucan's bill in place of a nose, distorted fowls, as well as certain nondescript images. He says, "and from their decay, these must have been of extreme age."

* Misspelled rona in Jaussen's publication.
Fig. 7: Palmer copied the zoomorphic symbols he saw incised on the head of certain wooden figurines. a head of a portrait figure termed *moai kavakava* serving as base for the designs; b bearded faces with long ears, crowns, and the bodies of whales; c short-tailed quadruped with heart-shaped human head; d monstrous quadrupeds.
The natives apparently had a different attitude towards their stone figurines. In fact, the inquisitive surgeon recorded that they did possess small stone images, but unlike the wooden figurines these were not brought forth from hiding, and none was available for barter. The only information he was able to get was that these small stone images did not have elongated earlobes such as seen on the giant statues (Palmer, 1875, p. 287).

Palmer (1870 b, p. 173) was the first visitor to be shown some of the ancient and most artistically executed stone fishhooks also preserved by the natives as highly treasured possessions. Later, these exquisitely designed and smoothly polished hooks have been esteemed by several writers as the world’s finest examples of aboriginal stone shaping art (Beasley, 1928; Chauvet, 1936; Wilhelm and Hulot, 1957), and modern attempts at faking in softer stone are readily distinguishable. The specimens shown to Palmer, reportedly seven or eight centimeters in diameter, were retained by their owners and once more disappeared into hiding. A very limited number have subsequently found their way into the hands of collectors. Some remained in hiding until our expedition (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 416–26, 485; this vol., Pl. 15 f).

In spite of admitted efforts, the visitors from the Topaze had no success in locating any more of the written tablets. They brought to England two statues; one is of the standard Middle Period type, and the other, illustrated in Plate 5, is of the aberrant Early Period type.

Fig. 8: The drawing made by the English surgeon Palmer in 1868 shows that the final descent of quarry silt, partly burying the nearly finished images, antedated the early historic period, as the soil level has remained unchanged since (Palmer, 1869, p. 296).
The visit of the *O'Higgins* in 1870

Two years after the visit of the *Topaze* the Chilean corvette *O'Higgins* arrived from Valparaiso under the command of I. L. Gana. Three ancient written tablets suddenly came to light and were acquired by the Chileans, who were also able to bring back to South America the remarkable collection of small stone sculptures of which the Bishop later received photographs. A beautiful wooden cowrie shell, representing one more type missing from Jaussen's list, was also collected (Pl. 128). Although the missionaries were living on the island, the recently converted congregation was still so unacculturated that Captain Gana (1870, p. 32) reported that both men and women danced in the nude in public while performing "improper and immoral movements." Five years later the *O'Higgins* returned for a second call, this time under Commander Lopez. Most of the remarkable carvings referred to above are now preserved in Museo Nacional de Historia Natural in Santiago, Chile (Pls. 128, 148-51, 162-64 a, 170 b, 171 a, 181).

The expulsion of the missionaries and the visit of the *Vitjazj* in 1871

The same year as the *O'Higgins' initial visit, the first attempt at commercially exploiting the soil of Easter Island began with the unfortunate arrival of Dutroux-Bornier from Tahiti, who settled ashore in 1870 as a sheep rancher. He stirred up the still uncivilized natives to the point of resuming open raids that ended with another civil war. Native houses on both sides were once more burned and destroyed. The only two missionaries still left on the island were now compelled to depart for good, leaving it to the newly converted congregation to take over the church and continue religious ceremonies by themselves. A considerable number of the converts left the island together with the missionaries.

The unscrupulous Dutroux-Bornier and his associate J. Brander in Tahiti now agreed that they should transfer the remaining Easter Islanders to Tahiti, as Dutroux-Bornier wanted the island for himself and his sheep, whereas Brander needed people as laborers on his copra plantation in Tahiti. Dutroux-Bornier burned down their huts and had all their sweet potatoes pulled out of the ground three times, in an effort to persuade the starving islanders to leave.

Three months after the departure of the last missionaries in 1871, the Russian corvette *Vitjazj* stopped for two hours in Hangaroa bay, where they were visited on board by Dutroux-Bornier and two foreign helpers, who reported that there were now only about 230 islanders left, and that they expected a schooner from Tahiti to take away still more. The Russians, under the command of Miklukho-Maklaj (1872, Vol. 8), subsequently caught up with Father Roussel and his evacuated congregation on the island of Mangareva. They managed to obtain some fine old specimens of Easter Island wood-carving art, and this collection is today preserved in the ethnographic museum of Leningrad. Miklukho-Maklaj's Easter Island collection included two more written tablets, one of which was a gift from Bishop Jaussen in Tahiti.

The visit of *La Flore* in 1872

When Admiral de Lapelin called at Easter Island the following year with the French warship *La Flore*, the remaining Easter Islanders had once more returned to paganism. Julien Viaud, later famous as a poet under his pseudonym Pierre Loti, was a midshipman on board and left for posterity a number of important drawings from his visit (*e.g.* Figs. 9-12). Those actually made on the spot were remarkably
accurate, in contrast to a few fanciful compositions later made from memory. Of particular interest to the present study is the drawing here reproduced as Figure 10, showing two small stone images which now, in the absence of any missionaries, were openly placed as guardians on each side of the entrance to a reed hut. A cloaked and feather-crowned chief is armed with a typical *ua* club. Apparently the man who is about to enter the hut is similarly armed. Loti’s drawings, made a century ago, of the statues standing in the debris at the foot of the Rano Raraku quarries show them buried then to the very same depth as today. This is further evidence that the descent of débris from the abandoned quarries above was at that time already a phenomenon of the past. Since the drawings show that there has been no change in the silt level from 1872 to date, it is obvious that the débris had descended prior to 1872, and it is reasonable to assume that it had come down altogether in the first rainy season after the cessation of work in the quarries, about 1680. After this date the accumulated rubble would have been left abandoned in the quarries above the statues and no longer carried away to refuse mounds at the foot of the hill as had been customary while work was in progress (*Skjölsvold*, 1961, pp. 343–46, Pl. 42 a–c).
Fig. 10: Pagan art, such as stone images serving as guardians in front of reed huts and ceremonial *hu* -clubs in the hands of feather-crowned chiefs, had once more emerged from temporary hiding during Julien Viaud's visit in 1772. The missionaries, prior to their expulsion in 1770, had assured the Bishop in Tahiti that no more pagan art was left on Easter Island. (Repr. from orig. of Julien Viaud by courtesy of Ass. Int. des Amis de Pierre Loti.)

Fig. 11: Some unmolested *ahu* still had their rows of statues standing with topknots superimposed when Julien Viaud made his sketch in 1772. (Repr. from orig.)
Fig. 12: Julien Viaud’s drawing from the slopes of the image quarries of Rano Raraku in 1872, when compared to our expedition photograph from 1955 (Pl. 12 a), shows that no noticeable silt or humus has accumulated during almost a century. (Repr. from orig.)

The French expedition managed to bring back a couple of small stone images, in addition to an old *ua* club and a few other wood carvings, and some of these relics are now preserved in Rochefort and La Rochelle, France (Pls. 100, 102 a, 153 b, 157 d). Julien Viaud (alias Pierre Loti), and probably others with him, collected objects that subsequently reached private collections. One of his truly unique pieces was ultimately obtained by the late Dr. Stephen-Chauvet who published two illustrations and a description. This specimen, described by him (1934, pp. 310–11, Pls. 114, 115) as “an extremely old piece of *toromiro* wood”, represents a legless bird with a large human head (Fig. 65, p. 308).

The murder of the last European on the island in 1877

Dutroux-Bornier, who was responsible for the departure of the missionaries, was soon to become the prey of the very natives he had stirred up to return to savagery. In fact we learn from A. Pinart (1877, pp. 227, 238; 1878, pp. 196–209), who arrived as a passenger on board the French warship *Seignelay* on Easter day in 1877, that his party found a total population of only 111 natives, of which a mere 26 were women, and there was not one European left on the island. The islanders said that Dutroux-
Bornier had killed himself a few months earlier by falling off a horse while drunk. Later evidence showed the natives had murdered him and afterwards also slain his native wife, whom Dutroux-Bornier had attempted to proclaim queen of the island. The majority of the population had even wanted to kill his two young daughters, but the children disappeared completely with the help of an old native who brought them to his own secret cave. Their pursuers were unable to detect its concealed entrance and the old man kept them completely hidden from the rest of the community on the treeless island until the rage of the search parties had calmed down. He then brought them forth as imperceptibly as he had made them disappear (Thomson, 1889, p. 473; Knoche, 1925, pp. 176–77).

The visit of the Hyâne in 1882

After the assassination of Dutroux-Bornier in 1877 the Easter Islanders once again had the land to themselves for a short period, until Alexander P. Salmon arrived from Tahiti to succeed the murdered Frenchman. Salmon was an intelligent person who, as a half Tahitian, could communicate with the Easter Islanders in their own language which he had learned from those who had been brought to Brander in Tahiti. In the absence of the missionaries he took great personal interest in the remaining population and did much to improve their miserable living conditions. He also devoted considerable effort to observations of local customs and beliefs, and became the chief interpreter and informant for the important visitors to come next.

The first of these was Commander Geiseler who arrived in 1882 with the German sloop Hyâne. At the special request of Professor Bastian of the Kaiserliches Museum, the German vessel visited the island with the direct objective of undertaking the first ethnological studies among the Easter Islanders. Four days of organized investigations were carried out ashore, and Salmon helped the Germans secure a large collection of art and other artifacts which was subsequently distributed to various imperial museums throughout Germany (e.g., Pls. 92, 93, 95 a, 126 b, 127 c, e, 155 b, 156 e, 157 a, 172, 173).

Geiseler provides some of the most important early information on the existence and use of the small stone sculptures (1883, pp. 31–32). Referring to the introduction of Christianity some fifteen years earlier, he recorded that "hardly any memory of it was preserved." With Salmon as interpreter he learned (Ibid., p. 131) that the only two principal gods, Makemake and Haua, both unknown elsewhere in Polynesia, received first-fruit offerings on Easter Island. He was informed that Makemake was otherwise not directly worshipped, but received attention through the series of small wooden images still carried about in his honor at certain feasts. Geiseler recorded that these portable wooden figures, carried about in public and in the shapes of men, women, lizards, eels, etc., were collectively known as moai toromiro, or wooden images, as opposed to moai maea, or stone images. The latter sculptures belonged to another class and had a different function. Geiseler (Ibid., pp. 31–32) obtained the following information on moai maea: "The stone idols are now often merely from two to three feet tall and very crudely carved. In the majority of cases it is sufficient to carve a head with a face, and only these heads are carried into the dwellings. These images always remain in the huts, and are a kind of a family image, of which each family possesses at least one, whereas the wooden images were brought along to the feasts."

Through the aid of Salmon, Geiseler was able to observe some of these house images, or moai maea, and his party managed to secure some specimens for the museums in Berlin and Dresden. He refers (Ibid., pp. 49–53) to one specimen as being carved from red tuff, with its mouth painted white, and states that this type is "nearly only used by women." Another variety made from "white earth"
(probably white teatea tuff from the Poike peninsula) is described as being double-faced. Geiseler also saw a type of stone statuette about one meter tall, carrying proportionate topknots of red tuff, standing in front of some huts, probably as doorway images such as the ones earlier illustrated by Pierre Loti. According to Geiseler’s informants, “the cult of the wooden images is not supposed to be very ancient, and was only taken up after the manufacture and direct honoring of the old stone images of Rano Raraku began to cease.” Geiseler was also told that the custom of carving smaller house images and separate heads from stone was developed when the large statues were no longer manufactured (Ibid., pp. 14, 33).

In 1882 Geiseler saw some of the small carvings still in use. He once more states in this connection (Ibid., p. 44) that the influence of the departed missionaries had passed away, leaving almost no traces among the remaining population, and adds: “It was thus noticed that an old Easter Islander made the sign of the cross each time he was offered food on board, but at the same time he had the greatest faith in both his wooden and stone images, to which he paid honors.”

When they danced the natives stood on one leg while jerking the other in time with their song. Geiseler adds: “During the singing, a carved figure representing a woman is usually moved by the leader of the choir, also on one leg in time with the dance.”

The Germans also inspected the interior of some of the many ceremonial stone houses on the cliffs of Orongo, on top of the volcano Rano Kao. Here Geiseler (Ibid., pp. 17, 53) made the rather important discovery, unique for Polynesia, of some weathered stone heads inserted into the masonry wall. These heads were so old and corroded that they threatened to crumble on attempts to remove them. They have subsequently either become decomposed or completely destroyed by others. Fortunately, Paymaster Weisser made a drawing of one of these heads, and his illustration is reproduced here in Fig. 13.

The systematic Germans even began to excavate the floor of one of these ceremonial houses, and thus happened to dig up a small stone image, which was also so weathered that it broke at the neck. The Easter Islanders who were present identified this small stone sculpture as a house image of the moai maeca category, and added that this particular one was given certain honors at the time of the ripening of the bananas (Ibid., pp. 17, 53).

One of the most remarkable sculptures collected by this early German expedition was a large frog- or toadlike monster carved from hard basalt. It carried a cup-shaped depression on its back that presumably had some magico-religious function. The Germans were told by the islanders that this
unique piece was one of the oldest on the island and they specifically claimed that it dated from the earliest period of statue making (PIs. 172, 173). Basing his statements mainly on information gathered from the German expedition members and objects observed and collected by them on Easter Island, Andree (1899, pp. 389–90) subsequently wrote: “Objects from Easter Island are readily recognized among other figures from the Pacific area by their peculiar style, particularly one class which may be described as directly grotesque, and which is striking due to the distorted body position and a mixture of animal and human forms. A vivid imagination among the local aborigines, which is utterly independent and in no sense due to outside influence, has here produced figures which, as to boldness in interpretation, may compare well with the hybrids of animal and human forms of the ancient Egyptians or American Indians. Birds, lizards and fishes were included in compositions with human beings. The composite figures thus obtained, and others more common, in proper human form although distorted (often because of the growth of the chunk from which they were carved) were used as small house idols. Some were termed Moai Toromiro, wooden idols, to distinguish them from those carved from stone, called Moi Maiê. These small idols served the natives in their veneration of the great main god Mâke-Mâke. They were kept wrapped up in fibers or small bags, and were only brought forth and hung on the owners at the feasts for the god, when the latter was offered bananas, fish, and eggs. They were considered the most effective mediators between the realms of men and gods, and probably had even other functions not known to us, which decided their shape and general appearance. During the songs of three voices the idols were produced from their wrappings and were rhythmically moved in the arms. Next to the desire to be the owner of the largest possible quantity of idols, comes the wish to possess specimens with the finest possible execution, with the result that such a feast becomes a parade with the wooden images, with the more or less successful accomplishments arousing jealousy or scoffing.”

Fig. 14: Geiseler’s report (1883, Tafel 7) is also the first to illustrate the characteristic “weeping-eye” ornament of the religious paintings in the Orongo stone houses; a conventionalized motif common on Easter Island, unknown elsewhere in Oceania, and typical of wide areas of America, notably Tiahuanaco and Tiahuanaco-influenced areas (Fig. 47).
The visit of the *Mohican* in 1886

Four years later the most thorough investigation of aboriginal Easter Island life and customs up to this time was carried out by Paymaster W. J. Thomson, who arrived in 1886 with the U. S. *Mohican*. Thomson was still in time to gather many important details from old islanders who had already reached middle age at the time of the disastrous slave raid and the subsequent arrival of the missionaries.

Operating, like his German predecessors, with Salmon as his aide, Thomson (1889, pp. 469, 70) succeeded in obtaining two more of the ancient written tablets which emerged from hiding after great difficulties and much persuasion (Pls. 58 b, c, 59 b, c). He found the Easter Islanders still to be “superstitious to an extent that was extraordinary, and they were constantly under the influence of dread from demons or supernatural beings.” “Deified spirits were believed to be constantly wandering about the earth and to have more or less influence over the human affairs. Spirits were supposed to appear to sleeping persons and to communicate with them through visions or dreams. Gnomes, ghouls, and goblins were believed to inhabit inaccessible caves and niches in the rock and to have the power of prowling about after dark. The small wooden and stone images known as ‘household gods’ were made to represent certain spirits and belong to a different order from the gods, though accredited with many of the same attributes. They occupied a prominent place in every dwelling and were regarded as the medium through which communications might be made with the spirits, but were never worshipped.”

Thomson succeeded in obtaining one of these so-called “spirit stones,” which he brought to the National Museum in Washington together with the rest of his impressive collection. This specimen is carved as a goatee-bearded anthropomorphic monster standing out from a natural boulder (pp. 319–20, Pls. 168, 169). Thomson’s informants stressed the important distinction between the monumental, outdoor *ahu* images and the small household sculptures kept in the dwellings. He says with reference to the former (*Ibid.*, p. 498): “The images were designed as effigies of distinguished persons and intended as monuments to perpetuate their memory. They were never regarded as idols, and were not venerated or worshipped in any manner. The natives had their tutelary genii, gods, and goddesses, but they were represented by small wooden or stone idols, which bore no relation to the images that ornament the burial platforms.”

The American expedition discovered a large ruined village of non-Polynesian type, with elliptical stone houses which extended for more than a mile along the high bluffs of the northwest coast. Extensive landslides have subsequently carried considerable sections of this precipitous coastline into the sea with some of the best executed Easter Island ceremonial walls, and it has been impossible to relocate this important site seen by Thomson. Thomson (*Ibid.*, p. 486), claiming that these remains “bear unmistakable evidence of being the oldest habitations on the island,” adds: “An extremely interesting feature of these ancient ruins is the fact that each dwelling was provided with a small cave or niche at the rear end, built of loose lava stones, which was in a number of instances covered by an arch supported by a fair shaped key-stone. These recesses were undoubtedly designed to contain the household gods. . . .”

The non-Polynesian type of stone house village seen by Thomson’s party in 1882, and judged at the time to be the remains of the oldest habitations on the island, is not the only remarkable local site subsequently lost through coastal erosion. Ahu Ohau, one of the finest examples of Early Period masonry technique (Fig. 15), although partly destroyed when adjusted to carry Middle Period statues, was illustrated by Thomson and later also seen by Métraux (1957, p. 31), who wrote: “when we visited
it in 1934 a gaping fissure had already detached its right wing, and a few rainstorms would have been enough to send the mausoleum crashing down six hundred feet into the sea.” No trace of this important site was left during our visit to the area in 1955. Another ahu next to it, termed Hananakou by Thomson (1889, p. 502), has similarly tumbled into the sea in later years. He recorded: “This is an exceedingly fine platform, and contains some remarkably large stones. In the face of the main structure are huge blocks of igneous rock that appear to have once been fashioned into faces and figures, but now so destroyed by the action of the elements and perhaps by the hand of the iconoclast that the features can only be dimly traced.” Also of the obliterated Ahu Haahuroa near North Cape he says (Ibid., p. 504): “The huge facingstones of this structure have been thrown about as by some great convulsion of nature, and some of them bear evidences of having been ornamented with sculptured figures.” Describing Ahu Akahanga on the south coast the same writer (Ibid., p. 510, Fig. 19) figures a dressed facing-block decorated by an unidentifiable, presumably marine, animal, and says: “On the inland facing-wall there is a ground tier of grey volcanic stone finely dressed, and on this is a tier of tufa stones . . . and these are covered with hieroglyphics.” This finely dressed upper tier of red facing-stones of Ahu Akahanga are still to be seen (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, Pl. 72 c), but the relief motifs on this softer Puna Pau scoria are eroded beyond recognition. An ahu named Rikiriki, with a record number of sixteen fallen statues, was seen by Thomson on the perpendicular cliffs east of Rano Kao, but has also later tumbled into the sea through the gradual undermining of the waves, and on our visit only a section of one statue emerged from the talus above the surf at the foot of the cliff. Since it is not unlikely that the earliest sites were closest to the coast, many of Easter Islands most precious archaeological remains might thus have been carried away by tumbling land masses throughout the centuries.

Among the relief carvings and mural paintings in the ceremonial stone house village of Orongo, Thomson observed and illustrated some that have subsequently disappeared (Fig. 16). In his comment on two of his illustrations, here reproduced in Figure 16 a and b, Thomson writes (Ibid., pp. 481–82): “The most important sculptured rocks on the island are in the immediate vicinity of the stone houses at Orongo. As much time as possible was devoted to examining and sketching these curious relics. . . . The apparent age of some of the rock-carvings antedates the neighboring stone houses, the images, and other relics of the island except the ruined village on the bluff west of Kotatake Mountain. Fishes and turtles appear frequently among these sculptures, but the most common

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Fig. 15: Paymaster Thomson (1889) illustrated the remains of a modified Early Period ahu and described other archaeological structures including a non-Polynesian type of stone-house village, all subsequently lost through coastal erosion.
figure is a mythical animal, half human in form, with bowed back and long claw-like legs and arms. According to the natives, this symbol was intended to represent the god ‘meke-meke,’ the great spirit of the sea [Fig. 16 a]. The general outline of this figure rudely carved upon the rocks, bore a striking resemblance to the decoration on a piece of pottery I once dug up in Peru, while making excavations among the graves of the Incas.” Meke-Meke, properly Makemake, was the principal deity on Easter Island, and his crouching, feline attributes are therefore remarkable since both the god Makemake and any kind of feline are unknown throughout the rest of Polynesia. The following record by Thomson (Ibid., p. 451) is particularly worthy of note: “Natural caves are numerous, both on the coast-line and in the interior of the island. Some of them are of undoubted antiquity and bear evidence of having been used by the early inhabitants as dwellings and as burial places. It is reported that small images, inscribed tablets, and other objects of interest have been hidden away in such caves and finally lost through land-slides.” Thomson’s party was the first to attempt explorations of a series of Easter Island caves, and the following information was recorded (Ibid., pp. 486–91): “On the face of the cliff near the point, Ahuakapu, a large and interesting cave was visited. Many of the recesses and angles had been walled up and contained human remains. . . . Among some outcropping rocks near by, a cave was accidentally discovered, with a mouth so small that an entrance was effected with difficulty. Once inside, however, it branched out into spacious chambers that could shelter thousands of people with comfort. It bore evidence of having been used in former years as a dwelling-place. . . . “The caves of Easter Island are numerous and extremely interesting in character. They may be divided into two classes: those worn by the action of the waves, and those due to the expansion of gasses in the molten lava and other volcanic action. The process of attrition is in constant progress around the entire coast-line, and the weaker portions of the rock are being undermined by the incessant beating of the ocean. Some of these sea-worn caves are of considerable extent, but generally difficult of access and affording little of interest except to the geologists. The caverns produced by volcanic agencies are found throughout this island, and some were traced through subterranean windings to an outlet on the bluffs overlooking the sea. They are generally quite dry; the rain-water falling upon the surface occasionally finds its way between the cracks or joints in the solid rock, but these gloomy passages and chambers lack grandeur from the entire absence of stalactites and deposits of carbonate of lime. No glistening and fantastical forms of stalagmitic decorations exist here to excite the fancy and create in the imagination scenes of fairy-like splendor. The feeble rays of our candles were quickly absorbed by the somber surroundings, heightening the apparent extent and gloom of the recesses. Careful investigation proved that all of the caves visited had been used as dwelling-places by the early inhabitants. . . . “Many caves were reached after difficult and dangerous climbing, and were found to contain nothing of interest, while others of traditional importance were inaccessible from below, and we were not provided with ropes and the necessary appliances for reaching them from above. No doubt there are caves in this vicinity [Tama point] with contracted entrances that have been covered by loose rocks and intentionally concealed. One such cavern was found by accident. It contained a small image about 3 feet high, carved out of hard grey rock. It was a splendid specimen of the work and could be easily removed to the boat-landing at Tongariki.” The final destiny of this hidden cave sculpture is not known, as Thomson failed to include it in his catalogue of ethnographica, nor did he leave it with the Easter Island collection he brought to the Smithsonian Institution, the United States National Museum. Also ascribed to Thomson is a very remarkable Easter Island stone head with inlaid obsidian eyes, which is similarly lost although shown in an old photograph (Smithsonian Institution cliché no. 33810) here reproduced as Plate 156 i. In the
original photograph this stone head forms part of an Easter Island collection containing artifacts identifiable as specimens brought back by Thomson. Thomson (*Ibid.*, p. 465) finally had a noteworthy comment which explains the local attitude to theft: "The natives did not attach any moral delinquency to the practice of thieving. They had a god of thieving, and successful operations were believed to be accomplished under his patronage, and only detected when not sanctioned by that spirit."

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**Fig. 16:** Outdoor reliefs (a, b) and paintings on the slabs in the stone houses of Orongo (c–f) were drawn and published by Thomson (1889) before they were lost through erosion or destruction. a and b were given as examples of the most common figure, which according to Thomson (1889, p. 481) represents a feline animal "half human in form, with bowed back and long clawlike legs and arms", identified by the islanders as their supreme god, Makemake. Felines of any kind, and supreme gods with zoomorphic attributes, are unknown elsewhere in Polynesia, but in America, from Mexico to ancient Peru including Tiahuanaco, the artistic representation of the supreme god is a feline. The "weeping-eye" motif (c) appears among Thomson’s reproductions.
Salmon's introduction of commercial art

The great interest in Easter Island ethnographica displayed by the German expedition under Geiseler and subsequently by the Americans under Thomson gave Alexander Salmon, the only foreign settler, the idea of stimulating a regular production of folk art among the native population. He had personally followed the staffs of the two expeditions as interpreter and guide during their eager efforts to purchase wooden tablets, images, feather-crowns, and other artifacts, and witnessed how the available supply had been gradually exhausted. Partly for personal gains and partly to assist the poverty-stricken Easter Islanders, Salmon encouraged a renewal of the supply of the kind of objects that had been in greatest demand by the collectors: moai kavakava, moai pa'a-pa'a, rongo-rongo tablets, featherwork, and polished stone fishhooks.

Collections acquired on Easter Island after Thomson's visit in 1886, and especially after the regular visits initiated in 1888, can therefore be expected to contain commercial imitations. Any object brought from the island before this period may safely be regarded as genuine. Unfortunately, most early collections from Easter Island circulated in private hands for a generation or more before they found their way to any museums and were often catalogued with no entry as to original provenience. Cook and other pre-missionary voyagers left no descriptions in their logs other than the sparse remarks quoted earlier, that have made it possible to identify primarily the wooden hand illustrated in Plate 94. It may be assumed that part of the Easter Island art collected by Cook and the pre-missionary voyagers is lost to science, and part of it is included here but illustrated and described without provenience. The interest in Easter Island carvings stimulated by Bishop Jaussen was concurrent with a more general understanding of primitive art and the need to introduce proper catalogue systems in modern museum collections. The fortunate introduction of such catalogue systems has made it possible to compose the following list of Easter Island sculpture of aberrant types that were incorporated in public collections before 1886, or otherwise properly documented as having left Easter Island before that year:

Plates 16–23, 25–26 b, 27 b, 31 c, 35 b, c, 37–41, 45–46 b, 46 d–48 a, 51 a–52 b, 52 d–55 a, 56, 57 a–d, 58 b, c, 59 b, c, 61 b, 63 a, b, 65, 66, 71, 77 a, 80 a, 81 a, b, 86, 87, 89 b, 90, 92–95 a, 95 c–97 a, 98 a, 100, 102 a, 103–6, 108–13, 114 c, d, 115, 118 a, 121, 123 b, 125 a, b, 126 b, c, 127 a, c, e, 128, 129 a, b, 135 b, c, 142, 144 b, 148–51, 152 b, 155 b, 156 e, i, 157 a, d, 162–64 a, 168, 169, 170 b, 171 a, 172, 173, 175 d, e, 176 b, 181, 183 c.

Salmon's period of direct influence on the local productivity was brief. Only two years after Thomson's visit, Salmon left for Tahiti with his own accumulated collection of commercial artifacts.

Art in the period of Chilean Annexation

The year 1888 marked a turning point in the modern history of Easter Island. Three months before Salmon left the island for good, the Chilean Captain Policarpo Toro, who had earlier visited the island as a cadet under Gana in 1870, returned and officially annexed the hitherto unclaimed island for Chile. A flow of the recently produced wood carvings stimulated by Salmon now went back with the Chilean expedition to the continent. A brief attempt by Toro to colonize Easter Island with three Chilean families failed. The financial interests of the Brander-Salmon concern passed on to an English company, Williamson and Balfour, who sent a sheep rancher to the island. They leased nearly the entire island from Chile, and only a small area surrounding Hangaroa village was reserved for the natives and their cultivations. A fence was put up to divide the two areas to prevent excessive sheep
stealing, but after dark the natives were active all over the treeless island. They were able to steal several thousand animals per year and hoard their spoils in their secret underground hideouts until they were consumed.

At the beginning of the present century Mr. P. H. Edmunds, the representative of the British sheep company, for two decades was the only foreigner on the island, apart from a French carpenter who had been adopted by the natives. Edmunds occupied the bungalow left by the murdered Dutroux-Bornier on the plain of Mataveri near the Hangaroa village. The writer visited Mr. Edmunds, now an old man, in Tahiti in 1956 and learned that the Easter Islanders had often told him that “they had secret caves full of ancient things.” Some of them had promised to take him to such a cave, but in the end they always failed to find the hidden entrance. Only once did he get into a secret cave with obvious traces of recent storage, but there was nothing left when he arrived because somebody had been there before them and removed the contents to another cave.

When Edmunds left the island, a Chilean governor took over his Mataveri residence, and the headquarters of the new sheep ranger were transferred to Vaita in the center of the island. Thus, once more two foreigners lived on the island, but both in seclusion, separated from the native community. About the same time a Chilean naval vessel began to visit the island once every second or third year, and these changes stimulated a more rapid acculturation process.

The rare but fairly regular visits from Chile increased the demand for the flat female and emaciated male figures, and these favorite types, as well as a few other standardized forms already well known to the outside world, began to reach collectors both in Europe and America. Attempts were now also made to imitate the exquisitely carved and polished fishhooks (Pl. 15 f), but the result was far short of the quality of the original specimens. These had undoubtedly belonged to an early flourishing period in the island’s history and the Late Period sculptors were not used to carving them. It was different in the case of wood carving and featherwork since these products obviously belonged to the Late Period. Their traditional manufacture simply continued and can therefore hardly be considered imitation. In fact, the same individuals who had until now carved wooden images and paraphernalia for magical or ceremonial purposes carried on their work as before, but now for commercial purposes. This sometimes makes it difficult to draw a sharp distinction between “authentic” wood carvings and “replicas” from Easter Island in the late eighties. For this reason the writer has found it meaningless, if not impossible, to make up a rigid list of the large number of properly standardized nineteenth-century moai kavakava, moai pa’a-pa’a, clubs, paddles, etc. that have accumulated in museum collections throughout the world. These standard types are well represented in earlier publications, and therefore type specimens only, of known antiquity, are illustrated here (Pls. 24–59) apart from the many aberrant forms. However, generally speaking, a marked decline in workmanship, the use of imported wood, and the modification or omission of male genitalia make it possible in most cases to separate commercial from functional Easter Island wood carvings even when originating in the critical period of acquisitions beginning about 1888.

An examination of the commercial carvings that left Easter Island after 1888 shows an almost slavish repetition of previously known forms. Even the more unusual figures with straddling legs, double faces, two heads, turned necks, etc. commonly regarded as post-missionary inventions and fakes, do in most, if not all, cases represent imitations or repetitions of ideas known on the island before missionary times.

It is to be regretted that documented information on incoming material was highly inadequate in most museums until almost the turn of the century; many lists of inventory were initiated long after the foundation of the museums. In view of this, there is no reason to doubt that, among the museum specimens selected here for illustration, the majority of those preserved without properly dated proveni-
ences left Easter Island in pre-commercial times, or are at least as old as many early carvings accompanied by a written record. This may be judged in many instances from their degree of decay and the circumstances connected with their ultimate history.

In the decade of Chilean annexation, Easter Island was briefly visited twice by a certain Father Albert Montilon, who tried to reinforce the Christian faith and to persuade the natives to leave their deceased relatives undisturbed after burial in the Christian cemetery at Hangaroa. Montilon had learned that, even though everyone had been formally baptized, the native congregation was still under strong spiritual influence of pagan ancestral beliefs and customs. He had found that bodies properly interred in coffins at the cemetery were secretly excavated the following night and carried away either for deposit in ancient **ahu**, where they were occasionally rediscovered, or hidden in occult family caves, where nobody was able to locate them except the one person who knew the secret of the entrance. When he left for the second time, Father Montilon put Nicolás Pakarati, an islander from the Tuamotu group, in charge of religious services, but the habit of favoring a secret family cave as a burial place survived sporadically well into the present century.

In spite of the missionary efforts and the official annexation by Chile, life went on much as before on Easter Island into the beginning of the twentieth century. The ties with the past were still strong. As late as in 1890 the American traveler V. S. Frank (1906, pp. 193–94) recorded eyewitness reports from participants in an Easter Island cannibal ceremony. It had taken place when some Peruvian sailors were consumed together with island captives during an orgy in front of the last standing statue. Wood was brought and placed at its feet for a bonfire to illuminate the face of the image. The statue was probably the ten-meter-tall giant at Ahu Te-pito-te-kura, since it is thought to have been overthrown only a few years before the arrival of the missionaries (*Smith*, 1961, p. 204).

**The Chilean expedition in 1911**

With a shallow veneer of Christianity and Western culture the Easter Islanders entered the twentieth century.

In 1911 a scientific mission was sent by the Chilean government to establish a meteorologic and seismographic station on the island. The party was led by Dr. Walter Knoche, who also devoted much time to collecting information and artifacts from the natives, many of whom were former pagans and owners of genuine household images. The extensive collection of wood carvings brought back by Knoche clearly reflects the flourishing art of reproducing imitations of the now almost entirely exhausted or decayed supply of original pieces. His five heterogeneous and aberrant stone figurines, however, show that the idea of carving small stone models of the giant busts had not yet been developed. Although some of Knoche's **moai maea** were of the crudest type and partly fragmentary, his samples include a most remarkable specimen, outstanding in both design and execution (p. 319, Pl. 167). A photograph of Knoche's art collection was illustrated by J. Macmillan Brown (1924, Pl. facing p. 142) before its subsequent dispersal, but for some reason it did not include the unique head carved from black obsidian and illustrated by Knoche himself (1925, pp. 218–21, Fig. 32). Another apparently remarkable stone figurine was obtained on the island but lost or stolen before it was photographed. It is described by Knoche as follows (Loc. cit.): “Besides the stone monuments of the greatest magnitude are also found stone sculptures of the smallest dimensions. One of the latter of outstanding execution, carved as a relief figure in a hard light-red tuff, and somewhat recalling Greek art, was unfortunately lost by the author.” We can only guess today at the unspecified motifs of this lost relief figure, but may assume that it pertained to the general class of stone plaques first brought back

66
by the Gana expedition and subsequently encountered in great quantities by us. Although the native community was now nominally Christian, with the Tuamotuan catechist Nicolás Pakarati performing religious services, Knoche observed that old stone carvings still received a certain degree of veneration, and he suggested that this might be a sort of ancestor cult.

The Routledge expedition in 1914

When the British archaeological expedition organized and led by Mrs. Katherine Scoresby-Routledge reached Easter Island in 1914, there were still only two Europeans living ashore: the French carpenter and Mr. Edmunds, manager of the English sheep company. The latter now also served as the administrator for Chile. Routledge (1919, pp. 140–41) soon discovered the extremely thin veneer of European culture that had affected the Easter Islanders until then. She points out that rectangular plank and stone houses had been substituted for the former elliptical reed huts, but inside there was neither furniture nor private possessions; the occupants continued to sleep on the floor in company with their hens. The local wants, says Mrs. Routledge, “save in the matter of clothes, have scarcely increased since pre-Christian days. . . . Perhaps the greatest barrier to native progress lies in the absence of security of property; they steal freely from one another, as well as from white men, so that all individual effort is rendered nugatory.”

The natives continued to live as before, entirely self-dependent with regard to food supply. Their keeping of sheep and cattle was not permitted by Mr. Edmunds due to the impossibility of tracing theft.

Pakarati’s church services “form important functions for the display of best clothes, but it is difficult to say how much they convey to the worshippers.”

Routledge (ibid., pp. 191, 236–39) stresses that the islanders were marred by superstition and that there continued to exist a complete confusion of old and new religious concepts. She mentions that even the native catechist, Pakarati, was not quite sure how to distinguish between the Devil and God when it came to certain occult apparitions, and at one time he sent a letter to the Bishop in Tahiti to ask for help in classifying a certain supernatural being, which the Church then identified as God. She says that the islanders, through an occasional slip of the tongue, happened to use their ancient word attua to denominate their old deities, although this same word had now been adopted to mean the Roman Catholic god only. Old deities were therefore instead referred to as tatane, the islander’s way of pronouncing the introduced term “Satan,” or as aku-aku, the old local term for any kind of “spirit,” good or evil. She writes:

“Both these words, tatane and aku-aku, will be employed for supernatural beings, without prejudice to their original character, or claims to divinity: some of them were certainly the spirits of the dead, but had probably become deified; . . . They existed in large numbers, being both male and female, and were connected with different parts of the island; a list of about ninety was given, with their places of residence. No worship was paid, and the only notice taken of these supernatural persons was to mention before meals the names of those to whom a man owed special duty, and invite them to partake; it was etiquette to mention with your own the patron of any guest who was present. There was no sacrifice; the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of food only. Nevertheless, the aku-aku, in this at least being human, were amiable or the reverse according to whether or not they were well fed. If they were hungry, they ate women and children, and one was reported as having a proclivity for stealing potatoes . . . .”

The aku-aku could appear in human form, indistinguishable from other persons, or they could appear
as cockroaches, flies, crabs, etc. The aku-aku were not immortal, but could be killed. "Pan in the shape of tatane is by no means dead. Not only do such beings haunt the crater of Rano Raraku, but tales are told of weird apparitions at dusk which vanish mysteriously into space. There were no priests, but certain men, known as koromaké, practiced spells which would secure the death of an enemy, and there was also the class known as ivi-attua, which included both men and women. The most important of these ivi-attua, of whom it was said there might be about ten in the island, held commune with the aku-aku, others were able to prophesy, . . ."

One such ivi-attua, the old prophetess Angata, through her dreams stirred up the entire native population to lay claim to the whole local stock of sheep and cattle during a regular uprising which at one point threatened the lives of both the sheep rancher and the members of the British scientific expedition (Ibid., pp. 140-49).

Routledge recorded a whole series of contemporary stories as to the supernatural ability of various aku-aku whose names were given to her as well as their respective areas of activity on the island. Several were supposed to reside in the region of the Rano Raraku image quarries where she had put up her camp (Ibid., p. 193):

"I was later given the cheering information that a certain ‘devil’ frequented the site of my house, which was just on the image side of the boundary, who particularly resented the presence of strangers, and was given to strangling them in the night. These spirits, who inhabit the crater, are still so unpleasant, that my Kanaka maid objected to taking clothes there to wash, even in daylight, till assured that our party would be working within call."

The great commercial value of ancestral relics was now well known, and cave-hunting in search of hidden objects was, according to Routledge, the only form of work which the contemporary islanders really enjoyed. Shortly before the British expedition arrived, rumors had come from some old emigrant in Tahiti to the effect that "articles were hidden in a recess in the coast not far from the Cannibal Cave." and on Routledge’s arrival the population was busy searching; the neighborhood being dug over and ransacked by treasure hunters from the village (Ibid., p. 274). On the tiny islet of Motu-nui, off the southwest cape, some islander had just found an old stone image half a meter tall, hidden in a cave. This piece reached Chile just as Routledge passed through on her way to Easter Island, whereby she succeeded in procuring it in exchange for a blanket (Ibid., p. 261). The islanders claimed that this particular image (this vol., pp. 315-16, Pl. 158 a) was named Titahanga-o-te-henua and had served as a boundary stone. However, this information is probably invented since there is a very close similarity between this sculpture and the doorway guardians still in use during Julian Viaud’s visit forty-two years before Routledge’s arrival (Fig. 10).

On the same islet Routledge’s party subsequently entered two artificially prepared subterranean burial caves. No artifacts that could be removed were found left with the corpses, but three undetectable human heads projected from the stone wall of one of these vaults, sculptured in high relief and adorned with touches of red paint: "The one which was best wrought was twenty inches [ca. 50 cm.] in length, and projected some two to three inches from the surface of the wall; it had a pronounced ‘imperial.’ The sides of the cave were also adorned with incised drawings of birds." The second cave, too, contained corpses but no carvings except crude heads similarly attached to the wall, and Routledge (Ibid., pp. 274-76) concluded that belongings buried with the deceased were probably speedily stolen if found. She otherwise devotes an entire chapter to “Caves and Cave-hunting” (Ibid., Ch. 17):

"Easter Island, from its geological formation, is a land of underground cavities; . . . There are thus formed grottoes and crannies innumerable; they were used, as has been seen, for sleeping-places and for burial, and they also came in handy as treasure deposits. . . . We daily examined such caves and
grottoes as came under our notice; ..." She speaks of "our inability to reach the most thrilling of the caves, which are half-way up the great sea-cliffs; they can be seen from the ocean, and are known to have been used, but the original track has either been washed away by the encroaching waves or lies in a tumbled mass on the beach below. ... We finally, however, gave up the idea of attempting to reach them; it would have been possible, no doubt, to have done so from the top, with a rope and experienced climbers, but a certain amount of danger would have been inevitably involved, and considering the smallness of our numbers and the circumstances, we felt it unwise to take the risk of accident. We do not believe, in view of our experience elsewhere, that they are likely to contain anything of material value, but, in any case, they remain unrioted for our successors.

"Articles which were considered of value by their owners were kept, not in these larger caves, but in little holes and crannies where they could be easily concealed. This practice still continues, both for legitimate and illegitimate purposes; it made, for example, impossible to trace the stores which were stolen soon after our arrival. The natives are naturally secretive, and do not confide the whereabouts of their hiding places, so that when a man dies his hoard is lost. One old leper, who was said to have some five tablets, reported to his friends that when Mr. Edmunds was making a wall on the estate, the men went so near his cache that he was in momentary dread of its discovery, but they passed it by; he died soon after, and all knowledge of it was lost. The most tragic story is the authenticated one of a man who disappeared with his secret store. He had been bargaining with visitors, and went to fetch for sale some of his hidden possessions; he was never heard of again. Presumably some accident happened, and he either fell down a cliff or was buried alive. Sometimes a man on his death-bed will give directions to his son as to where things are hidden, but natural landmarks alter, and this information seems seldom sufficient to enable the place to be recognized; treasure-hunting on Easter Island is therefore a most disappointing pursuit, as we found to our cost. Soon after our arrival a man died in the village who was said to have things hidden among the rocks on a part of the coast not far from the village. His neighbors turned out to dig. We offered high rewards for anything found, which were to be doubled if the objects were left untouched till our arrival on the scene, and we wasted much time ourselves superintending the search, but nothing appeared. A young man volunteered the information that he had a cave on Rano Kao where his father had hidden things, and another half-day was spent in riding to the spot; the whereabouts had only been described generally, and he could not find the place. ... An interesting, but equally futile, expedition was made to look for a tablet, said to have been hidden by a rongo-rongo man near Anakena; the cave in this case proved to have an entrance like a well, artificially built, and to be a long, natural, subterranean chamber. There were certain traces which might have been those of decayed wood, but nothing more. We subsequently discovered that this sort of thing is usual; the natives possess, not 'Castles in Spain,' but caves in certain localities which they speak of definitely as 'theirs,' but which are quite as reluctant to materialize as any southern château. Mr. Edmunds assured us, with amused sympathy, that his initial experiences and disillusionment had been precisely similar to our own. The natives themselves, nevertheless, continue to hunt with undiminished zeal for these hidden articles, ..."

Routledge herself, however, was less optimistic than the local natives and concluded her cave chapter with the following words: "There may still be accidental discoveries in grottoes of forgotten hoards, or a few things treasured in this way by old men may be disclosed, but personally we are persuaded that the secret of this land must be sought elsewhere than in its caves."
Visit by Skottsberg in 1917 and Macmillan Brown in 1923

When the Swedish botanist Dr. Carl Skottsberg made a ten-day botanical survey of Easter Island in 1917, a native guide confided to him and his companion, Dr. K. Bäckström, that he was the owner of a secret cave in which were stored ancient objects. The visitors set out with their informant to inspect his treasures, but somehow, in approaching the area where the cave entrance was supposed to be located, the islander suddenly lost courage or interest and nothing materialized (Skottsberg and Bäckström, *viva voce*).

J. Macmillan Brown, the British traveler, camped ashore for a period of five months in 1923, but discouraged by Routledge’s negative experiences he was not tempted to duplicate her cave-hunting efforts. He reproduced (1924, Pls. facing pp. 152, 166; this vol., Pl. 177 a) a carved stone fish, however, which was reportedly found under an ancient wall that had fallen. Brown (*ibid.,* p. 158) considered this stone fish as probably being one of the totemistic figures of the class including fish, birds, etc., that he said Eyraud had originally found in all the houses. He suggests that these stone figurines, like the simple charm stones, may have been used for the magic increase of the animal food they stand for, but that they dropped out of the fancy of the contemporary people once the new religion was adopted, and once they found that traditional polished wood carvings had a better market.

The Franco-Belgian expedition in 1934

In 1934 the Franco-Belgian expedition arrived with Henri Lavachery as archaeologist and Alfred Métraux as ethnologist. Lavachery carried out the first survey of Easter Island petroglyphs. Previous investigators had commented only briefly on a few conspicuous samples of this local art expression. Lavachery now discovered and described 104 different groups of petroglyphs located in fourteen different regions of the island. His important two-volume study of this formerly ignored aspect of aboriginal Easter Island design (*Lavachery, 1939*) is so exhaustive that, with the exception of some individual petroglyphs encountered through excavation by our expedition (*Mulloy, 1961, pp. 117, 157, Pl. 12 a; Smith, 1961, pp. 203, 257, 259, Figs. 57 c, 70; Ferdon, 1961, pp. 231–32, Fig. 63 b, Pl. 39 d; Skjølsvold, 1961, pp. 351–53, Pl. 44 a–c; this vol., Pl. 14 c), very little of importance remains to be added today, and for this reason petroglyphs are not included in the present art survey. A few samples selected from Lavachery’s volume merely to illustrate the general range of style and motif, are reproduced here without regard for the manner in which the motifs are grouped together on the slabs and promontories in the field (p. 16, Fig. 17).

Through the courtesy of Dr. Lavachery, certain line drawings made for him on Easter Island in 1934 by the expedition’s informant, Juan Tepano, are reproduced here for the first time in Figure 18. Tepano made these drawings to illustrate certain ancestral types of “masks,” but as Easter Island masks were not preserved and not then with certainty known to have existed on the island, Lavachery and Métraux did not trust Tepano’s authority on this unexpected piece of information. Yet, Métraux (1940, pp. 255, 265) recorded the aboriginal local word for “mask,” *manu-ura,* and Lavachery carefully retained Tepano’s aberrant designs in his unpublished archives. When confronted with the stone masks obtained by our expedition on the same island twenty-two years later, Lavachery immediately remembered Juan Tepano’s drawings and produced them from his private collection. Juan Tepano was no longer alive at the time of our visit to the island, but a comparison of Figure 18 with the sculptured masks reproduced in Plate 295 clearly seems to demonstrate that he must either have seen these stone sculptures by 1934 or else had access to other hidden objects of the same design.
Fig. 17: Lavachery (1939, 2 vols.) carried out the first systematic field survey of Easter Island petroglyphs, and thus shed light on a new aspect of local art. a–l represent a variety of masks and other designs selected at random to illustrate the imagination of the artists.
Fig. 18: Juan Tepano, the Spanish-speaking informant of the Franco-Belgian expedition, insisted that his ancestors had used masks termed manu-uru, and he drew samples for the expedition members. The crowned head vaguely outlined upside down second from the left compares remarkably with Tepano's wood carving and the hidden cave sculptures encountered by us long after Tepano's death (Pl. 295).

Today it seems increasingly clear that masks made from tapa were actually once in use on Easter Island (this vol., pp. 190–91, 238), and Métraux (1940, p. 265) indirectly accepted this traditional claim when he recorded that the Easter Islanders had a term for masked people that was identical to the one used for the tapa figures: "The bark cloth images were made over frames of reed, and were called manu-uru, a name given also to kites, masks, and masked people. According to my principal informant [Tepano], there were two of these images, one on either side of the door. Tepano protested violently against the statement of Brown (1924, p. 134) that the images housed spirits or akuaku. He insisted over and over again that the manu-uru had no significance at all, that they were only ornaments of the house and that nobody but children or women were afraid of them. But one must not discard entirely the possibility that some supernatural power was attributed to the images. Very likely they were believed to protect the dwellers of the house against evil spirits."

Métraux goes on to show that only three of these stuffed reed-and-tapa images are preserved (this vol., Color Pl. IX, Pls. 16–21), and he justly states (Ibid., p. 345) that they may be models of the aforesaid paina figures, which were almost 4 m. high and permitted a man to climb into them. None has been preserved to present time.

The topic of body painting and tattooing is exhaustively dealt with by Métraux (Ibid., pp. 236–48). He also devotes full attention to the few standard types of wooden images and ornaments and shows that in their conventionalized forms they set Easter Island wood-carving art notably apart from that of
the rest of Polynesia (Ibid., pp. 230–36, 249–63). He describes the crescent-shaped rei-miro and the egg-shaped tahonga already listed by Bishop Jaussen but adds that other types of wooden pendants had also been worn by the Easter Islanders. These include, he says, ornaments or charms carved in the form of a turtle head, a human foot, an octopus, a sow bug, and possibly even of a wooden phallus.

In classifying the wooden images he adds to Jaussen’s old list only a brief reference to double-headed images (moai aringa) and the one aberrant bird-man image shown here in Plate 135 d. Referring collectively to all other aberrant wooden figurines as a class that he terms “Grotesque Images,” he devotes less than half a page to this topic (Ibid., p. 255), in which he reports only five specimens known to him. He states with his informant Tepano, that such images have the appearance of ugly, monstrous beings and are termed manu-uru, like the tapa figurines.

Métraux has not much more information to add about the stone figurines, moai maea. Speaking of good-luck charms, he says (Ibid., pp. 263–64): “The magic significance attributed by one of my informants to the signs on the tablets probably derived from the fact that the natives consider as talismans or amulets every stone with an incised figure. Numerous boulders with engraved designs on them have been found on the island. . . . The carved figures might have increased the magic power of the stones or simply distinguished them from ordinary boulders. . . . Natives still remember that formerly fishermen carried in their canoes stones selected for their shape which were supposed to

![Fig. 19: Lavachery illustrated some examples of human heads sculptured in high relief on solid rock. The head at the left is carved and painted on the wall of a cave on the islet of Motu-Nui; the one at right is a giant head carved on a bluff at the Poike peninsula, with an open mouth formed by a natural cavity (repr. from Lavachery’s orig. water-colors now in the Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo).](image-url)
bring luck. Some looked like fish, others like cocks, and some suggested the form of a man. They were called maea ika (stones for fish)."

Métraux illustrates two such “good-luck objects” skillfully carved from stone, describing one as a stone turtle and the other as a stone cock head (this vol., Pls. 174, 175 b, p. 321).

As to human representations in stone he says (Ibid., pp. 298–300): “Small stone images are scarce and differ widely in style from the ordinary Easter Island statues, but they are probably ancient for they were collected before the curio industry was fully developed on the island. These images have an uncarved, sometimes pointed base which was probably stuck into the ground. Their size corresponds to that of the small pillars erected at the entrance of an ancient stone hut of Ahu-te-peu. The stone houses at Orongó had the doorways ornamented with carved heads in a similar crude style. . . . Small stone idols were certainly carved in former days as evidenced by an image (21 cm. tall) procured from a native who found it near Ahu-te-peu. The statue is made of a very light, soft basalt. Either the features of the face were never carved or they have been obliterated. The long ears are well marked. The flexed arms are crudely indicated.” Excluding the small imitation busts which had by now become part of the common souvenir production on Easter Island, Métraux is left with the erroneous impression that small stone images “which really belong to the old culture are rare and cannot be regarded as a normal expression of the local art.”

In an open cave known as He-u near Puna-marengo, Lavachery (1939; Vol. 1, pp. 23, 102; Vol. 2, p. 131, Pl. 42) and Métraux (1940, p. 271) discovered the many still existing goggle-eyed and goatee-bearded human masks that project from the walls in high relief in the same fashion as the human heads in the Motu-nui burial cave visited by Routledge. They had more luck than she had, however. Turning over the natural boulders on the floor of this cave they found two of them to be portable sculptured figurines, apparently somehow forgotten or lost by their one-time owner. One was the big-eyed human mask with peculiarly sagging upper cheeks (p. 311, Pl. 154 d). The other was described as being “of the same dimensions, and probably wearing an identical design,” but it was not collected due to an extreme state of deterioration.

Both Métraux and Lavachery emphasized the local fear of ancestral spirits, or aku-aku, which apparently still haunted the Easter Islanders with undiminished strength. Their die-hard superstition may well be attributed to their isolated life in the ever-present shadow of the giant images, their entire world being somber caves and naked, treeless plains filled with large ancestral monuments and ruins.

At the time of the Franco-Belgian expedition no missionaries had yet come back to live on the island, the last ones being expelled in 1870, and the natives were still in charge of their own religious services.

About the surviving beliefs in akuaku Métraux (Ibid., pp. 316–20) reports: “. . . all the akuaku of high rank were supposed to haunt a particular spot on the island and maintain connections with the people living near by. They were supernatural beings who belonged to a certain district or family. A few of them were real gods, others were demons or nature spirits, and others were spirits of deified dead. All lesser gods are now grouped under the general term akuaku, which is applied also to the spirits of the dead when they appear as ghosts. Minor gods are still designated by a name and given residence and some of them by a personality defined in myths or tales. . . . Some akuaku were embodied in animals, in natural or artificial things, or in phenomena. . . . The akuaku received an offering each time an umu (earth oven) was opened in a house they favored with their visits. Before starting the meal, the host or some important guest would say: ‘This is for such-and-such an aku-aku—’ I understand that a small portion of the meal was presented to the god or the spirit, . . . The spirits had long talks with men or women who succeeded in winning their confidence. They foretold the future, announced impending dangers, and revealed secret things. I was told by Viriamo’s son
that in her youth Viriamo had been seen at night speaking familiarly with the two spirits, Tare and Rapahango. The voices of these spirits were always high-pitched and recognizable. When the akuaku were in a house, those who wanted to have an interview with them or make offerings to them had to crawl into the hut backwards. . . . Even now the akuaku interfere in the daily life of Easter Islanders. A girl who was attending our camp and who had been to the well to draw water came back shivering and white, telling us that an akuaku had taken the pail she had left on the edge of the well. Actually one of us had carried it home. Tepano told me with the greatest seriousness that an akuaku had stolen his waistcoat with his watch and that he never found them again, although he was sure that nobody was near the place where he had left his clothes and where, he added, his cousin had died. Every man on the island will tell you that he has at some time met an akuaku. . . . The cats which roamed around our tents at night were considered spirits, and they were greatly feared. When their cries were heard too near or were too dismal, the terrified natives resorted to prayers and spent the night reading sacred books."

With Routledge's experiences in mind, the Franco-Belgian expedition made few attempts at locating secret caves. Lavachery (1935, pp. 96-98) wrote: "From the first days the Easter Islanders told us about caves where some grand-father had deposited his most precious objects. Unfortunately, these old people always forgot to designate clearly the locality before they died. Thus their descendants were tortured in vain by their imagination. The most inaccessible holes are naturally reputed to be the richest ones. A great many caves have never been

Fig. 20: Lavachery's water-colors also included mural paintings from the slabs in the Orongo stone houses, notably the "weeping-eye" motif (repr. from Lavachery's orig. now in the Kon-Tiki Museum).
penetrated by anybody. They are half way up certain precipices.” At least in one case, however, the expedition was persuaded by native informants to search for such a treasure cave which was specifically said to be located half-way down the perpendicular cliff on the seaside, right next to the ancient walls of Ahu Tepeu (Ibid., p. 97). Métraux and Juan Tepano found a long way round which took them to the foot of this precipice, while Lavachery helped Pakomio and Toma Tepano descend the overhanging rock by means of a rope 150 m. long. When the two exhausted native climbers finally reappeared on the cliff’s edge, they reported they had found a cave, but that it was not the right one, and therefore the right one had to be a bit farther towards the north. No attempts were made to shift the rope’s position, however, and Lavachery, losing faith in his informants, adds: “The cave they visit is never the right one. The repeated failures only strengthen their opinion that there is another one that contains marvellous things.”

It is relevant to add that, in 1956, in precisely this same cliff face next to Ahu Tepeu and, in fact, slightly on its north side, Mulloy and his island guide descended by rope and discovered a cache containing some of the most remarkable stone figures obtained by our expedition. All were found hoarded in a deep crevice and were thickly covered with cobwebs and an ancient coat of very fine aeolian dust (this vol., pp. 129–31, Pls. 187 a, 188, 189, 204, 205 a, 232 b, 257 b, 261 a, 264 f, 276 b, c, 277, 288, 289, 291).

Father Sebastian Englert’s re-establishment of the mission on the island

In 1935, shortly after the departure of the Franco-Belgian expedition, the Capuchin missionary Father Sebastian Englert arrived from Chile. This event marks the first permanent establishment of a Christian mission on Easter Island since Lay Brother Eyraud and his associates made their dramatically interrupted attempts about seventy years before. Englert encountered a population living in isolation, still very much unaffected by the outside world apart from a very brief yearly visit by a Chilean naval vessel. It was no easy task for Father Englert to abolish completely the deeply rooted tolerance, if not direct admiration, for successful theft. The renewed efforts to eliminate the fear of aku-aku were greatly impeded by the mentality of the congregation, which was still under the obvious influence of a living generation brought up by pagan parents. In fact, Englert (1948, p. 53) states that one of the old women still living had been born some twenty years before Eyraud’s first arrival on the island. Father Sebastian encountered a generation of Easter Islanders torn between two distinct faiths. They had a genuine faith in the teaching he and the earlier missionaries tried to impose upon them, and at the same time they retained a profound respect for a pagan ancestry that had filled the island with relics of seemingly superhuman achievements. The missionaries taught them that supernatural beings such as angels and devils had always existed and that the ancient sculptors had communicated only with devils. The islanders concluded that not God but the Devil had assisted their forbears in transporting and erecting stone giants that the Christian teachers were unable to move an inch. Foreign visitors marveled even more than the local population at the cyclopean ruins and stone giants that met the eye everywhere. The spirits of these former non-Christian architects, and the “tatane” or aku-aku that helped them, were to these island people at least as real as the Christian angels and devils, and the difference between the former and present concepts of supernaturals became to most Easter Islanders a matter of linguistics only.

The aboriginal population needed a special permit from the administrator each time they had a legal errand outside the restricted village area, since the rest of the island was out-of-bounds due to the undiminished theft of sheep. Even though the Easter Islanders were all clustered together in their native
village at Hangaroa, with the Chilean administrator residing alone in Mataveri, they all recalled the area from which their own specific clan had derived, and the clan’s tutelary spirit, its aku-aku, was still said to reside there. Englert (Ibid., p. 52) writes:

“Until the present day some natives recall the personal name of the specific akuaku which was a sort of a protecting genius to their own clan, and they do not only remember the name, but even maintain the belief in these tutelary spirits. One could say that there existed a kind of totemism.” He points out that some of the carved figures represented the aku-aku, and states (Ibid., p. 169): “These figures were kept near the entrances to houses and caves to obtain the protection of these spirits.”

Englert (Ibid., p. 268) cites traditions claiming that the custom of carving small stone figurines antedates the arrival of their ancestors at Easter Island: “The most renowned talisman was a stone carved in the shape of a small statue which according to tradition was brought by a certain Teke who came from the Fatherland with Hotu Matua [the legendary island discoverer]. It was first kept in his house near the beach in Hangaroa, but was stolen and finally came to the region of Mahatua. There it was kept in hiding in what is now the land of Te Kohou, uncle of old Nicolás Pakarati.” The natives ascribed to this imported stone statuette the supernatural power of bringing fish towards the coast, and it had reportedly been seen in operation by one of Englert’s old informants.

The importance of the caves in the secret life of the Easter Islanders did not escape the attention of Englert (Ibid., p. 224):

“There also existed secret caves that were the property of particular families, and only the principal persons in a family knew the entrance to their respective secret cave. These served for hiding objects of value, like the inscribed tablets, ‘kohau rongorongo,’ or statues. The secret of the precise whereabouts of the entrance is buried in the grave with the last survivors from the antique era, as in the case of old Paoa Hitaki.” Further (Ibid., p. 318): “The secret caves served to hide away objects of value and of a sacred character, like the tablets. Some decades ago an old man, Paoa Hitaki, one day brought the native Juan Araki to Rano Kao. He did not permit him to descend to the bottom of the crater, and he ordered him to prepare a sacrificial earth oven with chicken and sweet potatoes; he made a circular demarcation line, and strictly forbade him to go outside this area. He descended alone into the crater, disappeared behind rocks and trees, and after a long while he returned, carrying in his hands a well preserved tablet. ‘Seven kohau rongorongo were pulverized in the cave,’ he said, ‘this is the only good one.’ Down in Hangaroa he gave the tablet to the administrator of the Company who lived in Mataveri at that time. Soon after he became sick, had mental disturbances, and died. The cause of his illness and death was attributed to his having fetched and disposed of the tablet.”

Englert’s reference to the preparation of a sacrificial earth oven with chicken and sweet potatoes before a person could enter a secret storage cave is worthy of notice. The sacrifice can only have been meant for the family aku-aku guarding the cave. In another chapter on superstition and talismans (Ibid., pp. 267–68) we hear that sacrificial ovens, termed umu takapu, were prepared for good luck. Again we learn that it is chicken and sweet potatoes that are being baked below ground, and when the vapor of these baked offerings emerges from the earth oven nobody must approach except the person whom the umu takapu is meant to benefit. The inhaling of the odor of this food by anybody else will reverse the luck.

As mentioned earlier, Englert was convinced that upon the arrival of the first missionaries, the sacred objects were stored away in secret caves to prevent “profanation” by falling into the hands of strangers. An islander even told him that the aku-aku showed fright when the first missionaries arrived, and asked the human beings “to hide them away under their cloaks.” (Ibid., p. 168). He notes that extremely few written tablets are preserved throughout the world, and writes (Ibid., pp. 317–18): “The question is forced upon us: Where are they now, the numerous tablets which
Brother Eyraud still saw in 1864? . . . Eyraud saw a great number of tablets in the houses, when the epoch of the wars had at last almost terminated. Where are these tablets now? It is difficult to understand how they could disappear. The most probable is that they have been safeguarded in secret caves. The missionaries who received orders from Bishop Jaussen to collect tablets could obtain very few. . . . In this manner it can be explained that one of the old men showed an authentic tablet to a now living native, under the strict promise that he should not reveal its existence and that, notwithstanding this precaution, he later burned the valuable object in superstitious fear. . . . Today the natives have finally lost this fear and would gladly have had profitable business with inscribed tablets. But they do not know the entrances to the secret caves; and if they should have known them, there would be little hope of finding well-preserved tablets in caves which are humid and without ventilation.”

The magico-religious nature of these occult family caves is shown by the fact that, even in the twentieth century, some old people, when they felt death approaching, would steal away from their homes to die in hiding with their secretly inherited family treasures. Englert (Ibid., pp. 52–53) writes: “A woman named Marate asked her nephew to carry her to a secret cave the entrance of which she was going to show him. She told him that as payment for this ultimate service he could remove some of the ancient objects from the cave but that after he had placed her inside, he should close the entrance to the cave again. As the nephew did not arrive on the very day she had fixed for her transfer, but one day later, the condition of the woman had deteriorated to such an extent that it was no longer possible to fulfill the plan. This occurred in the year 1922. Another old man left home several times with the intention of hiding himself before death within his own land, but each time his relatives found him and brought him back to the house where he finally died. Only one of the old men, a certain Andrés Teave—grandfather of those who have now adopted the family name Chávez—succeeded in fulfilling his desire. He went out one night from his house and was never seen again. Nobody succeeded in finding even the slightest trace of him. His relatives searched in vain for him in the area of Hanga Oteo, the region of his clan. He had hidden himself to die in one of these secret caves which had an entrance that was unknown.”

Hanga Oteo is the very locality where our expedition was helped to descend to a cliff cave containing human skeletons among an exceptionally fine collection of stone sculptures (pp. 107–11).

Summary: historic records of secret caves

It appears from the above survey of written records preceding our expedition in 1955–56 that secret caves used for the hiding of people and property have had an important function in Easter Island community life. The fact that this characteristic feature has been overlooked by Polynesianists must in part be attributed to the occult nature of any hiding place, the value of which directly depends on discretion and secrecy. For those who know Easter Island only through the published literature, the references to secret storage caves assume a continuity and importance only when extracted and assembled in a special symposium as for the first time attempted above. If we reconsider the records quoted in the previous pages, the following points will stand out as a relevant background to our own unprecedented experiences on the island in 1955–56.

The first discoverers, both the Dutch and the Spaniards, referred to the Easter Islanders’ exceptional aptitude as thieves and suggest that there must have been hiding places in the treeless landscape. The Spaniards directly suspected that the stolen objects were concealed below ground since they never afterwards saw the property that had been lost or donated. When subsequently Captain Cook arrived
among a war-ridden and starving population, beautifully carved wooden figurines and dance paraphernalia emerged for the first time and were offered for barter. They disappeared again before the arrival of the Frenchmen, when the women came forth from hiding for the first time and barter was once more restricted to vegetables. The islanders now let the Frenchmen enter some of their underground dwellings but without showing them a single carving or written tablet. When the first missionary came to settle ashore, his entire property was carried away into hiding in his local guardian’s personal secret cave and was never found again either by the owner himself or the other Easter Islanders. The first missionary was permitted to see that the native dwellings were full of images, some even representing animals unknown on the island, as well as written tablets all of which disappeared as he moved the islanders to Hangaroa and imposed Christianity upon them. He now stated that everybody on the island always hid whatever they possessed in secret caves; that, in fact, the whole population could disappear from the surface of the island at a moment’s notice, and that the narrow openings to these deep caves could be successfully concealed with a few stones.

While the missionaries, under pressure from an ethnologically minded bishop, later tried with little success to rescue some of the art objects they had caused to disappear, profane collectors managed to secure amazing heirlooms including stone heads and relief plaques that found their way to the continent before any commercialization of the local art had begun.

Palmer’s native informants in 1868 did not hesitate to show him their variety of wooden figurines, some of which were of extreme age, but they were not willing to expose their small stone images, merely stating that they did not have long ears like the giant monoliths. This statement may reflect a Late Period origin of the small stone heads since the long-eared monoliths are Middle Period relics.

The first planned ethnological research on the island by the Germans under Geiseler showed that the small images of stone had different functions from those of wood. Geiseler recorded that the portable wooden figurines were carried about in honor of the supreme god Makemake at certain feasts, whereas the small stone sculptures belonged to a different class and always remained in the huts as household images. Their function remains obscure although Geiseler repeats what earlier visitors had seen, that some small statues served as doorway images whereas others were inserted as heads projecting from the masonry walls; others again were given certain honors at first-fruit ceremonies and there were some particularly reserved for women. Although the Germans were told that the custom of carving the smaller images of both wood and stone assumed real importance only after the carving of the large stone statues had ceased, it is particularly stressed that a large toadlike monster with a cup-shaped depression on its back, carved from hard basalt, was one of the oldest sculptures on the island and dated from the earliest period of statue making.

The first archaeological surface survey of the island led by Thomson also recorded that small images, inscribed tablets, and other heirlooms were reportedly hidden away in secret storage caves. By accidentally discovering such a cave with a contracted entrance intentionally concealed by loose rocks, Thomson came across a small stone image, splendidly carved from a hard gray rock.

According to Routledge at the time of the First World War, the main occupation of the Easter Islanders was to search for secret storage caves belonging to other families. She mentions the case of an islander going to a secret cave to fetch objects for trade who mysteriously disappeared and was never seen again. Old people worried that their caves, containing pagan heirlooms, might be found by others. The houses were completely without furniture or any other kind of possessions and not a trace of the supplies that were stolen from the expedition when it arrived was ever seen again. Routledge also goes into considerable detail in describing the deeply rooted beliefs in various classes of
**aku-aku** ranging from the order of gods to spirits of deceased people. She further records that about ten known Easter Islanders still held proper communion with **aku-aku** who could appear in the form of human beings, cockroaches, flies, etc. It was customary to mention before meals the names of those **aku-aku** to whom a man owed special allegiance and invite them to partake of the food. Macmillan Brown states that a stone fish that appeared in a crumbling stone wall might have been used for the magic increase of the animal food it stood for.

The search for secret caves continued to fascinate the Easter Islanders in the period between the two World Wars. Dr. Lavachery says of the arrival of the Franco-Belgian expedition that, from the first days ashore, the Easter Islanders told him about secret caves where some grandparent had deposited his most precious objects. In an apparently empty cave Lavachery and Métraux discovered goatee-bearded and goggle-eyed stone heads projecting from the walls, as well as two weathered anthropomorphic stone masks, found by turning over boulders on the floor. Although generally ignoring native information about secret caves, due to Routledge’s disillusionment, the Franco-Belgian expedition once attempted a perilous rope descent in search of a storage cave in the coastal cliffs near Ahu Tepeu. The first hazardous descent was unsuccessful and the exhausted expedition members refused a second attempt slightly to the north, proposed by their native informants. This was the location of the most remarkable storage cave to which we were led two decades later. Métraux admits that small stone images were collected before the curio industry began and adds that numerous boulders with engraved designs considered talismanic by the natives, have been found on the island. He states that his informants could still remember how fishermen carried good-luck stones in their canoes some of which looked like fish, cocks or human beings. Métraux further states that the **aku-aku** continued to interfere in the daily life of the islanders. Every man on the island would claim that he had at some time met an **aku-aku**. **Aku-aku** belonging to certain families or districts received a morsel of food each time an **umu**, or earth oven, was opened while the host or an important guest would utter a phrase containing the name of the **aku-aku**.

Father Engler who subsequently served as a guide for our own archaeological expedition had previously written that the Easter Islanders maintained their belief in **aku-aku** and added that it was an old custom to prepare sacrificial earth ovens, termed **umu takapu**, for good luck. In such ceremonies chicken and sweet potatoes were baked below ground and the vapor that emerged when the oven was opened had to be inhaled only by the person for whom the **umu-takapu** ceremony was intended to bring luck. Engler was intrigued by the existence of secret family caves on the island where he spent so many years of his life. He visited many caves, finding them empty although sometimes with traces of decayed wood. He stated that within each family only one chosen person had known the exact location of the concealed entrance, but assumed that the last persons who knew such secrets had died before he arrived. Yet he gives various documented examples of old men and women who, with or without success, stole away in recent years to be buried alive in their family caves, even promising rewards in the form of ancient objects from the cave to relatives who brought them there. Among the details reported by Engler was the former custom of carving small figures representing certain **aku-aku** to be kept near the cave entrance to ensure protection by the spirit depicted. The small stone statuettes found hidden inside the closed caves reported respectively by Thomson and Routledge might well have been such doorway **aku-aku**. Engler also records an eyewitness report of an old man who prepared an **umu-takapu**, baking chicken and sweet potatoes in an earth oven, before he dared to enter his own cave, and yet he was so worried after having brought out an ancestral heirloom from the cave that he became mentally disturbed and died.

The sum of the fragmentary information from visitors from the time of discovery until the decades preceding our own arrival on the island covers all the basic aspects of our own unexpected cave adven-
tures in 1955–56. The only experience not granted to other visitors was the opportunity of entering secret storage caves that still contained heirlooms.

Although there exist ample references to the importance of secret storage caves on Easter Island we are left with only hints and indirect deductions as to what they actually contained. From the scarcity of material possessions among the Easter Islanders we may deduce that treasured property worth hiding could hardly be anything but small wooden and stone sculptures, wooden paraphernalia, wooden tablets, featherwork, and bark cloth. Material property among the Easter Islanders was otherwise restricted to stone adzes, obsidian spear points, bone needles, fishnets, stone and bone fishhooks, reed mats, and stone pillows. In other words, the caves could be expected to contain ethnographica of the same general category as the objects obtained by visitors as barter before the influence of the missionaries. This is, in fact, the same kind of material that once more emerged from hiding during the first few years after it had been ordered destroyed by the missionaries. Humidity and the ravages of insects and the local rat would generally prevent the preservation for many decades of objects of wood, bark cloth, and feathers, as illustrated by Englert’s story of old Hitaki who brought one wooden rongo-rongo tablet from his cave while reporting that seven others were in such state of complete pulverization that they could not be removed.

It is logical consequence, then, that of all treasures worth hiding, only stone figurines of the heterogeneous type first referred to by Geiseler as moai maea could resist prolonged storage in the caches. For this reason it would be quite natural if moai maea became the only type that the islanders found worthy of continued production for their own non-commercial purposes in post-missionary times, and thus were the only type continuing to accumulate in caves. Portable art objects which the Easter Islanders must have kept in hiding during the period of the Huri-moai wars, or which they placed in hiding when the missionaries came and ordered their destruction, are today catalogued and preserved in some fifty museum collections throughout the world. Specimens placed on record before our arrival on the island in 1955 are illustrated in Plates 16–182. Plates 185–299 show a sample of Easter Island sculptures that unexpectedly came to light during our visit from 1955–56 when traditional cave secrecy began to break down.
Cave Disclosures
to the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition in 1955–56

This section is based on a ten-volume expedition journal of the author’s personal experiences on Easter Island. A more popular report outlining the general adventures of the expedition has been published earlier (Heyerdahl, 1958) and a two-volume collection of scientific reports by the author and his archaeological collaborators (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, 1965) complete the records of our Easter Island investigations.

Preliminary events

On October 27, 1955, our expedition ship M/S Chr. Bjelland reached Easter Island. The sandy bay of Anakena on the northeast coast was chosen as the main anchorage for the duration of our stay, until April 6, 1956. A base camp was set up on the east side of the plain above the beach so that the ship’s storage was near at hand. This became the headquarters for our twenty-three European and American expedition participants. Labor was procured from the Easter Island population. Some of the islanders commuted by horse from their own homes in the Hangaroa village on the opposite side of the island, and some camped in open caves near the excavation sites. The expedition ship was a 163 ft. (49.5 m.) Norwegian Greenland trawler, chartered for the voyage and converted and equipped to meet the special requirements of our mission. In addition to myself as expedition leader, my wife Yvonne, son Thor, Jr., and three-year-old daughter Anette, four senior archaeologists participated in the project: Mr. Edwin N. Ferdon, Jr., Associate Director of Arizona State Museum (at that time archaeologist at the Museum of New Mexico); Dr. William Mulloy, professor and head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wyoming; Arne Skjøldsvold, chief curator, the Norwegian Department of Antiquities (at the time Director of the Department of Archaeology, Stavanger Museum); and Dr. Carlyle S. Smith, professor and curator of Anthropology at the University of Kansas. They were assisted by Gonzalo Figueroa, the official Chilean representative of the expedition, and Eduardo Sanchez, both of the Centro de Estudios Anthropologicos de la Universidad de Chile. Other expedition members included Dr. Emil Gjessing, expedition physician, responsible for the sampling of native blood; the photographer Erling J. Schjerven; and ship’s officers and crew headed by Captain Arne Hartmark.

Because the expedition was to operate for a full year out of reach of any store or supply base, the ship carried enough provisions, including drinking water, to last the entire period, in addition to all necessary spare parts, camping equipment, archaeological equipment, a jeep, and a special store intended for island laborers. A year-long stay in the Marquesas group as well as two visits to the Tuamotu archipelago and the Society Islands had made me familiar with Polynesian requirements and taste.
I had therefore added large quantities of clothing, rolls of colorful material, fishhooks, scissors, knives, and other tools to the ship's store of chocolates, cigarettes, and other materials required by the ship's scientists and crew. Previous experiences and valuable advice from colleagues among the scientists in Chile had made it clear that money was of little interest to natives of an island where no shops existed.

As expected, these imported items made a great impression on a population which at that time was living in considerable poverty, with little access to material goods other than from the rare calls of ships, basically the yearly call of a naval vessel sent with supplies from Chile. In fact, when given a choice between cash payment according to Chilean labor rates and goods from the ship's supply, the islanders almost without exception enthusiastically requested the latter.

Contact between the anchored expedition vessel and the tents ashore was maintained by a large, flat-bottomed barge. To eke out our water supply on board, the jeep was used to carry water to the camp from the Vaitea sheep ranch and from the Rano Raraku crater lake.

The location of our camp coincided with the traditionally recorded site picked for residence by Hotu Matua, the first legendary Easter Island king. It was chosen partly because of our interest in initiating excavations among the local ruins that legend accredited to him, and partly because of its close proximity to the island's only sandy beach. This wide beach offered landing possibilities through the surf. Comandante Arnaldo Curti, the Chilean governor of Easter Island and Father Sebastian Englert, the resident missionary, left the camp site to our own choice, but both preferred us to stay as far as possible from the native village in Hangaroa where the temptation to steal might become too big for the population. In spite of considerable improvement the Easter Islanders still retained something of their ancestral attitude towards the virtue of stealing.

The success of a field expedition often depends to a large extent on advance knowledge gained from the reports of previous visitors. This proved to be particularly true in our case from the moment we landed armed with knowledge from previous historical records, much of which was still remembered by the natives but not expected by them to be known to outsiders. The first case where we noticed visible surprise among the islanders was when we disembarked and immediately headed for Hotu Matua's legendary site without needing to ask anybody about its location. The islanders were accustomed to being the source of information about their own island. Previous visitors had mainly been curious tourists or else they had been ethnological investigators who therefore sought to obtain their information from the living population. The only previous professional archaeologist had been Dr. Lavachery who, like Routledge and others interested in the archaeological remains, had restricted field investigations to surface surveys and sporadic test pits.

The first stratigraphic excavations ever attempted on Easter Island began as a joint enterprise by all our expedition archaeologists. Next to our camp the pentagonal surface remains that are traditionally claimed to be Hotu Matua's stone-lined earth oven emerged from the turf. The folkloristic interest in this structure made us decide to begin work on the island at this site. The excavation had no sooner started than a second fireplace of the same type was found below the surface. A good three feet (1 m.) further down, a third oven, representing an earlier period, appeared to the great astonishment of the island spectators. For once the visitors were able to give information to the islanders rather than vice versa: the oven they had pointed out as being Hotu Matua's could not possibly have belonged to their first island king since other ovens lay below it and must have dated from a still earlier period. This left the islanders perplexed.

After the initial joint excavation at Hotu Matua's residence, each archaeologist selected his own site for continued work. Ferdon chose the ceremonial site of Orongo at the rim of the volcano Rano Kao, some 1300 ft. (410 m.) high. The well-known remains of a completely non-Polynesian stone village, consisting of contiguous boat-shaped houses built from corbel-vaulted slabs lay here. At the time of
the arrival of the first missionaries, these were the ceremonial dwellings where the island population gathered at the annual festivities that included the important "bird-man" competition. From this lofty village the spectators watched the competitors swim, supported by tusk-shaped *tōtora* reed floats (*pora*), to the small rocky offshore bird islets of Motu-Nui, Motu-Iti, and Motu-Kaokao in search of the year's first egg of the sooty tern as these migratory birds arrived from the east. The winner had his head shaven and painted red and was fed and venerated by the rest of the population as the sacred bird-man until the next year's competition. The rocky outcroppings of Orongo were covered with reliefs of crouching figures with human limbs and a bird's head with a long hooked beak. The bird-man cult was still vividly remembered through numerous traditions. This peculiar cult had been basic to Easter Island religious activities. It was considered as old as the local settlement in spite of the fact that it could not have been brought from the other islands since nothing like a bird-man cult is found elsewhere in Polynesia. Ferdon's excavations at Orongo uncovered, to the surprise of his workmen and the rest of the islanders, an older stone-paved temple platform buried below the turf next to the stone houses of the bird-man cult. It contained a solar observatory with markers indicating the direction where the sun rose at the equinox and the summer and winter solstices, as well as numerous petroglyphs and a stone statue in the form of a bodyless head differing in style from other Easter Island statues (Pl. 2 a). Stratigraphy combined with subsequent carbon datings from a ceremonial fire pit in the temple disclosed that this was an Early Period structure, while the bird-man cult was a subsequent feature introduced by the builders of the Middle Period stone houses. In many places bird-men had been carved on top of earlier figures representing the large-eyed sun god. A Middle Period bird cult had replaced an Early Period sun cult. Ferdon's careful examination of the slab-covered Orongo houses also re-
revealed hitherto unnoticed mural paintings in the roof including hook-beaked birds, masks with feather-crowns and weeping eyes, and crescent-shaped reed boats with masts and sails (Ferdon, 1961, pp. 221–55, Pls. 26–31; this vol., Pl. 183 a, b, Figs. 21–25).

Mulloy chose to excavate the most frequented and publicized ruin on Easter Island, the spectacular ahu at Vinapu and its less noticeable surrounding structures. His excavations revealed that the ahu had been built and reshaped in three successive periods. The usual assumption that its splendid megalithic masonry technique, resembling that of pre-Inca Peru, was the final result of local evolution, proved to be erroneous. The bottom rows with the perfectly shaped and fitted blocks belong to the Early Period and were thus left by the first settlers (Pls. 7 b, c, 8 a). The upper part of this beautiful, sun-oriented, Early Period structure had been torn down and reconstructed in the Middle Period for the purpose of carrying the burden of a row of large, long-eared stone busts of the standard Easter Island type. The monuments had been overthrown in the Huri-moai or Late Period and the structure used as a base for bundle-burials covered with heaps of stones. By removing the Late Period silt covering the lower part of a neighboring ahu, Mulloy discovered an incised vessel with sails, of the same type that Ferdon had found painted on the slab roofs at Orongo, belonging to, if not antedating, the Middle Period. A sunken temple courtyard was excavated on the inland side of the same ahu.
uncovering another aberrant statue (Pl. 2 d). With one side of the brick-red stone emerging above ground level, it was well known to Father Englert and the islanders as a hani-hani stone of a red scoria identical to that used for the topknots of the giant statues. Since the shape and material of this quarried column were completely different from the only other type of Easter Island statue known before our excavations, nobody had suspected it of being a statue until it was completely uncovered and erected by Mulloy. It proved to be an aberrant image in the shape of a pillar, 11 ft. 6 ins. (3.5 m.) tall, with a rectanguloid cross-section. Although the head had been broken off and removed, the arms were represented in relief with hands resting on the abdomen and the legs were stunted. A navel and sagging breasts were also represented in relief, and a deep, ovoid hole was carved in the middle of the chest (Mulloy, 1961, pp. 93–181, Pls. 3, 17).

Skjolsvold started by excavating one of the circular stone enclosures which abounded throughout the island, often clustered together and contiguous. From information gained from the islanders, and still believed by them, previous ethnologists accepted these small stone enclosures as garden plots. Bananas and other plants were occasionally grown in them since the walls gave shelter from the wind, yet many were found on barren rock. Skjolsvold's excavations, independently duplicated by Ferdon, disclosed that they were ruins of stone houses of the type found on the Pacific slopes of South America below Lake Titicaca. Presumably these houses had an entrance through an opening in the lower part of a conical, thatched roof. Inside one of them a stone-lined earth oven was uncovered (Pl. 15 b), containing charred remains of food from the last day the house was occupied, which was carbon dated to about A. D. 1526, or the latter part of the Middle Period. The islanders were again stupefied although they knew from their traditions that a few generations ago circular stone houses with thatched roofs did exist: they were called hare paepae and were used as ceremonial schoolhouses for learning to read and write the script of the sacred tablets (cf. Englert, 1948, p. 222). It now appeared that these traditional rongo-rongo houses were merely a continuation of a widely used house type on the island prior to the Late Period of war and destruction (Skjolsvold, 1961, pp. 295–303, Pls. 36, 37; Ferdon, 1961, pp. 305–21, 329–38, Pls. 38, 39). After this excavation, Skjolsvold and his team of Easter Island workmen moved to the Rano Raraku statue quarries where he set up camp and initiated extensive excavations. By trenching the hillocks at the foot of the quarries that had been thought natural, he found them to be entirely composed of vast quantities of rubble carried down from the quarries, mixed with broken stone picks discarded by the sculptors, and charcoal carbon-dated to the Middle Period at the time work was in progress in the quarries. The ceremonial house of the birdman, so far considered to date back to the earliest period of the island, lay on top of one of these turf-covered rubble mounds and was therefore merely a Late Period structure. Skjolsvold and his team cleared the débris around the necks of some of the famous "stone heads" standing at the foot of the quarries, and revealed the huge, buried bodies of naked male figures. These were complete in every detail except for the legs which were entirely missing since the flat base of the torso rested on the paved ground. One of the most impressive images which formerly stood 19 ft. 4 ins. (5.5 m.), on excavation more than doubled its height and stood about 37 ft. 6 ins. (11.4 m.) above the original ground level (this vol., Pl. 14 a). When the body of another statue head was exposed, a crescent-shaped vessel with three masts was found incised on the chest. From the vessel a fishing line ran down to a large turtle incised near the statue's navel (Pl. 14 c, Fig. 26). Since the bodies of these statues were buried before European visitors arrived, and before they could be toppled over during the Huri- moai Period, the reed boat-shaped vessel must date from the end of the Middle Period when this statue was abandoned at the quarry. The natives remembered that traditionally Hotu Matua's arrival had been intimately associated with the appearance of a giant turtle. They had no tradition, however, to account for a giant, kneeling statue of aberrant nature that Skjolsvold uncovered from the
débris at the foot of the oldest section of the Rano Raraku quarries. This bulky giant (Pl. 3, Color Pl. VI), about 12 ft. (3.67 m.) tall, was kneeling with its buttocks resting on its heels and its hands placed on its knees; it had a goatee beard and oval eyes with cup-shaped pupils, leaving an impression of an art style completely foreign to the island. Once this monument was erected by the expedition engineers by means of the jeep and tackle, the islanders flocked to the sight on horseback from the village of Hangaroa (Skjölsvold, 1961, pp. 291–93, 339–79, Pls. 40 e, f–64). Smith excavated several habitation caves and elliptical house foundations of the pole-and-thatch type (*hare paenga*) that had been noted by the first missionaries. Nothing dating back beyond the Late Period was found in these caves or house foundations. Smith discovered that the obsidian spear points (*matta*) which were found littered all over the island surface right up to the time of our arrival, were a characteristic feature of the *Huri-moai* or Late Period since not a single specimen was excavated in any of the Middle Period strata. This was further evidence that the Middle Period must have been one of peace and productivity. Smith furthermore excavated a number of *ahu*, including such important structures as *Ahu Tepeu*, *Ahu Hekii*, and *Ahu Te-pito-te-kura*, and came independently to the same conclusions as Mulloy: the finest masonry of large and perfectly fitted blocks belonged to the earliest period, and was oriented astronomically in accordance with the movements of the sun, but the upper sections of these stepped terraces had been reconstructed by Middle Period architects. The latter were not sun-worshippers; however, they used the existing temple foundations as pedestals for their large Rano Raraku stone statues that were crowned with red topknots (*pukao*). Everywhere the Late Period was characterized by the overthrow of all *ahu* images with burials in secondary boulder-covered chambers or below the fallen giants themselves. When Smith was working his way underneath a statue 32 ft. 4 ins. (9.8 m.) tall, fallen face down from *Ahu Te-pito-te-kura*, a giant estimated to weigh 82 tons not counting the 11.5 ton red scoria topknot, he discovered that a crescent-shaped vessel with two masts was carved on its abdomen in such a way that the forward mast ran through the statue’s navel. The fact that the navel looked like a round sail on the forward mast (Fig. 27) recalled the circular sail painted on two of the sickle-shaped vessels found by Ferdon as roof paintings in Orongo (Smith, 1961, pp. 181–219, 257–71, 287–98, Pls. 18–25, 32–34).

There was nothing that fascinated the islanders more than our decision, encouraged by Englert, to start excavations in the Poike Ditch. This 2.5-mile-long (4 kilometer) formation consists of a series of elongated depressions paralleled on their higher side by a line of long, low mounds. To the Easter Islanders, ever since the arrival of the first missionaries, it had been the feature most consistently associated with their traditional beliefs. Métraux and other visitors had supposed this was a

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**Fig. 26:** On one of the Rano Raraku statues already buried to the chest at the time of the early European visits, Skjölsvold discovered through excavation a three-masted reed ship from which a line ran down to a turtle incised near the navel of the image.
natural formation dividing the old cliff-girt lava peninsula at Poike from a subsequent lava flow on the rest of the island and that the native traditions were invented merely to account for a natural feature. No such argument was able to convince the islanders themselves, however. They continued to insist that the now sand-filled depression named by them Ko te Umu o te Hanau Eepe or “The Earth-oven of the Long-ears,” was originally dug by the legendary “Long-ears” as a defensive ditch. The Long-ears, so called because of their custom of artificially extending their earlobes, had already been busy raising statues before the short-eared ancestors of the present islanders arrived. The Long-ears made use of the short-eared newcomers as laborers if not directly as slaves helping in their great stone work. After a period of karau-karau, i.e., 200 years, of peaceful co-existence with the Long-ears, the Short-ears revolted. The Long-ears took refuge on the precipitous Poike peninsula behind a defensive trench that they filled with grass and branches. They planned to set it alight in case of attack. Through the treason of a short-eared woman who was living with the Long-ears, a party of the Short-ears stole around the ditch. When the rest of the Short-ears attacked and the Long-ears lit the pyre in defense, this group of Short-ears fell upon the Long-ears from behind and pushed them into their own trap. Several early visitors recorded a variety of traditions about this event. As these early records are all assembled elsewhere (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 33–43), it suffices here to state that three of the Long-ears were said to have escaped by running across the other bodies and hiding in a cave. One of them, Ororoina, was said to have spoken a language different from that of the Short-ears. He was remembered as a direct ancestor in paternal line of the Atan brothers who were still living on the island (Englert, 1948, p. 157).

The Poike excavations were led by Smith who started by sinking various test pits into different depressions before he began major excavations. It was immediately ascertained that the natives were correct in claiming the structure was artificial. Its builders had made use of the meeting place of two lava flows to carve their way down into the rock. They had carried the rubble up to the slope to the upper side of the trench to build up extra defensive embankment. While the initial construction was in progress the charcoal fragments from a small fire became embedded in the deposited rubble. It was carbon dated to A. D. 386, plus or minus 100 years. This meant the human occupation of Easter Island was at least 1,000 years older than had been previously thought by scholars assuming a migration from Asia. After its construction, the trench had been left for a considerable time and permitted to become half filled with silt and sand. Above this level in the trench thick layers of red and black ashes were found: the remains of a great and intensive fire. Charcoal fragments from this extensive ditch fire were subsequently carbon dated to about the 1670s, which coincided remarkably with Englert’s date of A. D. 1680, calculated from traditional history (Smith, 1961, pp. 385–96, Pl. 66). Even after our excavations, some ethnologists personally unfamiliar with Easter Island have found the native traditions so difficult to believe that they have proposed the theory that the

Fig. 27: Working his way under one of the largest ahu statues overthrown during the Late Period of civil wars, Smith discovered a two-masted vessel with the forward mast placed in such a way that the navel of the statue appeared as a round sail like those painted on two of the Orongo vessels.
Poike trench had been pits for banana cultivation, designed to collect rainwater descending the slope, rather than a defensive structure. This excuse for eliminating a firm native tradition is meaningless, however, since the embankments were obviously ramparts, built precisely above each trench section in such a way that water would have run past instead of into the trench.

The fact that the ditch was artificial and that a pyre was found corresponding in place and time to the claims of local memory, was probably one of the expedition's discoveries that made the most profound impression on the islanders. While I organized the daily routine of the expedition groups excavating the above sites and carried out a survey of surface artifacts, a number of islanders provided information that was put to the test by practical demonstrations. The four old Pakarati brothers, sons of the catechist Nicolás Pakarati left in charge of church services by the early missionaries, built and navigated totora reed boats ranging in size from those of the tusk-shaped float (pora) used in the bird-man competitions, to the larger, sickle-shaped vessels capable of carrying several fishermen into the open sea (Color Pl. XV).

Encouraged again by Engelert, I also approached the village mayor, Pedro Atan, whose grandfather Atamu Tuputahi in early missionary times recalled the names of his forefathers back to the Long-ear Ororoiñá. Atan selected eleven assistants among relatives with alleged Long-ear blood to demonstrate the truth in his claim that he had heard from his ancestors how they had carved, transported and erected their giant long-eared statues. Asked why nobody had yielded this information to other visitors who had expressly inquired, he replied that nobody had asked him. Pedro Atan and his helpers, after a nocturnal ceremony with a weird song and dance (Pl. 184 f) said to be a traditional custom for bringing good luck to the work, set about demonstrating with basalt picks collected in the quarry rubble how the statues were carved from the solid Rano Raraku crater wall. From the speed with which the work progressed, it was estimated that a year would be needed to complete the sculpture of a single statue. With the aid of the combined muscle of 180 villagers called in from Hangaroa, Atan was able to move a medium-sized statue across the plain by means of ropes and a Y-shaped wooden sledge. Finally, to everyone's amazement, the same group of twelve men were able first to lift a fallen twenty-five-ton statue some ten feet into the air, and then to raise it on end on top of the ahu Ature-huki at Anakena from which it had been overthrown during the Huri-moai wars. The system was to ease the statue up by jerking it almost imperceptibly with wooden levers repeatedly alternating from side to side. At the same time the men pushed small and gradually larger stones under the statue, until the increasing pile finally lifted the giant into an upright position. This system was as unexpected as it was simple and efficient. It permitted twelve men to raise the bulky giant in eighteen days, whereas all scientific theories had proposed using a great many men to pull the monument up a ramp and tilt it on end (Heyerdahl, 1958, Ch. 5; Skjölstvold, 1961, pp. 366–72, Pls. 60–61). Once the temporary stone pile had been removed a giant image stood on its ahu for the first time since the Huri-moai period. It towered over the tents with its back to the sea as a landmark, its deep eye

Fig. 28: A European ship with its bowsprit, complexity of sails, and straight deck contrasting the crescent-shaped reed boats, was found as a wall painting in a Late Period habitation cave near Vaihu.
sockets distinguishing it from the unfinished statues at the foot of the quarries. The erection of the statue made a great impression on us, and the psychological effect on the islanders was apparent, accustomed as they were to seeing the ahu images lying face down all around them. While they had only heard from their forefathers that they had once been standing, a statue had suddenly risen in their midst and altered the landscape of Anakena (Pl. 9).

Parallel to the activities of the archaeologists and the experiments of the islanders themselves, we noted a certain strange behavior in our native workmen that had a direct bearing on the cave disclosures that were to follow. Owing to the risks of leaving anything exposed to theft, we had enclosed our camp area at Anakena with a simple rope fence. In good Polynesian tradition the area inside was declared tapu to uninvited guests. In the beginning this precaution proved of little avail, for the first night natives rode over from the village and stole this rope as well as whatever little gear we had left alongside the tents. The next day the administrator appointed two old Easter Islanders as armed camp police, but coming events soon made their services superfluous. Growing superstition among the village population kept them, with few exceptions, from robbing our camp further, even on occasions when everything was left entirely unguarded.

One of the two policemen, Kasimiro, was the first to begin to speak to us of secret caves. Having for some days thoroughly enjoyed himself in our camp kitchen and with our supply of cigarettes, he seemed to want to repay the hospitality with something he obviously considered a valuable piece of information: as young boys he and Nicolas Pakomio, the other old policeman, had once gone with Kasimiro’s father to the Motu-nui islet where they had been ordered to wait while the old man disappeared behind some rocks to visit his secret cave. They both recalled that he had first made a chicken umu, and that only he could stand where the fumes from the baking chicken rose. He then intentionally went off the wrong way to mislead the two boys. Kasimiro now volunteered to show us the general locality, but he did not know where the actual entrance was since it was invisible and skillfully blocked with stones. With the experiences of previous visitors in mind we did not follow up Kasimiro’s suggestion then, and when several months later we took him up on his original offer, he always found ingenious excuses for not showing up whenever the boat was launched to take us over to Motu-nui. We later succeeded in bringing old Pakomio across to the islet, but his indication of the area of the cave was so vague that our search was hopeless. He did show us, however, the various caves visited by the Routledge expedition.

A few weeks after Kasimiro’s original offer, Arne Skjølsvold left base camp and put up his tent inside the Rano Raraku crater to organize and supervise his four months of excavations in the image quarry area. Apart from a staff of native labor quartered in a cave nearby, he engaged one of our two former camp guardians, old Pakomio, as foreman and assistant. Pakomio was the son of the prophetess Angata whose visions had caused the local uprising during Routledge’s visit. Having lived in exceptionally intimate contact with the natives for some months, Skjølsvold presented me with the following extract from his personal records:

“One night after dark when I had first pitched camp inside the volcano Rano Raraku, I was visited by José Paté and old Pakomio. They soon began talking about rongo-rongo and secret caves, and both of them assured me that there existed a whole series of caves on the island with the strangest objects hidden inside, mostly stone sculptures, but also some wood carvings. In some caves there were still supposed to be rongo-rongo tablets preserved. The general localities of such caves were often known, but the whereabouts of the entrances could not be identified with certainty. They said that a generation ago there were some who knew the entrances to such caves. This statement seemed rather incredible to me since if these cave entrances were known only a generation ago, some ought to be known even today. When I tentatively asked if we could discover some of these caves if we started
searching, they suddenly became serious and shook their heads warningly: the caves were tapu and to enter them invoked bad luck.

"Some days later Pakomio told me confidentially that he would show me one such cave. When I asked him if he himself knew about one he answered in the affirmative and with a secretive smile. Time passed, however, and Pakomio seemed never to be able to make up his mind as to the proper moment for this cave visit. In the meantime the period came when people in the village began to gossip loudly about caves, that is when the topic began to ferment openly in our Anakena camp. Pakomio soon became hesitant as to whether he really knew of any cave, but the whole time I had the feeling that he gradually got discouraged about the enterprise. When the news from Anakena broke like an avalanche to the effect that secret caves had already been shown to our expedition, Pakomio changed completely and insisted that cave entrances were no longer known today. My impression was that he had become frightened by all the open stir about the caves. Pakomio was an old man and he was furthermore the son of Angata, which will help explain why he was so filled with respect for the faith and beliefs of his forefathers.

"Before this happened, José had actually told me that Pedro Atan was said to have rediscovered the entrance to an old cave, but I never got further details. Once, likewise before the secrets were disclosed, old Timoteo Pakarati also confided to me that he knew of a cave on the plains near Rano Raraku. With him and José I went to inspect the locality, which lies about 250 m. due east of the volcano and about 100 m. off the east side of the road to Hotu-iti. Timoteo was able to point out the spot fairly exactly, and he insisted that the narrow opening down into the cave was to be found inside an area with a diameter of about 20 m., which he indicated. A deceased relative of Timoteo had been in the cave and reported that a large number of strange 'figures' were stored inside. According to Timoteo the cave should belong to the family Tepano. Neither José nor Timoteo were keen on a careful investigation of the area in a search for the cave entrance.

"On several occasions, my laborers in Rano Raraku volunteered to tell me that there existed on the island a great number of secret caves with 'a variety of objects' inside."

Owing to his intimacy with his native work team in Rano Raraku, Skjölsvold was also the first to note the remarkable survival of superstitious beliefs among the local islanders. He reported that these beliefs guided their behavior, and there were a great many things they had to do or had not to do to avoid bad luck. For instance: "The natives always cover their heads when they go to sleep at night. They explain that they do it to avoid seeing the aku-aku which move about after dark. I frequently visited the workmen in their different camping places near Rano Raraku, and I constantly found them entirely covered by a blanket or else wearing some clothes wrapped around the head while they slept. It was particularly dangerous to move about in Rano Raraku after dark. Whenever the natives called to visit me in the late evening there were always two or more together, and they marvelled at my daring to remain alone inside the volcano. Visitors frequently imagined hearing aku-aku singing between the totora reeds on the crater lake, and they then feared to leave the tent, or even to let me go outside alone. One particular statue inside the crater was considered especially dangerous, as it was supposed to have 'an evil arm.' They also became panic-stricken if anyone should happen to stride over someone who was lying down; such an act could cause 'bad luck.'"

The superstitious beliefs first reported by Skjölsvold became noticeable to all of us as our activities were extended over the island. We constantly heard the same story: our expedition group had immediately upon landing pitched camp directly on Hotu Matua's traditional site, and we had even admitted that we knew that their first king was supposed to have lived there; we had dug at the same site and shown them deeply buried structures and artifacts, the existence of which no one on the island today had suspected; we had sent our people to different parts of the island to dig up large statues of
types unknown to anyone because they were lying below the soil and invisible. How could any foreigners, said the natives, find these hidden things unless they or their spirits had been on the island in the ancient period when all had been visible above ground? The suspicion that we had spiritual links with the island was soon focused on me partly because I was the expedition leader, and partly because I was known in advance to have passed their island years before on an ancient type of raft. Some of the superstitious islanders even went excitedly to Father Englert and to the various expedition archaeologists to seek support for their conviction that the expedition leader was one of their own kin who had now come back to his ancient residence in Anakena valley. This agitation reached its climax when we engaged the Long-ears to re-erect the large Anakena statue. On the seventeenth day of work, the day before the statue was planned to tip up and balance on top of the ahu wall, a very old woman, Victoria Atan, appeared among her twelve toiling relatives and laid down a semicircle of pebbles at some distance behind the back of the image to prevent it through magic from toppling over backwards when tilted onto its narrow base. Before she disappeared she presented me with an old, authentic stone fishhook, a priceless collector’s piece of which very few exist in the world. She must have kept it in hiding over the years, although she claimed to have “found” it the same day on the hillside next to our camp. Two further ancient and exquisite stone fishhooks and one unfinished old specimen were later brought to me by her nephew, Juan Atan Pakomio, who admitted he had kept his in hiding in a cave (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 417–18, Figs. 102 d, e, 103 i; this vol., Pl. 15 f).

The stone figures of Esteban Pakarati

Of greater importance to the subsequent chain of events, however, was the unexpected visit late at night on January 26, 1956, of a young Easter Islander named Esteban Pakarati. He was one of the twelve men who camped in a nearby cave during the time they were erecting the Anakena statue. Like the others, Esteban was visibly grateful for payment in colorful cloth and bonuses in food that were carried to the cave from the mess tent. One night Esteban stole unnoticed into our camp and cautiously scratched at the wall of the tent where I lived with my family, asking in a whisper to be let in. He began by saying that everyone in the village was sure that I had been sent to them to bring the island good luck. He then handed me a realistically sculptured stone hen wrapped in brown paper. The hen was not for barter; it was a gift from his wife in return for benefits received from us, but I was told to hide it. The sculpture (K-T 1257) looked freshly made, with a bright surface that had been recently scrubbed with sand and water. It smelled strangely of acrid smoke. I was not a little surprised when Esteban begged me to hide his wife’s gift so nobody would see it. What was equally puzzling was that the rather unexciting piece bore no resemblance to Easter Island art. This was a simple image of a common fowl, lacking all the aspects of the traditional imitations of ancestral art.

The next night Esteban was back with another sculpture, this time a stone plaque bearing a relief carving of a characteristic Easter Island bird-man crouching and holding an egg in one hand (K-T 1256). Although this piece, too, was damp and smelled of smoke, it appeared less scrubbed. In both cases there was something in Esteban’s strange and excited behavior, as well as in the motifs and workmanship of the carving, that differed notably from what was normal in the barter of common souvenirs and tourist fakes current on the island. Esteban was very anxious to have us hide this sculpture immediately too. This was strange since he said that both of them belonged to his wife and since he did not pretend that they were antiques with special economic value. Esteban’s initial gifts were obviously more appreciated by the donor than by the receiver. The hen,
in particular, would mean very little to any collector as it appeared completely out of place and did not even represent a replica of local art.

Why this secret arrival at night and why the need to hide these pieces? Why did Esteban make no effort to barter as he, like all Easter Island artists, had previously done with all their carvings? If he wanted to make believe that these sculptures were ancient, why did he not say so, and why had he not attempted to give them some patina rather than bringing them to me freshly water-scrubbed and only half dried over a smoky fire? Esteban gave confusing answers to these questions. He stated that his late father-in-law, Juan Araki, had carved them, but that his wife had scrubbed them now because they had been lying on a shelf in the house for so long. We were later to learn that Juan Araki was still alive in 1935 and considered then one of the best wood carvers on the island. He had carved a whole series of moai kavakava for the Franco-Belgian expedition, but never brought them anything like these stone sculptures (Lavachery, personal communication, May 11, 1968).

The next night Esteban stole into our camp again; he brought three stone carvings in a sack and left them in our tent. All of them were so remarkably aberrant in motif that the possibility of modern invention seemed highly unlikely. Nor could he possibly have kept these unique carvings exposed on a shelf in his house without someone seeing them, or even stealing them. Yet, these specimens looked older than the previous ones and did not appear to be freshly scrubbed. One of them (K-T 1265, Pls. 192 a, 215 b) represented three interlocking human heads of unusual type, the beard of each one blending with the hair of the next in a very striking manner. The second (K-T 1266, Pl. 273 c) was a reproduction in vesicular and fragile reddish lava of a short paoa club. Stone specimens of this ancient Easter Island type of wooden club were formerly unknown, and the fragility of the lava chosen precluded any functional purpose. The third specimen was a peculiar small stone bust of a person carrying a rat in his mouth (K-T 1264, Pls. 226, 227), a motif entirely unheard of and so far-fetched that I asked him for an explanation. Unhesitatingly Esteban explained that it had been an old mourning custom for those who had lost a wife or a child to run around the entire coastline with a rat in their mouth as a sign of grief.

Esteban’s strange emotional behavior, which might be described as suppressed excitement mixed with what seemed to be a guilty conscience towards his island compatriots, prompted me to call the island mayor, Pedro Atan, into the tent one day after Esteban’s second nightly visit. The mayor was at the time leading the team of twelve men, including Esteban, who were raising the statue next to our tents. Under the promise of discretion Pedro Atan was shown the two freshly scrubbed carvings I had first received. His spontaneous reaction was one of suppressed horror. He immediately wanted to know who had brought them because, he said, until a few years ago several old men could still carve this type of figure, but now he himself was the only one. Pedro Atan’s uneasiness, apparent from his behavior and his expression, was much the same as that of Esteban during his nightly calls, and there was nothing to learn except that these were “serious things” belonging to families; I ought not to let any Easter Islanders see them.

Esteban returned with more stones on subsequent nights, and was now encouraged to do so by return gifts, but there was no barter or bargain as was invariably the case with the commercial souvenirs. Esteban’s claim that the villagers believed I was sent to bring good luck to the islanders was confirmed by Englert. Father Englert was able to tell us that an old woman had again come to him and tried to impress upon his mind that the expedition leader was not a real human being. The Father had failed in his effort to convince her otherwise, just as he had failed so far, he said, to dissuade his own housekeeper from her firm belief that she was descended from a whale that had been stranded on the southeast coast. According to Englert the superstition was founded on an immense respect for the local ancestors and could not be completely abolished in one generation.
The expedition activities began to be affected by the islanders’ attitude. Through their unexpected demonstration of the ingenious method of lifting and erecting enormous stones, the contemporary Easter Islanders had revealed that they actually did possess secrets which they had previously never disclosed. It was found that, as stated by Routledge, the people of Easter Island are naturally secretive and everything from secretly stored property to secret knowledge is considered a treasure. To confide a secret of any nature to an heir or to a friend is considered to be a direct donation to that person. Secret knowledge gave the person informed extra self-confidence or, as interpreted and termed in Polynesian, mana, mental power. To penetrate the secret knowledge of contemporary Easter Islanders was impossible without attempting to understand their cultural values and their thought processes. Any effort to remove the superstition proved as useless for us as for Father Englert, but it turned out to lead to information that would hardly otherwise have been accessible. Our final decision to take part in rituals and strange proceedings was not the ideal solution nor the easiest, but it is difficult to believe that another approach could have led to the many ethnographic discoveries and the preservation of art objects that might otherwise have been lost.

When the erection of the Anakena statue was completed, Esteban Pakarati moved back to his wife in the Hangaroa village. Although many of the islanders had by now referred to the existence of secret caches containing occult objects, young Esteban was the first to confide to us that a secret family cave was still in use. He had originally pretended that his carvings had been kept as some sort of decorative art on a shelf in his house, but as the numbers of specimens increased he resorted to various explanations, until one night he was trapped by his own words and confided that all the stones had been taken from a small cave. The sculptures had been carved partly by his wife’s father and partly by her grandfather; she herself had seen her father making some, and they were all subsequently hidden in a cave near their home, inside the village area. The cave had been inherited by Esteban’s wife when her father died a few years ago, and she was the only person with access to it. Thus Esteban had never seen the cave himself, he said, but he knew roughly where it was, for he had waited nearby at night while she went to fetch the stones. She had told him that the cave was as big as their room and quite full of carvings. Esteban now volunteered the explanation that his wife had scrubbed the stones with sand and water before she sent them away, for fear that some other Easter Islanders might see them and realize that she was taking old objects from her family’s cave. The acrid smell of the figures was a result of the stones having been dried over the kitchen fire after scrubbing and washing. Later Esteban and his wife had found the scrubbing superfluous, since they realized the transfer from the village to my tent could be conducted at night without interception by anybody.

The following nights Esteban brought into my tent some other quite remarkable sculptures, promising me each time that he was soon going to persuade his wife to take me into the cave with her. After some time, however, Esteban’s nocturnal visits ceased completely. In the end I decided to send for him. He came reluctantly and appeared visibly displeased. His wife, he said, had discovered that the two aku-aku who guarded the entrance to her cave were angry at her for having removed too much. She was not well. There was nothing more to be done; she flatly refused to permit anyone to enter her cave, and Esteban claimed that it was only because she was so determined and stubborn that her father had entrusted the cave to her.

A few weeks passed by and I began to worry that I should not be able to see the cave before we had to leave the island. A visit to Esteban’s home with gifts was of no avail. His wife was still not well; she was suffering from stomach trouble and it was useless to speak of the cave. An unfavorable wind sprang up, and the captain had to transfer anchorage to the village side of the island for a couple of days. When he returned to anchor once more off our Anakena camp he reported
by walkie-talkie that he had an Easter Islander on board who wanted to show me something in secrecy. I found Esteban waiting in the lounge with a large sack. He insisted on unpacking in complete darkness in my cabin and performed a strange, invisible ceremony with much sniffing and sobbing before he allowed me to roll up the blinds and see what he had removed from his sack: two fairly large and five small stone sculptures. The big ones, he said, were the two guardians, tiaki, of his wife's cave. These were the two figures that had caused his wife's prolonged stomach trouble, and now she had decided to send them to me to join the figures already removed. She had said that I should get all the others as well.

One of the two figures (K-T 1380), carved in soft, red lava, represented a sitting dog. It was so worn, possibly by erosion and certainly by scrubbing, that all contours were completely gone, but two human masks were secondarily incised on the body. This carving was said to be the more powerful of the two. The other and more interesting image (K-T 1379, Pl. 212 a) was a diabolic, anthropomorphic creature of hard volcanic rock in a prone position with its head upturned and without a lower body. This bearded, hunchback figure with its hands on the chest and three projecting bumps on top of the head had not been scrubbed and gave every indication of age and authenticity. The transfer of the two guardians was accompanied by a strange act in which Esteban, with blinds drawn over the cabin portholes, recited in a low voice a mixed text of unintelligible old Rapanui and modern Polynesian words. He was unable to give me the exact translation, but the implication was that the intestines of a cock baked in an umu had been offered on my behalf to four aku-aku named Inu, Horaí, Hitikapura, and Urauraga-te-Mahinæe in front of the entrance to the cave O Ko ia (Heyerdahl, 1957, Ch. 6). Esteban's recital* was possibly a garbled version of some old text properly adapted to the situation. The names of the four aku-aku do not occur in Metraux's list (1940, p. 318), but Gonzalo Figueroa (personal communication, June 2, 1957), independently interrogating three other Easter Islanders, recorded that Unu and Horai were the names of two female aku-aku sisters, while Hitikapua-Uauranga-te-Mahina, according to his informants, was another aku-aku.

Regardless of how much of this act might have been made up by Esteban himself and how much was inspired by others, he managed to live the occult ceremony to the extent that tears ran down his cheeks and he appeared temporarily obsessed.

A couple of days later I brought our medical officer Dr. Gjessing to the village to visit Esteban's wife. She was a very quiet, well-balanced person who answered all questions clearly and without hesitation. Her abdominal trouble proved not to be serious and could be cured by a simple remedy. Esteban raised the matter of the cave, but the woman could not be persuaded to let us in. Her father had said that if a stranger were let into the family cave some near relative would die, and the woman was quite inflexible on this one point. If we wanted to see a cave with a hidden entrance they had an equally fine one which was not tapu in their own garden. She would carry some figures into that one and let us take a photograph there. We rejected this offer and there was nothing more to be done. We never got to see the hiding place from which Esteban brought to our camp his original selection of remarkable stone carvings.

Before leaving his house, however, we got his wife's own version of the origin of these sculptures. Some had been made by her father, Juan Araki, but the creator of most of them had been her own grandfather, who received the name Raimundu Uki when Christianity was introduced. She claimed to remember her old grandfather teaching her father how to work stone when she herself was a little girl.

* "Ko au Ko Kon Tiki he Atua Hiva / Hua viri mai te i Ka uru atua na Ki te / Kaiga Eiu Ehoraie Eithi Ka puraEUR uraga / te Mahinæe. Ka ea Korua Kakai Kahaka / hou ite umu moa ite umu kokoma ote / atua hiva / Ko Kon Tiki mo hatu O Ko ia / To Koro Va Ka Tere Ko haho Kagao Vari / one ana Kena O Te Atua hiva Ko Kon Tiki."
She did not know when their family cave was first brought into use, but some of the things were supposed to be really old even though the bulk of the carvings had been deposited in the cave in her grandfather’s time. The grandfather had not invented the motifs; he was supposed to have received the “advice” of his own elders. Other than what Esteban had already told us about the figure with the rat in his mouth, it was not possible to obtain any information whatsoever on the meaning and purpose of the other carvings. They were, however, considered to possess certain qualities that caused harm to illegitimate intruders and even to the owner if he or she took certain wrong steps in dealing with them. What sort of benefits they were supposed to bestow upon the owner was not known to, or at least not revealed by, this young couple who were the first to disclose the ownership of occult carvings allegedly coming from a cave and certainly representing an art tradition of a general category not formerly exposed.

The only truly remarkable sculptures brought by young Esteban Pakarati were those presented as gifts at the time when he was working all day raising the statue next to our tents and sleeping at night in the nearby cave, as well as the few pieces he subsequently disposed of on board our ship. In this initial period Esteban, encouraged both by rewards and by his belief in “good luck,” succeeded also in talking his relatives and friends Ramon Hey and Henrique Teao into bringing me at night some equally remarkable sculptures of the same general character (Pls. 187 b, 206 c, 213 e, 223 b, 232 e; 207 c, 230 a, 233 c, 236 d, f). However, after Esteban had brought the two guardians, either his supply was exhausted or else he was prevented from further access to his wife’s stock. Whatever the case might be, he once more stopped calling at our camp. When he finally showed up again, shortly before our announced departure from the island, he had apparently used his time well. This time he brought me a quantity of sculptures of a completely different appearance. This final lot, part of which he even permitted us to haul from his house by our expedition jeep, consisted of a rather homogeneous type of boulder heads and other crude sculptures, all obviously manufactured for trade, evincing a complete lack of artistic imagination and an inferior workmanship.

In fact, while he had originally been the person who had contributed the first secret disclosures, Esteban in the end became one of the central figures among the young men who tried to augment their restricted supplies by carving crude imitations. With assistance from a couple of young friends Esteban produced a considerable quantity of almost uniform stone heads, the outlines of which were determined solely by the natural shape of the selected lava boulders, on which eyes and mouth were crudely incised. The repertoire was unvaried and monotonous except for some elongated and crooked stones ornamented in the same naïve manner to look more like zoomorphic monsters. All were lacking in patina as well as in artistic taste and skill. In fact, we were now back to the same quality of unimaginative fakes as experienced in the first days of our stay, with the only difference that the models of the imitators had changed from the formerly well-known pattern of legless atu busts to topics inspired by some of the newly disclosed art objects. The crudity of these ultimate products, however, only augmented the distinctive stamp of authenticity of the heterogeneous carvings Esteban had originally brought us.

The *rongo-rongo* manuscript of Esteban Atan

While living in their cave next to our camp in Anakena, engaged in the statue erection, each of the twelve Easter Islanders kept his own horse grazing among the nearby hillocks. As young Esteban Pakarati was present among the others all day long, he must have left their cave after dark to locate his horse and ride across the island to Hangaroa village, about 17 km. away, in order to fetch the first
aberrant sculptures he brought us. It would have been very difficult to leave the cave entirely unobserved by the others, but once outside it was easy for a barefooted native to disappear silently in the night among the rocks and crevices. Since Esteban Pakarati’s nightly disappearance was repeated more than once, Pedro Atan, sleeping in the same cave, was not slow in figuring out who had brought to camp the two aberrant carvings he had seen in our tent, and he told me so, but otherwise kept the secret. Unavoidably, the topics of tapu, occult objects, and secret hideouts were cautiously brought up in secluded interviews with Pedro Atan, who had already revealed that he possessed the long-coveted secret of how the giant statues could be erected. There were frequent opportunities for such interviews as long as he and all his men lived and worked next to our own base camp, and at these reunions his main helper and close friend, Lazaro Hotu, was beginning to be frequently present.

It was easy to detect that, while they were just as good Christians as most Europeans, they also had an unshakable faith in tapu, mana, ancestral spirits, and occult adventures. Both took direct pride in possessing personal secrets. The mere fact of knowing something that nobody else knew was reason enough to boast. But from there on, to make them disclose the same secrets was a very big step. After a while neither of them was afraid to confide that he knew the entrance to his own family cave, but asking to see it was like asking a European for the key to his safe after he admitted he possessed one. It became increasingly obvious that the only channel that could lead beyond their initial confessions was to go along with their own ideas when it came to occult activities (Heverdahl, 1958, Ch. 6). This resulted in Lazaro Hotu bringing an extremely aberrant stone mask of a type never seen before (K-T 1284) but one that subsequently reappeared in the possession of other islanders. This first nocturnal appearance was shortly to be followed by the presentation of some more amazing figurines. Before Lazaro took the final step of showing us his almost inaccessible storage cave, however, another of the natives, Atan Atan, suddenly became the first to take this all-out step.

Atan Atan was a younger brother of Pedro Atan and, like Lazaro Hotu and Esteban Pakarati, one of the helpers living with us in Anakena who had a daily opportunity to be in close contact with us. Although Pedro Atan knew of Esteban Pakarati’s disclosures and probably even Lazaro’s, he was extremely alert and cautious, and reluctant to yield in any way. He chose, instead, to encourage his younger brother, Atan, to take the first step. Atan Atan was a much simpler and, in fact, an exceptionally good-natured character. A series of purely coincidental surface discoveries in Atan’s presence, preceded by our archaeological discoveries, and a good deal of concentrated persuasion, made a profound impression on him.

Atan Atan’s first step was to push a large feline head carved from stone (K-T 1406, Pl. 298 a) through our tent opening one night when I was away visiting a sick Easter Islander with our doctor. The big could have been newly carved for it lacked visible patina, but so do stone figurines brought to Chile from Easter Island by the Gana expedition in 1870. This is because there is no difference in storage conditions between a dark, dry, and ventilated volcanic cave and the storage room in a museum. The animal head was most realistic and skillfully executed, clearly depicting one of a large feline species, but when Atan Atan was later interrogated he suggested to our surprise that it represented the head of a sea lion. Our argument that sea lions did not have projecting ears did not impress Atan for, he said, the sea lions formerly visiting their coast were probably different from those known to us. Whoever deserves the honor of having created this anomalous piece of sculpture, it was almost certainly not Atan Atan. He next presented me with a remarkable stone boat, the broad deck of which was surrounded by a frame carved to resemble a thick cable (K-T 1409). In this case he was also unable to provide any explanation apart from referring to the strange model as representing an ancient boat.
To what extent Atan Atan was instrumental in the further development, and to what extent it was directed by his older brother and his aunt may also be hard to disentangle, but whatever the case may be Atan Atan himself undoubtedly acted in good faith. Having first told us that he and his three brothers each possessed a secret cave received from their father, he confided that his was the smallest as he was the youngest of the four. He claimed to bear the additional name Hare Kai Hiva after his great-grandfather, the original owner of his cave, who gave it to Atamo Uhu, who gave it to Maria Mata Poepoe (?), who gave it to his father. Hare Kai Hiva, according to Englert’s genealogy (1948, pp. 54–55), was an old man converted to Christianity by the first missionaries, and he was actually Atan Atan’s great-grandfather. The family’s “cave chief,” according to Atan, was his aunt, Victoria Atan, but in his particular case he had to get the consent of his three elder brothers before he could disclose and thereby dispose of his cave. Victoria Atan proved to be the old woman who had come to place a magic arc of pebbles around the base of the statue the day before it was finally tilted into an erect position. I was told by Atan that she had friendly feelings towards me, because I had given her black dress material and cigarettes when she came to Anakena to dance for “good luck” in front of the men sleeping in the cave. It appeared that the Atan brothers had a superstitious respect for this old aunt, whom they commonly referred to as Tahu-tahu, the local term for “sorcery.”

To all appearances, Atan Atan did not have great difficulties in obtaining the consent of his aunt and the two brothers who worked for the expedition, Pedro and Juan. However, a third brother, living in the village, could not be persuaded by him alone. This brother, Esteban Atan, had not joined the others in the statue erection as he was busy building a small boat. Before our arrival at the island small groups of Easter Islanders, who had heard of the westward drift of the *Kon-Tiki* raft, had embarked in tiny makeshift vessels to escape from the barren island and successfully drifted to nuclear Polynesia, from where they were brought to Tahiti. They had caused considerable diplomatic inconvenience before they were repatriated to their own island by way of Chile. Further escapes were interdicted by the Easter Island governor but, according to Atan Atan, nobody could prevent his brother from building a small fishing boat. In fact, the governor was on the alert and Esteban Atan’s activities were under surveillance, yet his intentions were poorly disguised. I met him one night when invited to Atan Atan’s village house to help in securing the final permission desired by Atan. Esteban Atan proved more inquisitive towards me than I dared to be towards him, but all his questions were centered on the voyage of the *Kon-Tiki* and the fertile islands we had reached to the west.

Esteban Atan, in the course of the night, softened up sufficiently to confide that he had his own cave, more important than Atan Atan’s for it contained about a hundred sculptures, the fragments of a coffee-colored *ipu maengo* (ceramic jar), and an important “book” with *rongo-rongo* written on all the pages. The truth of the latter statement was later verified when Esteban Atan allowed us to inspect and photograph the manuscript book, and he even came to camp to borrow some thick rope to facilitate his descent to his cave. After that he brought us some splendid stone carvings with readily apparent patina.

Esteban Atan’s secret hiding place was never shown to our expedition, and the fate of whatever was left, including the *rongo-rongo* book, is obscure. Esteban and his companions subsequently stole away from the island in spite of the governor’s surveillance, never to return nor to appear anywhere else again. Samples of his sculptures are illustrated in Plates 199a (said to be the “key” to his cave), 194c, 200a, b, 208c, d, 213b, 230c, 244, 274b, 295c, and 296c.

While I was talking to Esteban Atan, his younger brother Atan Atan sat silently until he disappeared for a short time and came back with an old and worn sheet of paper covered with *rongo-rongo* signs and Rapanui words in Roman letters, all written in faded brown ink. Atan was so afraid of this heirloom that he barely gave us time to admire it before he withdrew the sheet of paper, which we
never saw again. To our knowledge it has never been shown to anyone else since. According to Atan Atan, he had kept it in hiding since he got it from his grandfather, Atamo Tuputahi.

The midnight encounter with the two Atan brothers had a favorable result. A few nights later Atan Atan, who had been briefly ill with an infection in a finger for which he had been successfully treated by our doctor, sent a message that he would like me to call secretly at his village house. When we were well inside, he unwrapped a cloth and revealed a most realistic sculpture of a human cranium (K-T 1511, Pl. 197). On top of the head behind each eye ridge were two small cup-shaped depressions. Atan passed me this sculpture with a whisper, saying in Spanish that this was the llave ("key") or guardia ("guardian") to his cave; from now on the cave was mine. According to Atan Atan, there had been powdered bone of an aku-aku in the pits on top of the sculpture. This had been safely removed by his aunt Tahu-tahu. This "key" was to be brought along by me on the night fixed for our visit to the cave. From other informants we later learned that the Rapanui name for an image with this magic function is mataki ana, "cave opener," or also tabiri, "key." Special images left in a cave as magic guardians are referred to as tiaki ana, or "cave guardians." The unworked and inconspicuous stone physically closing the cave entrance is referred to as mutoi or puru ana, "cave closer." Our informants were not very clear about whether a mataki ana functioned as a tiaki ana once it was left inside the cave or whether there was any difference at all between the two.

When I asked if I could bring one of the archaeologists along on the promised visit to his cave, Atan Atan was at first reluctant, but on second thoughts he found that this could do no harm since the cave was now mine and would be emptied anyhow. The objects, however, were to be taken directly on board the ship and not shown to anyone before we left the island. Whatever was said and done afterwards would not matter to him, he added.

The stone skull with the peculiar pits on top brought to mind a small and crude stone cranium already found archaeologically behind the Vinapu temple plaza on the south side of the island, and a second examination of this piece showed much to our surprise that here also two deep pits had been carved on the forehead, asymmetrically on each side of the sagittalis (Heyerdahl, 1961, p. 478; this vol., Pls. 195 c, 297 a). Ferdon (1966, p. 109), who conducted personal interrogations among the Easter Islanders in his own work team at Orongo, and who was to participate in the opening of Atan Atan's cave, wrote: "I later learned from quite a different source that such depressions were for placing ground human bone to create maximum power for this 'key,' or guardian stone." Obviously then, this was not an idea originating with Atan Atan and his cave.

On March 18, the day preceding the nocturnal cave visit, I attended an Easter Island wedding in Hangaroa village. During the outdoor feast that followed I was approached by old Victoria Atan, Tahu-tahu, who grabbed my hand with both of hers and clung on to me, asking me with a friendly but most intense look to bring "good luck" for herself and her family. It was not then quite clear what she meant, but next day it became evident as two of her nephews performed a rather ludicrous and bizarre rite made up for the occasion in the mess tent of our camp. Atan Atan and his brother Esteban had asked if they could come to us for a Norwegian meal for "good luck." They explained that later that night we were to eat from their own umu takapu, or ceremonial earth oven, which their aunt Tahu-tahu was to prepare in the neighborhood of the cave. Esteban Atan was brought along, said Atan, to make up an even number since I had asked to bring along my companion, Ferdon. An uneven number caused "bad luck." When I next asked for the participation even of the expedition photographer, Schjerven, Atan Atan once more felt ill at ease, until again he made our number even: instead of sending away his brother he insisted that his brother's best friend, Henrique Teao, be brought with us also. The senior brother, Pedro Atan, was ill with influenza, but Henrique Teao was just then bringing some logs to our camp to serve as skids, as the group that had formerly erected the statue were now to
reveal how these stone giants were transported. Henrique, who later drowned at sea with his friend Esteban Atan when they tried to escape from the island, had just then started to bring me secret sculptures, and it is not unlikely that the two Atan brothers were aware of the fact.

Our Easter Island maid was relieved for the occasion by the ship’s steward as our select little group sat down to a Scandinavian smörgåsbord and whispered about our secrets. The three islanders first made the sign of the cross and murmured a little grace, whereupon Atan Atan looked up and explained as if almost embarrassed, that this was otra cosa aparte, “something apart” from what was to follow. From then on all conversation continued in a hoarse whisper, and a special phrase composed in Rapanui by Atan Atan was to be repeatedly whispered by each of us as if to convince ourselves, if not the invisible aku-aku, that we were all related “Long-ears” eating of a Norwegian curanto.

As night fell, Atan Atan became visibly grave and solemn. When the six of us climbed into the expedition jeep to cross the island, beads of perspiration appeared on his face, and he repeatedly had to wipe them away although Ferdon and I, observing his emotions closely, agreed that the night air was anything but warm.

By way of camouflage we filled the back of the jeep with bundles of washing to be delivered at the Vaitea sheep ranch, and further on near Hangaroa village we stole away from the jeep on foot. We left Henrique behind as a guard while we climbed a wall to cross a stony field that took us towards the part of the scattered village area where Esteban Atan lived. Atan Atan was now almost hysterical. He was terrified that someone might stumble and hurt himself and stated repeatedly that this would mean “bad luck” for the enterprise. Frequently he reiterated that he was convinced we should have “good luck” because he had always been kind to others so that his aku-aku was satisfied and no one had yet hurt himself on his land. Nevertheless he was visibly worried about the photographer, who was not a young man. He grabbed his arm and almost dragged him along. The photographer hung awkwardly onto Atan’s shoulder as they both struggled to keep their balance across the boulder-strewn fields.

Esteban’s wife, awakened by her husband’s cautious tapping on the window and the door, let us inside while her husband disappeared outside for a brief moment and came back with an old paper cement bag from which he hauled a large, coverless manuscript book. The pages of the book strongly recalled Atan Atan’s single sheet previously shown to us. The paper was old, for its brittle, browned edges were cracked and broken, and the spine had been resewn in a makeshift way. The book appeared to have consisted originally of part of a Chilean paper copybook for school children, into which were inserted sheets from other sources, mostly from a lined note book. On some pages lines of rongo-rongo signs were written in ink, on others there were Rapanui texts handwritten in Roman letters, and on others again there were vertical columns of rongo-rongo signs with the alleged “meaning” on their right in Easter Island dialect (Rapanui) in Roman letters. The date “1936” was written on the top line of one of the pages with vertical columns illustrating various phases of the moon. At that time Esteban Atan would have been about twelve years old.

According to Esteban he had received this rongo-rongo book from his father, José Abrahan Atan, a year or so before he died. His father did not know rongo-rongo, nor could he read or write European letters, but he had made this book by carefully copying an earlier one that was so worn that it was falling to pieces. That original book had been made by Esteban’s grandfather, Atamo Tuputahi, who was said to be a maori rongo-rongo, a local scribe, but as even he did not know how to write European letters he had received help from one of the literate Easter Islanders repatriated from Peru. Both Esteban and Atan Atan were convinced that this rongo-rongo book had magic properties, and Esteban had decided to make a new copy while this one was still intact. When he started to work on
it, he found it to be an unexpectedly difficult task due to the many pages of detailed material. No reasonable prize was big enough to tempt Esteban to part with this treasure, but fortunately we were permitted to photograph its pages for him and for ourselves, before he was lost at sea (Heyerdahl, 1965, Figs. 96–136). His widow later told Barthel (1965, p. 387) that Esteban took his rongo-rongo book with him when he left. Nevertheless, she must have kept it in hiding again on the island during the period of Barthel’s local enquiries in 1957–58, as she reportedly produced it for some French visitors in 1964.

As shown elsewhere (Heyerdahl, 1965, pp. 345–460), while obtaining only photographs of Esteban Atan’s rongo-rongo book I was actually brought a variety of similar faded rongo-rongo paper manuscripts by other islanders who had obviously kept them in hiding and considered them sacred heirlooms with magic properties. None had been known to exist formerly, not even to Father Englert who frequented all the native homes and never missed an opportunity to enquire after material of this very nature. This reminds us of the profane collectors who were able to see and even obtain written tablets on Easter Island when the first missionaries searched in vain and reported that none existed.

Although no other foreigner has been so popular among the Easter Islanders as Father Englert, they were not willing to show him even their inherited rongo-rongo manuscripts for fear of offending his religious feelings. This would also account for Father Englert’s belief that the secret of the last cave had been lost with the passing of the last generation. A subsequent analysis of these handwritten records made by T. S. Barthel, J. V. Knorozov, I. K. Fedorova, and A. M. Kondratov (in Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1965, pp. 387–416) shows that the readable Rapanui texts in Roman letters can be divided into several groups: the manuscripts include mythological texts referring to the supreme Easter Island god Makemake and his creation of the world; legends of King Hotu Matua and his discovery of the island; genealogical lists of kings following Hotu Matua; episodes from the late period of the island’s history from the time of the slave raids; a list of the aboriginal lunar months and their European equivalents; texts mentioning meteorological phenomena and time of agricultural work; numerous names for varieties of sweet potatoes; a chant recited during rongo-rongo ceremonies; a text for religious feasts; etc. In addition to these extremely interesting native records of ancient oral literature, part of which was formerly unknown, one manuscript includes a brief quotation in Rapanui from the book of Genesis. All the manuscripts, including that of Esteban Atan, contain columns of rongo-rongo glyphs with their alleged translation into Rapanui. These proved, however, on later examination, to be somewhat distorted and fragmentary copies of Bishop Jaussen’s nineteenth-century rongo-rongo dictionary that had been compiled by him from the false information of a smart Easter Islander. The islander had been transferred by Brander to Tahiti, and he actually knew no more about reading rongo-rongo than the rest of the Easter Islanders in historic times.

These pages of rongo-rongo dictionaries show clearly that the authors of the manuscripts were all equally ignorant of the meaning of the glyphs and that their ignorance in this one respect, coupled with a keen interest in the ancestral undertakings, caused them blindly to accept the Bishop’s (or actually his informant’s) concocted dictionary as sacred truth. The above mentioned analysis shows that the impulse behind these secret paper manuscripts seems to reach back to the natives living at the time of Salmon’s sojourn in the 1880s. There were renewed additions inspired by the European investigators working on the island at the outbreak of World War I and again in the middle of the thirties. The secret preservation and almost religious reverence for these paper manuscripts seem to place them in the same category as the carved cave stones that were hidden with them. They seem to represent an occult post-missionary attempt by individual families to preserve for posterity memories that would otherwise be lost with the introduction of a new and different culture.
The closed inland cave of Atan Atan

Late that same night we left Esteban Atan’s hut to work our way across the stony field back to the jeep where Henrique was sleeping, I carrying bags with the borrowed rongo-rongo book and the stone cranium, and Atan Atan once more supporting the photographer. We drove for about half an hour as quietly as possible, first north along the shoreline to the nearest well and windmill, and then turned inland onto a wide and bumpy sort of cattle track, until we passed the Puna Pau topknot quarries and reached the top of a small hill. Here all six of us left the jeep. We had to climb over a high wall of loose stones where a narrow trail led through a corn field into an area covered with tall, dry grass. Atan whispered that the rest of us had to wait while his elder brother stepped off the trail and walked about fifty yards into the grass before he stopped with his back to us and slowly started talking Rapanui in subdued tones. Atan whispered to us that his brother was talking to the aku-aku who resided in this field. The name of the field was Matamea, which is also the Easter Island designation for the planet Mars.

When Esteban Atan rejoined us we proceeded to a nearby area where the dry grass was sparse and growing mainly in scattered patches. We were within hearing distance of the surf when Esteban squatted down and dug into the sand with his hands until a shiny green banana leaf appeared. Beside it was buried a small umu, or earth oven, from which a steaming hot parcel of banana leaves was extracted. When the layers of leaves were unwrapped the vapor with its intense and unusual scent filled our nostrils, as a baked chicken and two large sweet potatoes were exposed. None of us was excluded from the pleasure of smelling this delicious perfume. The legs of the chicken had been broken at the joints, and their lower parts with claws intact lay pressed against the body together with the twisted neck and head. The beak of the bird had been cut away, however, down to its base, apparently an important detail, for Pedro Atan had once told me that Tahu-tahu and other sorcerers could kill an enemy by burying the beak of a chicken in a certain way.

Atan Atan, still visibly nervous, inspected the umu and said we would have “good luck.” All conversation was in a whisper. The food was now spread out on the green banana leaf, and I was asked to break off the chicken’s tail and eat it with a piece of the sweet potato. In doing so I had to say aloud, “Hekai iie umu pare haonga takapu Hanau eepe kai noruego.” This phrase might well have been based on the memory of some old ritual formula adapted by Atan to suit the special occasion, for the natives later proved incapable of translating some words which they said were “old terms,” whereas the idea embodied in the sentence was that we were to eat from this ceremonial umu of the “Long-ears from Norway” to enable us to enter the cave.

There was uncertainty among our Easter Island friends as to what I should do with the tail bone that I continued to keep in my mouth. Henrique simply made a sign that I should just spit it out, but Atan Atan disagreed and told me to lay it on a banana leaf. I was next told to tear off a morsel of chicken and sweet potato for each of the others who repeated the same Rapanui sentence. The fact that the photographer stumbled on the Rapanui words, and Ferdon just ate silently when I had said the phrase for him, did not seem to bother the others. Atan Atan now seemed more relieved, and whispered that we could hereafter eat freely of the chicken, because the aku-aku were content having seen us eating in their honor. Nevertheless, the procedure was that once in a while we should throw a gnawed bone over our shoulders and say, “Eat, aku-aku.” When only a morsel of sweet potato was left, I was told to break it up and strew the pieces around. A large green fly that came buzzing down upon the food was considered a good omen; Atan Atan interpreted its presence as the aku-aku singing.

When the ceremony of umu takapu was completed, it was just midnight. Atan Atan asked me to bring the “key” as he led me some fifteen or twenty paces westward, where once more we squatted down.
He told me to find and open the cave. The ground was perfectly level without any evidence of projecting rocks or irregularities; it was a typical sandy field with some sparse, dry grass and small, scattered stones. I was told to place the stone cranium in front of me and say, “Mataki ite ana kahaata mai,” a standard formula meaning, “Open the door of the cave.” Atan now pointed to a seemingly insignificant piece of stone half-covered with sand and loose hay, indistinguishable by the uninitiated from all others in the same field. The sand was carefully brushed away, and the slab assumed the size of a small tea tray. It was loose, and below it was a black, vertical opening which increased in size when four stones at a lower level were also removed. The opening was now barely large enough for a person to slip through, and instructed by Atan, I did so, hanging on first with my elbows and then with my hands, my head inside a pitch dark chamber. Being told to let go my grip I fell down onto a soft, thick mat of what proved to be totora reeds plaited together with twisted bark. First a flashlight was handed down, then the “key,” and shortly afterwards Atan Atan followed.

The cave proved to be a natural, bubblelike cavity not much more than a couple of meters in diameter and situated directly below the narrow entrance hole in the ceiling. On one side a lower arm extended a further two or three meters into the rock before it was lost to sight in the dark, and two volcanic tubes continued at the far end. On the floor nearest to the entrance two bleached human crania had been placed on some rocks. One of them had a patch of green mold over its forehead. It lacked its mandible and had a mataa, or black obsidian spear point, placed on its apex. A bit further in lay a stone skull (K-T 1505, Pl. 196), like the one I was carrying (K-T 1511, Pl. 197), but with only one concavity in the forehead instead of two. Atan Atan told me in a whisper to put the “key” next to this “guardian.”

Atan Atan and I had to move a bit further into the dark to allow room for Ferdon and the photographer to descend into the cave. After a while Henrique came down and took a curious look around before he quickly climbed up again. Esteban Atan did not enter the cave at all (Color Pl. XII top). A large exhibit of stone images and figurines was found in the extension of the cave. It had been placed on reed mats that covered a wide ledge built of loose stones and curved round the walls like a horseshoe. Everything was tidy and someone had recently put hay on the floor. It was quite evident that the cave had been prepared for our visit, and according to Atan Atan this had been done by old Tahu-tahu who had also cooked the fresh umu we had just eaten. On closer inspection each carving in Atan’s collection of seventy-one pieces proved to be an ethnographic novelty bearing witness to a bizarre art tradition and great imagination by whomever the sculptor may have been. The motifs included human beings in various poses, grotesque stone masks, mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, invertebrates, monsters, boats, paddles, composite figures, and nondescripts (K-T 1502–5, 1511–77, Pls. 187 c, d, 191 d, 194 d, 196, 197, 208 a, 212 c, 233 d, 234 d–f, 259 a, 262 c, 263, 265 c, 272 e, f, 273 b, 280 a, 296 a, b, 298 a, b). The only motif in Atan Atan’s cave that was familiar, although previously known only in wood carving, was a typical tangata manu, or long-beaked bird-man standing erect as a free sculpture with winglike hands united on the back (K-T 1525, Pl. 262 c). A most peculiar feature of this specimen was that it had some excrescences and incisions carved on top of the large beak. When the figure was seen in profile they seemed to represent a natural part of the beak, but when seen from directly above, the bird’s head seemed to be transformed into the head of a bearded man. The eyes were the same in both cases but the excrescences became a human nose and mouth with the long beak appearing as the beard of an old man with an upturned face (Pl. 263). It was only during a later museum survey of Easter Island art that I came across another specimen with this very feature: the wooden tangata manu in the Leningrad Ethnographic Museum (Pls. 38–39), which had been brought to Russia by one of the early voyagers prior to Salmon’s introduction of commercial art. The peculiar features of Atan Atan’s bird-man were so specialized that there
must have been some link between his specimen and the one that left the island with the Russians more than a century ago, before missionary influence. This presents two possibilities: either Atan Atan's specimen is approximately contemporary with the Leningrad specimen or his was copied from some unknown older model still hidden on Easter Island. The second alternative seems the less likely since there were no other copies in circulation and Atan Atan's specimen had none of the characteristics of a freshly made stone carving.

Atan Atan confided to me that some of his stones had been transferred for the occasion by Tahu-tahu from the caves of his brothers with their consent. He explained that since he was the youngest his cave had been "poor" compared to theirs. He picked up one of his own original pieces, an impressive stone mask representing a long and narrow face with a flowing beard (K-T 1503, Pl. 187 c), stating proudly that this depicted the king Tiki-Tiki a Taranga. This remark was most noteworthy coming from Atan, for Tiki-Tiki a Taranga is a mythical figure known throughout most of Polynesia, with the marked exception of Easter Island. He is usually recalled as the divine ancestral "fisherman" who discovered the various islands by pulling them up from obscurity with his magic fishing line (Heyerdahl, 1952, p. 241), but the name is far from generally known even to travelers who might have visited other Polynesian islands. What made Atan Atan's reference to this name so surprising is that Tiki-Tiki a Taranga has never been referred to in any recorded myths or royal genealogies from Easter Island, and the survival of the name in Atan's vocabulary is therefore difficult to explain.

Atan Atan regarded this bearded head and all the rest of the sculptures as valuable objects possessing or bestowing mana, but he showed veneration only for the two real crania, which he said were those of certain relatives, and for the two carved stone skulls. He variously referred to the latter as "guardians," "police," or "keys".

The name of Atan Atan's cave was Raakau, the name for a certain plant as well as a special term used for the moon. He repeated that Hare Kai Hiva had been its original owner, but that it was his own father who had given it to him. Tahu-tahu had always taken care of the cave for Atan when he was a boy, and she still occasionally came here to sleep when she was depressed. She was the one "keeping the stones clean." We noted that two of the sculptures were quite wet although there was no water dripping from the ceiling in that place. When we pointed this out to Atan Atan, he crawled over to the wall and picked up a natural boulder covered with a coat of green growth. He explained to us that caves like this with only one entrance, especially those with an entrance through the ceiling, were damp; thus wood rotted and stone objects had to be cleaned at intervals to prevent their surfaces from moldering away when consumed by the roots of this kind of vegetation.

The first respectful whispering was dropped as time passed in the cave, and Atan Atan was sufficiently relaxed to smoke a cigarette before we left for the open air. We took with us a score of the most interesting pieces and intended to return for the rest the next day. Atan Atan begged me to leave the two human crania behind, and he was most cautious in removing all traces of our visit on the ground above because, he said, he wanted to keep his secret cave as a hiding place "in case of war."

Reviewing our joint experiences, Ferdon and I were left with the impression that we had visited one of the secret caves obviously not known to the rest of the island population, and that part of the ritualistic procedure was invented to suit the occasion although founded on fragmentary memories from a local cultural background and probably on the advice of old Victoria Atan, alias Tahu-tahu. Her admitted interference inside the cave before our inspection, with the reported cleaning and displacement of the figures, made it difficult to pass any archaeological judgment on its contents; but the nature of the sculptures, their motifs and artistic style, set them so far apart from common tourist fakes that there could be little doubt that, if they were not all authentic heirlooms, those that were recent carvings had at least been inspired by other sculptures that were old.
Ferdon had by then gained sufficient information through long association with his own workmen at the Orongo site to confirm the fact that most of the ritualistic aspects of the visits to Atan Atan’s cave could be justified by what he had already discovered independently about the occult traditions of the contemporary Easter Islanders. We had, however, to await the possible discovery of an undisturbed cave to pass further judgment on this complex issue.

The open sea-cliff cave of Lazaro Hotu

Pedro Atan once claimed that, if several persons entered a secret cave together, the *aku-aku* would move to another place and there would be nothing to guard the cave entrance from being detected by other people. He might as well have said, “What one person knows only he knows, but what two people know, everyone knows.” In fact, Henrique was not slow in boasting confidentially to Lazaro Hotu, Pedro Atan’s close friend, about his knowledge of Atan Atan’s cave, and, even in the village, people were talking. By then Lazaro himself had been bringing me some very remarkable stone sculptures at night, and unlike those brought to our camp by Atan Atan, these generally appeared to have patina and had never been scrubbed. First he brought me an aberrant stone mask, next a reddish stone bowl with three stylized human heads projecting in high relief around the edges, and after that a small stone model of a *pora*, or elephant-tusklike reed float of the type used by his ancestors when swimming to the birds islets for eggs (K-T 1284, 1312, 1313).

When asked why his carvings had not been scrubbed, Lazaro stated that his cave was one of the few completely dry ones, because it was ventilated by an opening at each end. He and his three sisters had inherited the cave from their mother, who had received it with its contents intact from her grandfather, Hatui. The cave was located in the area of Hanga-o-teo on the north coast. All Lazaro’s statements, like those of the other alleged cave owners, were put on record to be tested in case of a later visit to their cave. His reference to a secret cave in Hanga-o-teo coincided with Englert’s (1948, p. 53) record that old Andrés Teave, grandfather of the present Chávez, had stolen away to die in a secret cave in Hanga-o-teo, where nobody had ever succeeded in finding him. Probably, however, if his relatives had found him, they would hardly have reported the fact to the visiting missionary anyway.

Several days before we were permitted to see Atan Atan’s cave, Lazaro had come to my tent during the night with three more sculptures in a sack. One, an animal head, had its weathered muzzle badly scraped during the journey. It was almost sunrise, and Lazaro, normally calm and stoical, was visibly upset, almost belligerent. He finally told me that he had escaped death that night by a hairsbreadth. After one successful descent to his cave he told me on his way up a second time when a projecting rock he had been clinging to broke off in his hand and left him bending backwards whirling his arms over the abyss. He had spent much of the night afterwards sitting on top of the cliff pondering whether it did not after all bring “bad luck” to take stones from the cave. It took much persuasion to make Lazaro realize that he had, in fact, had “good luck” because he had not fallen down, but that all the same it was madness to climb around on the cliffs alone at night. We agreed that he should not fetch any more stones, but that he should go to the village and try to persuade his sisters to let the cave be transferred to our expedition in exchange for ample gifts for “good luck.” Samples of sculptures brought to camp by Lazaro until then included the items illustrated in Plates 190 a, 194 b, 216 b, 223 a, 231 c, 232 c, d, 236 g, 255 b, 256 b, 259 c, 271 a, 272 c, 278, and 279.

On the night that our party was preparing to set off for Atan Atan’s cave, Lazaro kept lurking about
The tents, and when he saw me alone for a moment he confided that he realized what we were up to, and that he too had decided to take me to his cave but only after I had been to Atan's. The next morning he was still hanging about the tents, and finally begged me to ask the steward for a live hen. We had a large quantity of these that were gifts from our native visitors. He was particularly pleased at receiving a white one, which he interpreted as a good omen, and said it would be necessary to have the ship's launch ready the next morning.

On March 21 we were assembled on board our anchored expedition ship by sunrise, and Lazaro asked for two unopened rolls of dress material and in addition some small article, no matter what. He selected dress material for his two older sisters with careful attention to color. His younger sister was only twenty years old and knew nothing about the cave. He then accepted without much concern a pair of scissors as the third gift. Judging from subsequent events, these were presumably just a token gift to be left for the aku-aku.

The sea was perfectly calm, and Lazaro stern but not nervous as we left the anchored ship in our motor launch heading westwards from Anakena in the direction of Hanga-o-teo. There was very little wind, but as we moved on we gradually ran into big swells and the launch began to roll heavily, causing the calm comment from Lazaro that the aku-aku always stirred up the sea when someone was going to a cave. He sat with big eyes and held on tight until we passed an area of barren lava cliffs between two enormous piles of loose rock arrested while tumbling down towards the sea. Here he pointed out a stretch where his grandmother had once been fishing along the rocks when she surprised another old woman who was busy washing and drying cave stones. His grandmother had passed by, pretending that she saw nothing, and when she returned, the other woman was fishing too and all the stones were gone.

Shortly afterwards we passed the lonely windmill in the Hanga-o-teo crater valley, a great pre-missionary habitation center which was now abandoned. Here Lazaro pointed out the approximate place on a stretch of wild coast to which his cousin, Alberto Ika, had once gone to fetch two well-preserved wooden rongo-rongo tablets, one shaped like a fish with a tail. He repeated what he had previously claimed: his family had four caves. One he was going to show us now; a second and smaller one was in the coastal cliffs at Vinapu, and he knew the entrance to that one too. A third was in the vertical rock face on the south wall of the Rano Raraku volcano; three different families each had their own section guarded by their own aku-aku inside this important cave which was full of skeletons. He would never dare to set foot in it, nor did he know the entrance. We had just passed the fourth cave. It belonged to his cousin Alberto Ika who was the only one who knew the entrance even though his twin brother Daniel was born an hour earlier. According to Lazaro, Alberto had fetched two very hard and almost black rongo-rongo tablets from this cave two years ago, and shown them to Lazaro and many others in his village home. At night, however, Alberto had been pinched by an aku-aku and woke up to see countless dwarfs about to enter through his window. Almost crazy with fear, he got up and took both tablets back to the cave.

Lazaro had hardly pointed out the general area of Alberto's cave when he insisted that he saw four persons sitting on a rock. The rest of us saw nothing, and soon the area was lost from sight as we rounded the next point. The sea now became extremely rough, and Lazaro's effort to point out next the location of his own cave was of no avail; we saw nothing. Water sprayed into the boat, and the surf against the rocks was too violent to permit landing. The wind had not risen noticeably, but its direction had shifted, and it was all we could do to turn around and beat our way back eastwards against foaming crests. No sooner had we rounded the first point when we all saw, on the plains above the area of Alberto's cave, four persons mounting horses, three of them riding eastwards and the fourth galloping towards the west. They were too distant for us to distinguish any features, but Lazaro
claimed to recognize Alberto’s brother and guessed the others were his sons. He was completely convinced that they had been searching for Alberto’s cave.

Back at Anakena after an unsuccessful mission we found our ship pitching heavily, and we had to ride a high surf to get ashore on the beach. We were worried that Lazaro might lose confidence in the face of such bad luck but he seemed unimpressed as we waded ashore wet to the skin. In the afternoon we saddled four horses and set out along the remains of a prehistoric road winding westwards along the north coast between the rugged lava boulders densely scattered over the plateau. Lazaro and I rode in front and Dr. William Mulloy with the photographer followed. A well-preserved section of the road’s aboriginal stone pavement was still intact in a place beyond the Hanga-o-teo windmill, where Lazaro stopped to show us a projecting rock with a high-relief sculpture of a huge, winding snake with cup-shaped depressions carved along its raised back. Its great length and its distinct head with a narrowing in the neck behind it were evidence that it did not represent an eel. The carving had all the aspects of the aberrant cave sculptures except for its greatly superior dimensions and the fact that it was attached to the bedrock. It had been previously visited by Englert who, like us, was struck by the unexpected presence of a snake sculpture in a part of the Pacific where no snakes of any kind were known except on the coast of South America.

We left the ancient trail at a place where a huge statue had been abandoned during transport, a good 7 miles (about 12 km.) from the statue quarries and, crossing an extremely stony plain, we rode into a little gully towards the precipitous sea cliffs. Lazaro, who had been very calm, was growing visibly nervous as we neared our destination. He whipped up his horse and begged me to quicken my pace, so that we might arrive before the others. When we came to the foot of two great lava blocks on top of the cliffs he jumped off hurriedly and tied up his horse, making signs for me to do the same. In a few seconds he tore off his shirt and trousers and, naked except for his shorts, he ran down the remainder of the slope toward the edge of the coastal precipice with a coil of rope in his hand, imploring me to strip and follow him quickly with the hen. Only then did I discover that he had brought the hen, already baked, inside his old shoulder bag hanging from his saddle. Barefooted and also stripped except for shorts, I hurried after him with the bag, just in time to catch up with him as he was about to vanish over the edge of the cliff. He mumbled a snappish and nervous order to me to eat the tail of the chicken and give him a bit when he came up again. Then he immediately disappeared without even giving an answer to my question about whether I was to eat the tail now or upon his return. I barely had time to extract the plucked and baked chicken from its wrapping of banana leaves, and to wrench off its tail stump, when Lazaro appeared over the edge again. Eating the tail I handed him a strip of the breast. Nervously looking to left and right, he gulped it down almost like a wild beast. I was told to scatter a few pieces on the rocks, and when this was done he seemed more relieved and said we could now eat freely and share the rest with the two others who just then caught up with us and were dismounting. Lazaro, still in a great hurry, threw the loop of his rope over a stone that seemed completely insecure as it was only attached to the bedrock by means of a dried lump of earth. He disappeared over the edge once more without making use of the rope or even testing its hold. My question as to whether I could trust the rope had been answered only by a queer look and a challenging remark. Although I was anything but a good mountaineer I felt compelled to maneuver myself over the edge like Lazaro, without relying on the insecure rope, and with the scissors wrapped in paper held between my teeth, in accordance with Lazaro’s specific request. With a sheer drop of some 150 ft. to the turbulent surf against the fallen lava blocks straight below us, we had to climb down in zigzags following narrow ledges that barely gave us a hold for our fingers. We came upon the rope again at a steep place where it hung freely down the cliffside, and letting as little as possible of my weight rest on it, I was compelled to resort to the rope to reach down to a little shelf below where Lazaro had
stopped. There was barely space for the two of us to stand side by side when pressed motionless against the vertical rock. In this awkward position Lazaro solemnly demanded that I give him my hand and promise not to tell anyone on the island about what we were up to now, but he added that I could say and write anything once our ship had left Easter Island. If rumors got back to the village through the yearly visit of the Chilean warship, Pinto, that he had given me cave stones, he would just tell his sisters and anybody else that he had made copies, and in a few months everything would be forgotten. At this point Lazaro seemed more concerned about his sisters than about the aku-aku. Obviously it was one thing to transfer the ownership of a cave and another to empty it for its contents.

The sun was getting unreasonably low and the ocean beneath us was white-crested when Lazaro let go my hand and asked me to locate his cave entrance. He braced me while I cautiously leaned out without seeing anything but a sheer drop interrupted by narrow shelves and irregularities. He triumphantly stated that nobody could reach or even see the cave opening unless they knew exactly what to do from now on, whereupon he first described and then demonstrated a series of steps and half-turns starting with the left foot and ending first by kneeling and then by stretching out in a prone position on a narrow shelf below. After a few kicks in the open air Lazaro suddenly disappeared, but a few moments later he was back on the shelf and now held a sculpture in one hand. This he solemnly handed to me in exchange for the scissors, saying merely, "the key." The carving (K-T 1595, Pl. 193 a) represented a grotesque human head with a goatee beard, large bulging eyes, and a long neck extending horizontally from the back of the head as on an animal. The strange angle of the neck section left the impression that the head had once projected from a wall as described by some of the early voyagers (p. 58).

Lazaro let me leave this "key" on the shelf as I was now to duplicate his difficult movements down to the lower shelf. Only when I was down there on hands and knees, but not before, was it possible to detect a very narrow cave entrance under a projecting rock in front of me on a separate shelf. Lying flat with my arms in front, it was necessary to stretch over the open abyss to reach the cave entrance. Only when my arms and head were pressed inside could I gradually let my knees and legs fall free from the other shelf as I wriggled ahead into the rock.

One thing was abundantly clear: Lazaro, living in the village on the opposite side of the island, had never hit upon this cave by himself. The knowledge of its presence had been handed down to him from the time his grandparents lived on the plains of Hanga-o-teo and thus knew every foothold in the local cliffs. His own information was, as he had already told me, that the cave was called Motu Tavake, which means "Cliff of the Tropical Bird;" the locality was called Omohi and lay at the foot of Vai-mataa on the Hanga-o-teo plain. His mother had inherited the cave from Hatui, her own grandfather.

The hole into the rock, as well as the first section of the entrance tube, was so rugged and narrow that it was difficult even to worm oneself ahead without getting scratched from above and below by the sharp irregularities in the lava. Further in, a faint suggestion of light appeared ahead. At a spot where the passage began to widen a little, although the ceiling was just as low, a dim light from the other end made the contours of two stone figurines flanking the narrow channel visible. The one on the right (K-T 1597) proved to be a small stone bust of the conventional Easter Island type, but distinguishable from the normal tourist fakes by its superior workmanship and genuine patina, whereas the one on the left was of a completely aberrant type, representing two mating turtles (K-T 1650, Pl. 247 a). Lazaro later claimed that this bust together with the weird head he had presented to me outside were the cave's two guardians. He reported that the head had been found by him in front of the mating turtles, and that he had therefore "assumed" that it was the "key."
A bit further in, the ceiling rose enough for a person to sit upright, and here it was found that the oblong cave was dimly illuminated through a small crack in the wall to the right. In a central depression lay the crumbling remains of two human skeletons without a vestige of clothing. Their natural outstretched position did not exclude the possibility of both being entombed alive, particularly since skeletons were usually disturbed through secondary burial on Easter Island in pre-missionary times.

Blocking further advance was a stone plaque placed upright in the center, showing a straddling male figure carved in high relief, with pendent genitalia, raised arms, and all four limbs bent at right angles (K-T 1593, Pl. 210 c). On each side of this menacing figure masses of stone sculptures were placed unsystematically and in several rows on the irregular cave floor that formed a sort of natural shelf around the central depression where the skeletons were.

There were no reed mats and no hay on the floor, nor was there any green growth on the walls or any accumulation of dust in this dry and perfectly ventilated cave. There was no apparent system to the storage of the sculptures except that the masks and human figurines were generally set up to face the entrance side.

Only one motif appeared to be duplicated (K-T 1599 and 1658, Pl. 229 a, b). This was a beautifully carved small mammal, probably meant to be a rat, coiled up realistically on top of a loaf-shaped stone base in the manner of the lizard illustrated by Jaussen (this vol., Fig. 6 e). Next to the straddling male stood a crescent-shaped sailing vessel, its mast and sail carved from a separate piece of lava socketed into a hole drilled in the center of the boat (K-T 1598, Pl. 281). A crude stone bowl was ornamented with projecting human masks around the outer rim (K-T 1601, Pl. 275). The anthropomorphic figures represented large-eyed, grotesque masks as well as less diabolic-looking individuals with beards and extended earlobes. Chickens, sea birds, and bird-men dominated these zoomorphic motifs, but there were also reptiles, marine species, and mammals. Most striking was a very realistic horse carved in relief on a plaque (K-T 1600, Pl. 234 b). There is not a native on Easter Island who is not aware that the horse was unknown to their own early forefathers. A horse would therefore be the last creature thought of by a carver who wanted to produce Easter Island frauds. Although horses were seen on board European ships at the end of the eighteenth century, they were not introduced to the island until 1866, by the early missionaries. It is reasonable to assume, then, that the horse relief in Lazaro's cave is either contemporary with or post-dates missionary arrivals, and yet was not carved for commercial purposes.

Lazaro entered the cave with a slight expression of abhorrence but entirely free from any attempt of worship or veneration. The tension and nervousness he displayed on top of the cliff were gone. Inside the cave he was himself once more and we could talk aloud and freely, although it seemed natural to subdue our voices a little in these surroundings. Lazaro later remarked that there were no evil aku-aku in the cave “because he had said the words” when alone ahead of me. He had no information whatsoever to give concerning the contents of the cave, other than what might have been anybody's guess. He could not identify the two skeletons beyond saying that they were distant relatives. In addition to his comments on the guardians near the entrance he merely pointed out the big squatting figure as the “most important” of the sculptures, as it was the “chief” of the others and represented a former “king.” The sculpture of mating turtles, he insisted, helped to bring that species to the local shores and to increase its fertility.

Lazaro crawled out and assisted Mulloy in his descent to the cave, but the photographer could not be tempted and found instead a distant rock promontory from which he took telephoto shots of our descent to the awkward entrance. To remove the sculptures from the cave without scratching them proved to be an extremely difficult task. It was necessary for me to wriggle back and forth through the
entrance tunnel with only one sculpture at a time, keeping a flashlight in one hand and the carving in the other while pushing cautiously ahead on my elbows in order not to cut myself or bump the figure against the floor, walls, or ceiling. The moon had risen, and Lazaro and Mulloy struggled to keep their balance on the cliff face outside as they received carvings selected and brought to the cave opening by me. With great difficulty they carried them up to the photographer. Even though all four of us collaborated and had the benefit of flashlights, the maneuvers were so difficult and time-consuming that we gave up after extracting eight carvings. We then decided to return with a larger and better-equipped expedition team next morning. In so doing we extracted from this cave a total of ninety-five stone sculptures (K-T 1592–1662, 1864–87, e.g., Pls. 191 b, c, 192 d, 193 a, 210 a, c, 211 b, d, 212 d, 213 c, f, 229 a, b, 233 b, 234 b, 236 c, 239 a, 241 b, 242 d, e, 243 c, 245 e, f, 247 a, 250 a, b, 260 c, e, 264 a, c–e, i, 265 b, e, f, 266 a, b, f–i, 267 a, d, 268 a, c, 269 a, 270 a, 273 d–i, 275, 281).

Lazaro left the scissors in the cave. He even stored the two rolls of dress material there temporarily, saying that he did not want his sisters to make public use of them until after our expedition had left the island.

There was a marked contrast between our observations during the respective visits to the caves of Atan Atan and Lazaro Hotu, and yet some basic elements were in common. Atan’s cave, as opposed to that of Lazaro, was visibly and admittedly brushed up to look almost like a sort of a pagan version of a Christmas manger scene, tidy and neat with clean figures exhibited on reed mattings and with hay freshly strewn on the floor. Whether this was due in part to a regular use of the cave by Tahu-tahu, or whether special arrangements preceded our visit, the general impression was that of a show case, or perhaps cult place, but not that of a mere cache. Atan’s cave was very easily accessible and remained completely secret merely because the roof entrance was covered up and camouflaged. An umu takapu with chicken and sweet potatoes had been prearranged on the spot near the cave opening and certain rites were followed, some of which were clearly adapted to the occasion. The ceremony was carried out without regard for what we were wearing. Atan’s cave contained no true burial, only two skulls placed near the entrance.

The visit to Lazaro’s cave differed in many aspects. It involved an exceedingly difficult access to a cave so well hidden that there was no need of sealing up the entrance. The cave was dry, because of the circulation of air, and gave the impression of being a storage room rather than a cult place. Two undisturbed burials were present: the remains of corpses that had decomposed in situ. The carvings were dark and had patina. They could hardly have been moved through the very narrow entrance tunnel for a long time since none of them bore a single scratch mark such as seen on most of those that had been brought to our camp by Lazaro. Lazaro kept his ceremony to a minimum. He merely stripped to his loins and demanded the same of us. He made no umu takapu near the cave but brought with him a ready-baked chicken. We ate no sweet potatoes. Lazaro let me leave the “key” outside, but Atan made me bring it in. Atan and his brothers reportedly had their own individual caves, and their old aunt was considered their cave chief. Lazaro and his sisters owned the cave together, but only he knew the entrance.

On the other hand there were these elements in common: both Atan (or the Atan family) and Lazaro knew the entrances to truly secret caves of which they claimed private ownership. Each cave was considered inherited and tapu, guarded by some aku-aku to whom certain words had to be uttered before entering the cave area. Baked chicken was eaten as a sort of rite termed umu takapu before the final approach to the cave opening, and the new owner had to divide the chicken and consume the tail himself, while morsels were to be strewn about for the aku-aku. Inside the cave opening there were certain sculptures referred to as “cave guardians” (tiaki ana). One was considered the “cave key” (mataki ana) and was presented to the new owner of the cave before he was permitted to enter.
A heterogeneous collection of small stone sculptures made up the treasures of the cave, and with them were human skeletal remains. Magic qualities benefiting the owner were attributed to the carvings. Both caves included representations of animals known to the owners to be of European introduction. Neither of the caves was to be left entirely empty; Lazaro left a pair of scissors and Atan Atan insisted that the two human skulls were not to be removed.

Whereas the purchases of normal Easter Island carvings involved fixed prices or considerable bargaining, the transfer of cave sculptures took place as an exchange of gifts. Yard material for women’s dresses, khaki pants and shirts for men, fishing gear and cigarettes were the most appreciated items. This was the same trade material that was also available as wages for work and as payment for commercial folk art.

The green-stained sculptures of Domingo Pakarati

On March 22, the day after the first visit to Lazaro’s cave, an apathetic, almost imbecile Easter Islander of about the age of thirty appeared in camp and brought me some oranges and fresh maize. He wanted to sell some crude wood carvings of the usual type. I referred him to some of the expedition crew who I knew were very keen on obtaining further specimens of this type, but the man kept gazing at me, saying calmly that, maybe I preferred to buy some “moai of stone.” I said yes, thinking that it would be pertinent to have a collection of modern stone sculptures for comparison with the material from the caves. The man then pulled out of his sack a very crude and unartistic stone figure (K-T 1587) with short, soft, green moss growing on its head and in a patch on one side. I immediately tucked the piece away from sight, and asked him to come to my tent where I interrogated him as to the origin of his specimen. The visitor pulled out of his sack altogether six carvings of similar general character (K-T 1586–91), and first said that he had carved them. When I pointed at the moss he looked afraid and said his father would punish him if he knew. He now declared freely but in a completely apathetic manner that they came from a cave. His grandfather had shown him the entrance before he died, but his father would be angry if he learned that he had taken things out. There were only a few pieces left and he would bring them another day.

In testing his reactions I found that the man was content and ready to leave as soon as he got a few cigarettes, less than the customary payment for one single modern carving. When I followed that up with the full reward he accepted that, too, without any further emotional expression.

This visitor was subsequently identified as Aron Pakarati, and his father, Domingo Pakarati, was one of the four old brothers who were then building reed boats for us in Anakena. The Atan brothers’ aunt, Tahu-tahu, was the wife of his father’s brother, Timoteo Pakarati. His grandfather, who had reportedly shown him the cave entrance, might thus have been Nicolás Pakarati Potahi, the earlier-mentioned catechist who ran the local church service upon the expulsion of the missionaries in the latter part of the last century. It becomes even more remarkable and significant to note that one of the crude cave sculptures in the first lot brought to camp by Aron Pakarati represented a crowned woman carrying a child in a non-Polynesian manner, clearly a crude and primitive image of a Christian Madonna (K-T 1587, Pl. 219 a). Once again, we were confronted with a sculpture that in all likelihood was of post-missionary origin and yet was hardly intended for commercial use.

The cave of Aron Pakarati was never visited by us, nor was it possible to acquire additional information about it or the few unartistic sculptures it contained. The general crudity of these figures left the impression of their being the product of one and the same unskilled artist. If this were so, they would all be more or less contemporary with the post-missionary Madonna-and-Child statuette. The fact that the cave was a damp one, possibly leaking from the ceiling like that of Atan Atan, was indi-
icated by the fact that one of the carvings was quite wet and also had a big patch of growing moss covering its sculptured surface. The same growth was observed in smaller patches on several of the other carvings in Aron’s collection.

The closed coastal cave of Henrique Teao

Henrique Teao was the intimate friend of the Atan brothers who came along on the visit to Atan Atan’s cave and who was subsequently lost with Esteban Atan at sea. He had just begun bringing me figurines said to have come from his own cave at the time he was included in Atan’s cave visit. Henrique, like the Atan brothers and Lazaro Hotu, was in fact another of the twelve Easter Islanders with whom I became particularly intimate during the period they were raising the statue next to our camp. Like the others he slept in the Anakena cave, where evening talks around the lantern invariably centered on the expedition’s sub-surface discoveries and their own disclosures of ancestral engineering techniques and other secret topics not so openly discussed in their normal village homes.

Henrique presented me with his first gift in a rather indirect way. Esteban Pakarati and even Lazaro Hotu had visited my tent on several occasions at night and brought me figures that reportedly were from their caves, when Esteban, one late afternoon, after work was finished, came over from the image ahu with a shoulder bag of the type in which the Easter Islanders usually carry their trade items, provisions, and various trifles. Once inside the tent he took a bundle out of his bag containing a beautifully carved and rather realistic bird, whose lavishly plumed wings were spread in relief over the convex surface of a natural boulder of reddish lava (K-T 1317). There seemed to be no particular secrecy attached to this transfer, and since Esteban Pakarati had hitherto brought me all his cave stones covertly at night, I asked where this one had come from. Esteban said he brought the piece on behalf of Henrique who lacked the courage to bring it himself. Henrique had said he had “found” it, but Esteban was convinced that he had “been to his cave.”

Some gifts were sent to Henrique, and three days later he came to my tent shortly before midnight. There was only one more day of work left before the Anakena statue would stand upright, but the Chilean warship Pinto was due on its annual visit the following day. The twelve occupants of the cave had to interrupt their work and move temporarily back to the Hangaroa village to help with the work entailed by the arrival of the warship.

Henrique had four completely aberrant lava sculptures in his bag (K-T 1326–29). The most remarkable specimen was a rather flat and conventionalized feline head (K-T 1328, Pl. 230 a) composed and executed by a truly capable artist. The bulging oval eyes were partly surrounded by a raised band forming curving eyebrows that joined in a Y-shape that continued along the muzzle to form a straight and narrow nasal ridge. The transversally set snout with nostrils and mouth were typical of the cat species, and a protruding tip of tongue emerged from the feline mouth. A peg-shaped neck section extended like a handle on the rear side. Another figurine represented a small bust of well-composed design and yet unlike any of the usual Easter Island statues. Carved from reddish lava it had a rounded rectangular cross-section, sagging breasts, and large bulging eyes surrounded by a raised band again joining the narrow nose in a Y-shape, in the same way as the feline head (K-T 1326, Pl. 207 e). Henrique referred to this statuette as a moai mata pupuku, which he translated as “statue with bulging eyes.” He had two more pieces; one was a bowl-shaped stone with a natural depression surrounded by a large-headed mammal that curved around the rim with a protruding tongue and a long, slim tail (K-T 1329); the other was a nondescript carving with two distinct anthropomorphic
heads of extraordinary types projecting from the worked surfaces (K-T 1327). As to the proveniance of these unusual carvings no information was volunteered and questions were carefully evaded during this first night-time transaction. But when Henrique came back another night with six figurines in the form of animal heads and bizarre busts and masks, he remained in the tent for sufficient time to make an indirect interrogation possible. He had not “found” the stones; they were all hoarded in a cave that he owned together with three of his brothers. The oldest brother, Miguel, who worked for the island governor, was in charge of the cave. Henrique and the two others, all three of whom worked for me, had talked Miguel into permitting this transfer of a number of cave stones to me. On this occasion, two weeks before our entry into Atan Atan’s cave, Henrique gave me a description of his own family cave which was recorded the same night: inside the cave there was said to be one stone “god” at each side of the entrance, and he estimated that perhaps two hundred additional stone sculptures lay on the floor around the cave walls on a sort of low, horseshoe-shaped shelf built from old house foundation stones (paenga).

One rainy morning when our twelve statue-raising Easter Islanders were hanging around our tents, Henrique saw his chance to hand me a sack full of sculptures, whispering happily that his eldest brother had consented to let me visit the cave. I was next informed that this brother was going to make a tahu one day that week. I tried to learn what a tahu was without revealing my ignorance to Henrique since it would have been fatal to our success if he realized I did not know. Finally I found that Henrique was referring to a special earth oven his brother was preparing for the purpose of pacifying the aku-aku before our joint entry into the cave.

In the meantime we visited Atan Atan’s cave, and Lazaro’s cave two days later. The evening after the visit to Lazaro’s cave I was a guest at the governor’s bungalow at Mataveri, and left about midnight with Pedro Atan’s son, Juan, driving the expedition jeep. Instead of returning to the Anakena camp Juan turned the jeep off in the dark and onto the village track, as I was wanted for a particular night meeting arranged by Atan Atan. At the crossroads Henrique unexpectedly jumped forth from behind a stone wall and handed me two small sacks without comment. The first contained a stone cranium (K-T 1924, Pl. 199 b) which, through analogy with that already received from Atan, was obviously meant to represent the “key” to the Teao cave, and the other contained two aberrant stone sculptures, one of which was remarkable because it depicted the head and neck of a large bird of prey (K-T 1402, Pl. 256 c).

The next day, March 23, Henrique, accompanied by his close friend Atan Atan, to whose cave we had already been together, told me to come to Hangaroa village by jeep after midnight, since we were to enter his cave. He and Atan Atan were driven by our jeep to the village at about 9:30 P.M., and at about 1 A.M. the jeep returned for us. Henrique had set no restrictions on the number to come along, so our party included my wife, my son, Dr. Carlyle Smith, the photographer, and the expedition steward. Reaching the crossroads between Mataveri and Hangaroa, Henrique and Atan Atan emerged from the dark and climbed onto the overloaded jeep. We were directed to go straight down to the coast and turn right along a rough trail to the first water mill. We parked the jeep there near a large rock, leaving Atan as a guard, while the rest of us walked on for some hundred yards up the trail. Here Henrique left us for a moment, going ahead, as he said, to “say the words” to the aku-aku. He was soon back, and we all continued silently along the path for a short time until we turned off to the left, climbing down between the rugged lava rocks until we reached a small grass-covered spot right on the water’s edge in the lee of a rocky overhang. Here, Henrique immediately located and opened a still warm earth oven of the type made in front of Atan’s cave, containing one baked chicken and three sweet potatoes. This umu takapu, he said, had been prepared earlier in the day by his eldest brother.
Once again I was told to twist off the tail of the chicken and eat it with a bit of sweet potato, saying the following jumble of words obviously adjusted to the circumstances of our visit: “hakai umu moa Ha-nau-epe Noruega” or, “Eat earth-oven chicken Long-ears from Norway.” I was next to serve a small piece to each of the others, each time accompanying the serving by the same phrase, but the others were to keep silent. After that we could all eat freely until I was told to scatter the remaining bones and morsels for the aku-aku.

As soon as the umu had been consumed, Henrique turned round and bent over a seemingly natural rock fall at the foot of the overhang behind us, announcing our forthcoming visit in a low, friendly voice. He then started to lift away some of the loose rocks until a black hole appeared which increased in size as he removed more stones. When the hole was big enough for a person to wriggle through, I was told to enter, and did so, feet foremost. A narrow tunnel led down a slope and opened into a naturally vaulted cave, about 15 ft. in diameter and high enough for one to stand in a stooping position. On the far side, the wall of the cave opened into a kind of side-chamber or niche where a low shelf built of paenga and other stones and covered with totora mats ran all around the walls. On the shelf a large quantity of peculiar stone sculptures of the general type with which we were by now becoming familiar were tidily placed.

Unlike the materials in Lazaro’s cave, but similar to those in Atan’s, the assemblage in this cave left the impression of a well-kept exhibit rather than mere storage. The entrance to this annex was partly closed on each side by long, transversely placed paenga stones, leaving a free passageway in the middle. On the left stone, and resting on a small reed mat, was a carved cranium similar to the “key” that I had left in camp (Pl. 199 b). On the right-hand side a corresponding reed mat was left empty, and this was presumably the former place of the stone cranium already in my possession, since Henrique had claimed that the cave had two “keys.” Two bleached human crania without mandibles lay directly on the smooth earthen floor of the first entrance room on the far right side next to the wall. One mandible lay on the floor but was separated from the skulls at a little distance near the wall. A further similarity to Atan’s cave was that the floor between the exhibit shelves of the inner room was covered with hay, but here similarities ended. The sculptures were completely different in type. The collection included such unexpected motifs as two stone feet carved with pronounced ankle bones (K-T 1737, 1740, Pls. 201, 202 b), a replica of a human hand with a pronounced wrist bone (K-T 1696), and two most realistic rabbit heads with long, erect ears (K-T 1722, 1723, Pl. 235 a, b). Our flickering lights played on other weird creatures: heads, masks, bird-men, horselike quadrupeds, turtles, octopuses, a boat, and nondescript forms (Pl. 184 d). Since the jeep was parked not too far away, we were able to carry away sixty-six sculptures packed into cartons before Henrique sealed up the cave entrance at 4:30 that morning (K-T 1678–1741, 1925, 1926, Pls. 193 d, 201, 202 b, 203 a, 205 b, 211 a, 228 c, 234 c, 235 a, b, 236 d, 241 d, 245 b, c, 257 a, 264 g, 268 b, g, 269 b, 272 h, 280 b, 284, 285, 290).

It was not as easy to pass a judgment on Henrique’s cave as on that of Lazaro where the burials and sculptures were found quite undisturbed. Here, as in the case of Atan’s cave, the floor was swept, the skulls and stones were recently moved, and the hay and reed mats were clean and tidy. The sculptures, many of which appeared to bear the marks of age, could have been brought to this convenient place without much risk of scratching. The dry hay and the well-preserved matting could have been brought for the occasion of our visit, since the apparent damp in this cave, with water dripping from a spot in the ceiling, had left no sign of wear or decay. On the other hand the complete lack of archaeological evidence of long storage did not prevent the sculptures from being authentic and the whole setting from being what Henrique claimed it to be, a continuously maintained shrine. Again, it is not unlikely that Henrique, without saying, might have done what Esteban’s wife had once offered to do in

114
order to retain the secret of “the door”: he might have brought objects from his real hideout and put them on display in another cave, arranged in a manner which might or might not represent a tradition on the island.

The motifs of some of the sculptures are worthy of particular note. Captain Cook’s party collected, as we have seen, a carved wooden hand on the island in 1774 (Pl. 94), but this early event would hardly have encouraged Henrique and his brother to begin to sculpture human limbs in stone two centuries later. The rabbit head was more indicative of its own period or origins. Rabbits or hares are entirely unknown on Easter Island today, but rabbits were known for a short period to the grandparents of the present generation. In fact, rabbits were introduced to Easter Island by the first missionaries in 1866 (Olivier, 1866, p. 258), and two years later Palmer (1868, p. 373) saw them in large numbers in a yard near the church. Their fate was evidently sealed when the missionaries were expelled in 1871, although some still survived when Miklukho-Maklaj (1872, Vol. 8, p. 43) called the following year, and Pinart (1877, p. 228) observed some small rabbits near the village in 1877 before they finally disappeared entirely from the island. That they made an impression on the contemporary aborigines and were somehow included in their pagan rites is disclosed by the fact that Routledge (1920, p. 432) found rabbit bones, one of which had traces of red paint, inside one of the purely ceremonial stone houses at the Orongo cult site. Ferdon (1961, p. 248) also excavated identifiable rabbit bones from the floor of the ceremonial stone house R-31 at Orongo, and concluded that their presence reflects a post-missionary activity at this cult site. Like the previously mentioned horse relief and Madonna-and-Child statuette, the rabbit head thus indicates a post-missionary and yet noncommercial origin of some of the sculptures that now came to light on Easter Island. A present-day Easter Island artist would hardly depart from conventional motifs to depict a rabbit.

Our general impression was that, although Henrique’s cave undoubtedly contained sculptures antedating our visit to the island probably by one or more generations, the possibility cannot be excluded that he and his brothers might have brought objects to this cave for the occasion from some other family cache whose whereabouts they did not want to disclose to us. Their authentic collection was probably augmented by some newly made items. We were frequently to notice that a secret cave was in itself considered of much greater value to its owner than any mobile possessions stored inside it, since carvings could at least be duplicated for coming generations whereas a secret cave was lost forever once its entrance was made known.

The closed inland cave of Andrés (or Juan) Haoa

Henrique Teao was the first to refer to hidden cult objects of a presumably different nature from those we had already been shown. Of his own accord he volunteered the statement that a cousin of his, Esteban Itu, who was now in Chile, had claimed to have a large cave that he inherited from a grandmother in which there were also hidden many “large bottles.” He indicated a globular form when he referred to the bottles, so we asked him to give the Rapanui word for these objects, which turned out to be “ipu maengo.” While ipu is the pan-Polynesian word for the pre-European bottle gourd or calabash, maengo is a purely local word for “ceramic” and has no equivalent in other Polynesian dialects. Old Easter Islanders insist that maengo was known on the island in early ancestral times, a statement that recalls Behrens’ (1722, p. 135) record from the time of European discovery, stating that the Easter Islanders prepared their meals in ceramic vessels, like the Europeans.
Ceramic sherds were not encountered in our own stratigraphic excavations but, as reported elsewhere (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 451–52), shortly before our arrival sporadic sherds of a thick, coiled, unglazed plainware had been repeatedly dug up, together with stone adzes, by the governor, Comandante Ar- naldo Curti, in the deep soil surrounding the governor's residence at Mataveri. A sample obtained by the expedition and submitted to experts at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington revealed that, not only did the coiling technique indicate non-European manufacture, but the consensus was that the potsherd is not even of the usual paste made by Europeans (Loc. cit.). Mataveri, the site where these sherds have been encountered, had been inhabited only by the island governors after it was taken over from the murdered Dutroux-Bornier. Before that time it was an aboriginal habitation area famous for its important spring festivities.

Our quest for further samples of this kind brought to camp an Easter Islander named Andrés Haoa with whom none of us was previously familiar. To our surprise Andrés brought a thin, fair-sized potsherd of a fine, hand-molded redware of obviously non-European manufacture. Not realizing at the time that the piece had been taken from a cave, we insisted upon being told where he had found it, promising him an additional reward. This, unfortunately, prompted him to bring us to Ahu Tepeu, where it was later discovered that a friend of his was helping him by dropping tiny sherds of the same unusual ware in an attempt to satisfy us in the belief that this was the true place of its origin. We had been warned, however: the deception was exposed, and the newly planted sherds proved to have fresh fracture surfaces that perfectly matched the original large piece already in our hands. This indicated that Andrés had held back an additional supply, but he got furious when his hoax was detected, and refused to inform us of the true origin of his sherds.

Shortly afterwards, Father Englert was not a little astonished when Andrés called upon him and triumphantly showed him three complete ceramic jars which he said our expedition was not to see because we had called him a liar. Englert, who knew every corner of the small village dwellings, could verify that the pots had never been kept in Andrés' home, and after Englert's brief inspection they once more disappeared completely from sight, stored anew in some unknown hiding place. These events occurred in the early period of our stay before the existence of secret caves was openly admitted. After the caves of Atan and Lazaro were visited, and the transfer of the "key" from Henrique was imminent, Atan Atan told me that he had long suspected his brother-in-law, Andrés Haoa, of having a cave. Now at last his suspicion had been confirmed. He advised me to restore the friendship with Andrés, as I had put him in a difficult situation at the time I asked to see where he had found his ceramic sherds, since they had been fetched from Andrés' cave. A friendly message and a modest gift were sent to Andrés to put an end to all hostilities and, according to the messenger, Andrés wept with joy when the cold war was thus ended.

I was on my way to a meeting with Andrés Haoa in Atan Atan's village home on the night of March 22 when Henrique, as earlier described, emerged from hiding at the crossroads and handed me the "key" to his cave. Andrés, who awaited me with Atan Atan, could not sufficiently impress on me that I had in a sense compelled him to take us to some place like Ahu Tepeu to divert attention from his family cave where he actually had his ipu maengo (Heyerdahl, 1958, Ch. 9). Andrés claimed that he would have liked to show me the hiding place, but his younger brother, Juan Haoa, was the chief of the cave as their father had decided to give the "key" to him. Juan, he said, would not pass on the "key", but he wanted me to come to his home. It ended with a most dramatic meeting later that same night in Juan Haoa's isolated village hut. He had not worked in any of the expedition teams and I had not known him previously. Even before there was any mention of the cave, Juan Haoa had proved to be an extremely introverted and unfriendly person who behaved in a belligerent way and ignored the meek attempts of Andrés and Atan to convince him of his new visitor's mana.
A broad-built, middle-aged Easter Islander named Juan Nahoe stood silently all the time at Juan’s side. He was identified as the *tumu* of the Haoa family which, according to surviving Easter Island customs, made him a sort of arbitrator and judge in the brothers’ family affairs. The attitude was for a moment extremely hostile and challenging as Juan worked himself into what could be compared to a medicine man’s trance, greatly impressing his friends with his words and manner, and making me feel most uncomfortable and awkward. The oral duel that expanded between the two of us terminated with my being put to a direct test to verify my alleged *mana*. Juan Haoa left the room for a short time and returned with a light, flat parcel and a heavy basket, both plaited from *totora* reed. I learned that I was to receive the “key” but that first, to demonstrate my *mana*, I had to identify the invisible contents of the flat reed parcel. Its lightness suggested to me some kind of Easter Island featherwork, and hesitantly I mumbled a phrase containing the Spanish word *pluma*, meaning “feather.” Juan was furious as he opened the matting to show me that it in fact contained another of the manuscripts filled with *rongo-rongo* signs and other texts in Roman letters, all drawn and written in pen and ink. My prestige was saved through the happy coincidence that *pluma* means both “feather” and “pen” in Spanish, so I was able to convince my violent-looking challenger that my *aku-aku* had told me the right word. The night’s encounter ended with Juan presenting me both his *rongo-rongo* book and the “key,” which proved to be another heavy stone skull (K-T 1855, Pl. 198 d), to his brother Andrés’ cave. The *rongo-rongo* manuscript book basically resembled the one I had seen and photographed on my visit to Esteban Atan, although Juan’s contained other traditions, records, and ethnographic and linguistic information of scientific value, published and discussed elsewhere (Heyerdahl, Knorozov, Fedorova, Kondratov and Barthel, in: Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1965, pp. 359–459).

Juan Haoa was clearly considered by himself and the others present as a person with certain supernatural gifts. He was constantly referred to by the others as the “brujo” or “sorcerer,” and spoke of his own house as well as its immediate surroundings as the “home of the *aku-aku.*” He referred to his wife’s living aunt, who proved to be old Victoria Atan, or Tahu-tahu, as a mighty *aku-aku* who lived in a nearby house and gave him *mana*. He also pointed out a certain row of words added with a different but much faded ink in his manuscript book, and said this was the *aku-aku* of the book. The words read: “Kokava aro, kokava tua, te igoa o te akuaku, eru.”

Juan Haoa said these were “old words” difficult to translate, but he held that they meant, “When worn out at the front and worn out at the back, make a new one.” Kondratov (1965, p. 407) later pointed out that Ko Kava Aro and Ko Kava Tua appear as the names of two *aku-aku* believed to live together in the region of Raai, according to Englert’s (1948, p. 169) list of *aku-aku* names still remembered on Easter Island. There may thus be a double significance to this phrase which was regarded by Juan Haoa as an *aku-aku*.

After friendship had been established, the word *takapu* had to be uttered repeatedly by all of us, “to give *mana* and good luck.” This Easter Island word, *takapu*, which has generally been translated in the literature as “ceremonial earth oven,” thus has magic implication in itself and has nothing to do with “earth oven” unless the term *umu* is prefixed as in the case of the *umu takapu* arranged in front of Atan’s cave.

Obviously inspired by Christian ceremonies, Juan Haoa served red wine of unknown origin to all of us saying that we were now brothers who had to drink one another’s blood. In the course of the conversation it appeared that the Haoa brothers were also the owners of a second cave, for which Tumu (Juan Nahoe) somehow seemed to be responsible.

A strange ceremony followed the next day on top of the round hill overlooking our Anakena camp. Here Juan Haoa climbed onto an elevated hearth uncovered by the expedition archaeologists and, surrounded by the same group as on the previous day, he gave a Rapanui speech in a hushed voice to
an invisible audience somewhere out over the sea and the barren landscape, while holding the manuscript book in one hand and gesticulating towards the sky with the other. As a new sign of friendship, I was presented with a beautiful wooden swordfish carved by Juan Haoa himself, whereupon both of us had to read aloud the supposedly magic sentence in his manuscript book. It all ended with a regular meal offered in the expedition's mess tent. Juan Haoa begged to receive as gifts a small Norwegian table flag on a silver pole and a miniature model of the *Kon-Tiki* raft in a plastic container which he wanted to place in Andrés' cave when the present contents were removed.
The following day, March 24, was the day the expedition gave a *curanto* party for some two hundred Easter Islanders next to our Anakena camp to secure labor for Pedro Atan's planned demonstration of how the monolithic images were transported across the land in former times. During the turmoil an old, feeble Easter Islander of mixed blood rode up to me and whispered that he had come to bring a message: good luck was to follow me if I went to the house of "*el brujo*" the following midnight. He rode off without further explanation, but was identified by others as Daniel Paoa, whose mother was the daughter of Dutroux-Bornier by his island wife. In other words, his mother was one of the two children whose lives were saved by the old man who hid them in a secret cave when both their parents were murdered (this vol., p. 57). The relationship between the old messenger and the Haoa brothers was not clear to me, but "the sorcerer" could hardly be any other than Juan Haoa whose "key" had been in my possession for two days.
The following afternoon I was present in the village church as godfather to the last-born of the Atan family, and the father of the child, Juan, Pedro's son, was secretly asked to be our guide to Juan Haoa's isolated hut that night. Ferdon and I were later offered sleeping accommodation in Pedro Atan's village home, where we were awakened shortly before midnight by Juan and Atan Atan. Without lights we drove our jeep northwards along the coastal road to the leper station north of Hangaroa village and thence we made an inland curve in a roundabout way on bumpy tracks until we stopped alongside the stone wall outside Juan Haoa's isolated hut. With Ferdon and young Juan Atan waiting in the jeep, Atan Atan and I proceeded to the house, to find it empty but for Juan Haoa's sleeping wife who woke up and informed us that Tumu and the two Haoa brothers had been there but left. They had been sitting talking with an "*aku-aku*" between them on the table which I was supposed to get. It was a headdress of chicken feathers made for the occasion by her aunt Tahu-tahu. After waiting an hour in vain, Atan Atan was sent on foot to the village in search of Juan Haoa in the home of his brother, Andrés. Atan had been gone for two hours before he came back at 3 A. M. and reported that he had found the three men in the house of Andrés' and Juan's sister. They had gone there with Tumu to settle a family problem because the sister had a share in the cave although she had never seen it. She was now furious because they had not consulted her before they gave away the "key." Everybody was reportedly upset and Tumu was in a difficult position because the cave had already been disposed of when the "key" was transferred to a new owner. Atan had tried in vain to help, but the brothers had sent their excuse and said that we simply had to wait.
It was almost 4 A. M. when a horseman passed the trail in front of us at full gallop, only to go by again in the opposite direction a few minutes later at a terrific pace. We now decided to give up and had already started the jeep when a horseman, who turned out to be Juan Haoa, came at full gallop from the north, away from the village, and said we must turn and follow him in the direction from which he had come. While Juan rode ahead we drove behind with the lights off and must have been in the immediate vicinity of the island leper station when we were directed off the tracks into a lava-strewn field. We stopped the jeep here behind some dark volcanic outcrops. Tumu and Andrés jumped forth from hiding in the dark and placed a well-made replica of an ancient type of Easter Island feather-crown (*ha'u teke-teke*) on my head. Juan received a sort of sash made of banana leaves decorated with
feathers. The origin of this admittedly improvised ritual was said to be my own reference to feathers (pluma) in the dramatic guessing game performed in Juan's hut the night I got the rongo-rongo manuscript book.

With Juan Atan left in the jeep, we hurried on foot eastwards across an extremely rugged, boulder-strewn field without anybody apparently worrying about whether or not we stumbled. Climbing a stone wall we entered a grassy field between two eroded lava flows, and walked on a few hundred yards until we came to an eroded rocky outcrop where we spotted a small artificial stone circle. Nearby there was a small stone cairn. Inside the stone ring Juan dug away some sand and removed an old sack, exposing a steaming hot parcel of fresh banana leaves, wrapped around two baked chickens and two sweet potatoes. The stones around the parcel were cold, and it was easy to detect that the food was not baked here but brought steaming hot from somewhere else. This might explain the hurry of the horseman who passed before Juan came to fetch us.

I had to eat both the chicken tails and next a piece of sweet potato, while uttering in this case: "Hakai umu takapu Noruega Hanau-eepe, buena suerte" ("Eat of the sacred earth oven of the Long-ears from Norway, good luck"). The Spanish "good luck" appendix was an innovation from previous performances. As I distributed the customary morsels to the others, they, too, had to repeat the sentence this time. The Easter Islanders threw bones or bits of food over their shoulders only once or twice at the beginning of the meal, asking the aku-aku to eat, although Ferdon and I kept up this procedure at intervals to the very end. One of the Easter Islanders hesitantly suggested that we should take off our shoes before we entered the cave, but as I tentatively ignored this proposal everybody kept his shoes on. The nervous tension preceding the entry of Atan Atan's cave was lacking.

Juan next led me into a black lava field completely covered with loose blocks, about five yards beyond the small cairn, and as he stopped he said, turning to me, "Now, open your gate!" Looking desperately for some clue in the endless piles of stones, I asked if he ought not first to notify the aku-aku of our arrival, to which Juan merely replied that it had been done prior to our arrival. Although the light was poor I noticed from their grayish color that some of the dark lava blocks near our feet seemed to have been recently overturned and displaced from their natural position, and I started lifting them aside. Juan immediately gave me a helping hand, and after he removed three layers of boulders a very narrow cave opening appeared, that sloped steeply down as a tunnel into the lava flow. Upon a sign from Juan I crawled in with my feet foremost, my body prone, and my arms above my head. I came into a fairly roomy subterranean cave with a floor measuring about twenty by twenty-five feet and a ceiling too low to permit us to stand upright under the rugged lava. Juan, Andrés, Ferdon, Tumu (Juan Nahoe), and Atan followed, and we were once more six, the desirable even number, as in the case of our visit to Atan's cave.

No rituals were performed nor any ceremonial phrases uttered as we let our flashlights play over the bizarre inventory. Once more we found the floor covered with hay, and in the far end was a horseshoe-shaped shelf of stone covered with totora reed mats and filled with a weird collection of small stone sculptures. Behind this shelf the natural cave continued into another room which was artificially blocked off from the first chamber by a dry masonry wall of crude boulders and cut paenga stones. This sealed inner chamber was not shown to us and might have contained burials, if not objects belonging to another member of the family.

In front of the curving shelf, in the middle of the floor, was a low, altarlike stone platform referred to by Juan as the "tomb." It was coated with a cushion of hay and covered with a reed mat. I was asked to use it as a seat, as it had allegedly been the custom of the Haoa brothers' grandfather. The mysterious origin of Andrés Haoa's non-European potsherds was once more brought to mind when we saw on each side of the central platform a reed bag said by Juan to contain an ipu maenga, or ceramic
jar. On each side along the walls from there towards the opening was a double alignment of bleached human crania and stone sculptures. Approaching the central platform from the entrance tunnel the first object in this alignment on the right-hand side was a peculiar stone cranium the mouth area of which was stretched forward and twisted up to end as a small bowl or oil lamp in front of the nasal region (K-T 1675, Pl. 195 a). Next to it was a bleached human cranium. On the left side, nearest the entrance, lay a bulb-shaped figure looking like a stone pounder with a human head at the upper end (K-T 2000, Pl. 206 d), and after it followed another bleached human cranium. The “key,” which was the stone skull that I had not been told to bring along and therefore left in camp, had presumably been removed from an empty space in the left side alignment. What justified the other figures in the two alignments from being separated from the large quantity of sculptures on the shelf along the other end was not explained to us, and as usual we obtained no information except that all these carvings gave *mana* and good luck. One of the many aberrant sculptures on the main shelf was a human mask with large ears and a tall feather-crown. Although we were then ignorant of the fact, this sculpture proved to be almost identical to the masks reproduced both in a drawing and in wood for Lavachery in 1934 by an islander no longer living during our visit (this vol., Fig. 18, Pls. 147 d, 295). Whether the same islander had also carved this stone image subsequently kept hidden in a cave, or whether he had seen this or another hidden specimen is a matter for conjecture.

Juan showed particular pride in the two reed bags containing the jars, and Andrés was triumphant. Yet upon examination, it was seen that the pots just created another problem. They were not of local manufacture nor were they a European type of ceramic. Both the form and paste were those typical of plain redware pots used among coastal aborigines on the adjacent mainland of Chile for several centuries right into modern times. How these pots had reached Easter Island, and for what reason they had been kept hidden as cave treasures of the same category as paper manuscripts and magic stone carvings, could not be explained by the Haoa brothers or their friends. A crude pattern of incised lines seen on one of the unglazed jars was probably made on the mainland by the aboriginal potter, although both Juan and Andrés considered them of special importance, insisting that they had been incised by their grandfather, and depicted rows of men going to war. One of the pots had a pinched spout and the other lacked its rim, but the fracture was old and did not explain the origin of Andrés Haoa's previously exhibited loose fragments. The third of a total of three complete pots that had been brought forth earlier and shown to Father Engelert was not present in the cave, and neither of the Haoa brothers attempted to explain its conspicuous absence.

The main unanswered question, however, was why and when these ceramic vessels, made without the use of the potter's wheel, reached Easter Island, and for what reason they had been kept hidden. Why would one of the extremely rare Easter Island visitors to the mainland purchase three or more of them when he did not use them but obviously brought them unnoticed ashore to hide them in a cave? One tentative explanation might be that the person who introduced these primitive, unglamorous pots to Easter Island knew that some caves contained *ipu maengo*, and he had seen a chance to acquire this coveted item on the mainland for his own cave. The combination of available evidence does not seem to present any more plausible a solution to the clandestine storage of these presumably unused old pots. It was 5 A. M. when we hurriedly left the cave area, bringing the jars and a few of the most interesting stone sculptures with us. The Haoa brothers had brought our little Norwegian table flag and the miniature model of the *Kon-Tiki* raft. These they left behind in the cave, which was otherwise to be emptied at the first opportunity. Samples from this cave are illustrated in Plates 195 a, 198 d, 206 d, 216 a, 218, 220, 235 c, 245 g, 251 b, 253 d, e, 254 b, 258 a, b, 260 d, 261 b, 265 a, 269 c, 292, 293 a, 294 c, 295 a, 296 c, 297 e.

Two days later the two Haoa brothers and Tumu once more turned up in our camp. Tumu solemnly
handed me a reed bag stating that the contents was something that gave more strength. It was an object from the other Haoa cave which I was not to see except for this one friendship gift. The bag contained a most remarkable stone model of a large reed ship with double masts and sails carved from separate lava blocks and made to be socketed into mast holes on deck. The carving had all the aspects of being genuine and untouched, with patina on all surfaces. A large, conventionalized human head was carved in front of the bow in such a manner that the hair was interlaced with the reed bundles of the vessel. A square depression in the middle was explained by the Haoa brothers as the earth-filled place where the crew made their umu (K-T 1821). My informants stated that the name of the ship was Kohange te tangata tere vaka ("Kohange of the fisherman"), and this, they said, was also the name of the captain. They further insisted that the sculpture represented a ship that in peacetime used to stay for long periods out at sea and only came back to shore every four or five days to bring fish to the people on land and to collect other food from shore for the fishermen. In times of tribal war prisoners were kept on board and sometimes slain and prepared in the umu. This unique piece with the unusual fragments of information that went with it was all the expedition was to see or learn about the Haoa brothers' second cave and its contents. No supplementary pieces were brought. Although the sculptures had little in common, apart from the stone crania universally used as "keys," there was an evident relationship between the caves of Atan Atan, Henrique Teao, and the Haoa brothers. The arrangement of the cave as a functional shrine rather than as a storage place, reed mats on shelves along the wall, hay on the floor, and the tidy arrangement of two human crania on exhibition among the stones, all reveal a common inspiration. It is possible that this inspiration derived from Atan Atan who was present in all three instances. However, Atan Atan was not a very creative or daring person, but rather innocent and reserved for being an Easter Islander. There is more reason to suspect old Victoria Atan, or Tahu-tahu, as a common inspiration, as she was referred to as directly instrumental at least in the underground activities of both Atan and Juan. However, beyond these basic ideas and the concept of eating an umu takapu prior to the entry of the cave, there was a considerable difference in the artistic contents of the three caves. There was as much difference among each of these collections as there was between them and the collections of Lazaro Hotu and Aron Pakarati.

The Ika brothers and the open coastal cave of Santiago Pakarati

A few days before our entry into the first cave, native gossip focused my attention onto the twin brothers Daniel and Alberto Ika and their younger half-brother Henrique Ika, alias "Ariki-paka." According to Englert (1948, pp. 63–64) Henrique Ika was descended on the maternal side from the last Easter Island king, and this was why his compatriots occasionally referred to him with the noble title Ariki-paka.

A number of Easter Islanders independently insisted that they had seen some ancient rongo-rongo tablets brought to the village by Alberto Ika, who had later been so terrified that he had returned them to their former hiding place in a family cave in the Hanga-o-teo area. As recorded earlier, Lazaro thought he recognized Daniel Ika with his sons searching for his brother's cave when we passed by boat on our unsuccessful first mission towards the cave of Lazaro.

A convenient opportunity to approach the youngest of the brothers alone was offered to me one afternoon in the image quarries of Rano Raraku, when Henrique Ika came up to me on horseback while I was working among the multitude of unfinished statues. He wanted to barter his own oxen for some timber from the expedition supplies. I tried to take him by surprise and said I wanted something out of his cave instead of the oxen. Initially, Henrique, with a completely innocent expression, insisted that
he had never heard of secret caves on the island, but I used the fragmentary information already available to me to lead him into a trap, and he ended by stating bluntly that he would speak to his brother, Daniel. There were many things in their family cave, but Daniel would be the one to go in and take something out, he said.

The very next day Daniel Ika’s name happened to be mentioned by somebody else in connection with a planned cave visit. Our Chilean assistant archaeologist, Figueroa, who was then living in the governor’s house at Mataveri, had sent for me as he had learned from native friends that an old woman, Ana Teave, had brought a “stone chicken” from her hiding place with the probable intention of somehow sending it to me. She was now visiting her daughter at the Vai-tea sheep ranch. On the jeep drive back from the governor’s house to the Anakena camp in the evening I stopped at Vai-tea. Ana Teave’s attractive and intelligent daughter, Analola, was housekeeper for the Chilean manager, and she was in charge of our expedition laundry, because of the existence of a nearby water pipe from the Rano Aroi crater lake. On my asking casually how her mother was, Analola looked a bit surprised at such an unusual interest and said she had just come to visit her here at Vai-tea, and was now sleeping in Analola’s room. A sudden idea came to me and I told the girl to go in and wake up her mother with the meaningless message: “Chicken is good but dog is better.” The astonished girl admitted later that she was convinced I was drunk, but did as requested, only to come back still more astonished, almost frightened, reporting that her mother had immediately sat up in bed and answered: “That is why I am here, to go to the cave with Daniel Ika and you!” Analola added that her mother had never spoken to her like that before, and she did not know that her mother had a cave. Daniel Ika was her mother’s nephew, the twin brothers being natural sons of Analola’s maternal uncle.

The next day this same Daniel Ika came to my tent in the evening to sell eggs, and he was quite willing to talk. He repeated the story I already knew of his younger twin brother Alberto being appointed by their father to guard the secret of the family cave. He even gave a detailed account of the written tablets brought out by Alberto two years before, describing one with the shape of a flat fish with head and tail. According to Daniel there were seven rongo-rongo tablets and a large quantity of other carvings in the cave, which was completely dry. The objects were said to be stored on shelves made like beds around the cave walls. One long row of objects in the same cave belonged to an old family now completely died out, and many “devils” guarded them so they could not be touched. Daniel said he would be willing to go in and fetch their own property, and Alberto was willing to let him do so. The latter did not dare come along to show Daniel the exact location of the entrance, however, and his verbal description had not enabled Daniel to find the door.

Daniel volunteered that he would now probably be permitted to enter another cave also, as his mama-tia (maternal aunt), Ana Teave, had asked him to come along to her cave as she was afraid of the devil. He knew that her cave was near the water hole in Vai-tara-kai-ua on the northeast coast, and that there was supposed to be a stone chicken near the entrance and many things further in, including a hard, black and polished statue about 3 ft. tall. He knew his own mother had a cave in the very same area, and that old Timoteo Pakarati “had a share” in one of these caves.

As we passed Vai-tea again late the following night, Analola was full of information. Daniel had talked her mother into not bringing Analola along to the cave as it would mean bad luck. She had listened at the key hole, and now knew the cave to be at Vai-tara-kai-ua. Her mother had left that same afternoon, after asking Analola for two chickens, a piece of mutton, and four candles. Analola knew that her mother was going to spend the coming night in the abandoned shepherd’s hut at Rano Aroi, and that after dark the following evening they would proceed to Vai-tara-kai-ua to visit the cave. They had spoken of a problem created by the fact that old Timoteo Pakarati was now sleeping on guard in Vai-tara-kai-ua every night, giving as his reason that he was so “fond of chicken.”
Actually, because of the local existence of the water hole and some small trees, Vai-tara-kai-ua was a favorite resort for wild poultry, but there was no excuse for old Timoteo to sleep there for this reason, especially as he worked for us in Anakena during daytime. Analola’s statement, however, brought to mind Daniel Ika’s earlier recorded information, that Timoteo Pakarati had a share in one of the two local family caves.

When Timoteo came riding to camp next morning I realized, because of Analola’s information, that this old man might be an obstacle preventing her mother and Daniel Ika from entering the cave in Vai-tara-kai-ua that coming night. In the afternoon I therefore brought him out to the expedition ship and treated him to a substantial meal, while telling him to remain on board as an extra night watchman until next morning. At breakfast the regular watchman reported that Timoteo had been asleep in the hold all night and that, as daylight broke, they had seen smoke from Vai-tara-kai-ua. Our precaution proved of no avail, however, for we learned from Analola that her mother had returned without success, for although Timoteo had not been there himself, his wife had come from the village and was found camping on watch in his place. Timoteo’s wife proved to be none other than old Victoria Atan, Tahu-tahu. How she happened to come to relieve her husband in Vai-tara-kai-ua that very night remains an open question. Three days later, the day after our entry into Atan Atan’s cave, I was with Father Englert when we met Timoteo on horseback along the trail to the village. Englert, who had not seen Timoteo for some time, exchanged some friendly salutations ending with a greeting to his wife. Timoteo smiled happily and as we passed on said to me with a broad grin, “She is a bit tahu-tahu you know.”

A week passed without news from the Ika brothers, when one afternoon Daniel Ika came to my tent again. He claimed that after a week of continuous request, his twin brother Alberto had conceded and finally shown him the entrance to the family’s ana miro, or “wood-keeping cave.” There were seven rongo-rongo tablets inside, four of well-preserved wood and three of stone. A large number of objects were reportedly stored in groups around three walls, and dance paddles (ao) were placed to separate the property belonging to different families. Daniel, however, was prevented from removing anything from the cave, for Alberto had informed him that he had asked the “devil” to kill him and his family if he ever went back except in the presence of his twin brother.

The possibility of entering the Vai-tara-kai-ua cave seemed completely eliminated when the younger brother, Henrique Ika, came secretly to my tent with some melons later that same night accompanied by his wife. Daniel had been of no help, they said, but two nights ago they had discovered another cave. In it they had found a wooden object in a totora bag, which looked as if it were covered with white crystals of salt spray. When they touched it everything had crumbled to pure dust except for some small pieces of crisp totora. Henrique’s wife had wept all night as she said they had now lost the chance of getting the beams needed for their projected new house. She had once been told by her grandmother, however, that she had inherited a share in a cave for which her uncle, Santiago Pakarati, a brother of her late father, was now responsible. Old Santiago was also a brother of Timoteo who was Tahu-tahu’s husband. He was then engaged as fisherman for our expedition, and happened to live with his niece in a little shepherd’s hut on La Pérouse Bay. She had therefore begged him to show her the entrance to the cave in which she held a share, and old Santiago had at last broken down and promised to take her to the secret place near Vaihu the forthcoming night. She asked us to come along too.

After dark on March 28 our jeep left camp, heading for La Pérouse Bay with myself accompanied by our Chilean assistant, Eduardo Sanchez, as well as by the captain and first mate of the expedition ship. As agreed with Henrique Ika we were to call at their shepherd’s hut in the local plains to pick up him and his wife as well as Arne Skjölsvold, and old Santiago, our indispensable guide. We were met at the
door by Skjølsvold and Henrique Ika who reported that Santiago was ill in bed and could not come. However, he had made a "map" to make it possible for his son Nicolas to find the cave. Realizing this to be the usual excuse that would result in nothing, I entered the house to find old Santiago fully dressed under a blanket where he immediately started a forced coughing. It was easy to tease him with jokes and laughter until he was unable to keep up the act and crawled out of bed with a grin. Not long after Santiago was sitting at my side in the jeep, silent and serious.

We passed the statue quarries of Rano Raraku and were turning westwards along the south coast when Santiago warned us that this cave was "not a cave for hiding things" but "a place to go in case of war." He added, however, that there was "something" inside. He himself had never removed anything, except very many years ago when he had fetched "something" for catching fish for his family. He was about seventeen years old then, and an old relative had just shown him the cave before she died. In the plains just before Vaihu we parked the jeep off the trail and walked across rugged terrain towards the coastal cliffs in clear moonlight. Reaching the very edge of the lava bluffs, with a vertical drop of some 30 ft. down to the foaming surf, Santiago produced a homemade rope ladder from his shoulder bag, and threw the upper step around a projection in the sharp lava. He next opened up a bag handed him by his niece, containing cold, baked chicken wrapped in banana leaves, and once again I was told to eat the tail "as the cave was being shown to me." Santiago's bag also contained baked sweet potato, but somehow nothing was eaten apart from the tail stump devoured by me. The rest of the food was left on the rock. The old man then bent over the cliff and in a low voice he began to sing a monotonous prayer to the aku-aku, stopping abruptly and telling us that now we could go. Santiago's own son, Nicolas, climbed down first. He was instructed by his father to take off his shoes and also to strip to his shorts. The rope ladder ran right across a projecting lava bluff and hung loose in the air from the overhanging rock. About ten or twelve feet below the projecting overhang Nicolas suddenly disappeared from the ladder into an invisible cave, and leaning over the cliff we saw nothing but the empty ropes and the white foam from the surf down below. The two ship's officers followed next, and after them Henrique Ika. I was about to follow suit when Henrique came up the rope ladder again in a great haste and was hauled up onto the cliff's edge. His knees were trembling and his voice was filled with horror as he said he had seen something just inside the entrance, and was too scared to enter as he was "not accustomed to caves." Santiago added calmly that Henrique was afraid of devils because he was not used to caves, and to Henrique's great disgust his wife ended up by scorning him, although neither she nor Santiago displayed any more courage than Henrique; all preferred to remain on top.

Once the difficult descent was made, considerable agility was required to reach across to the rock by twisting the body through a frame in the dangling rope ladder, and thus enter feet first and face up into the narrow crack that was at a distance from the ladder and proved to be the entrance to an open cave. In fact, the access to this narrow cave opening was so awkward that Skjølsvold broke a rib before he managed to free himself from the ladder and squeeze through the crack that led into a low cave further in. A candle brought by Santiago's son lit up the small, low-roofed vault. Part of the central floor was covered with the remains of two decomposed burials wrapped in decayed mats of totora reed. The fairly even degree of decay seemed to speak against any really great interval between their entombments. This might perhaps not be said in the case of a single burial isolated from the two others inside a natural stone crypt near the left wall of the cave. The bones and reed wrappings of this third burial seemed slightly better preserved than the rest, as small reed fragments could be carefully removed from the wrapping, whereas those in the rest of the cave crumbled completely upon the slightest touch. According to Santiago, the decayed bones, most of which had turned greenish-blue in color, belonged to distant relatives buried prior to the missionaries' initiation of Christian burials in the Hangaroa
cemetery. Actually, in this case the reed wrappings, and also the very awkward access to the cave, seemed to eliminate the possibility of any of these skeletons being the remains of old and sick people who had entered the cave of their own accord to die.

Alongside the two extended skeletons which were stretched out side by side on the central floor lay small reed bags containing stone figurines of the general type we had recently been getting. The plaited totora reed bags were in the same decayed condition as the mats around the burials, and crumbled completely upon the slightest touch. The stone carvings were crude and recalled in many ways the unartistic figurines stolen by Aron Pakarati reportedly from his grandfather’s cave. Aron’s father, Domingo Pakarati, was another of Santiago’s brothers and thus he might possibly have had a share in this same cave, or at least the artistic remains might very likely derive from the same sculptor. The two most striking carvings among the eight which surrounded the central burials were one representing a female figurine and another representing a double-faced bust with large spear-shaped noses joined at the apex. One of the two additional sculptures entombed with the isolated burial, whose crisp totora wrapping broke into a multitude of fragile segments on removal, was found to depict a langosta or clawless lobster in a very realistic manner. It was of the same type previously found in the cave of Lazaro (Pl. 255 b) and also like the one brought to us by Pedro Atan. Several independent informants maintained that a sculpture of a lobster, like that of a fish or turtle, would attract the species to the fisherman and increase the quantity of the kind represented.

Before our descent Santiago had most insistently begged us to leave one sculpture behind in the cave, regardless of type, and as two statuettes represented almost identical figures of standing men with bird’s beaks, one of these was left in the cave on our departure. This figure, however, was removed a year later when a subsequent visitor to Easter Island, Thomas Barthel (oral information), was taken to the same cave by our guides, after having learned of its existence through the records of our expedition.

Back on the edge of the cliff I tentatively picked up the food parcel from the rock and divided it among the party, since only the chicken’s tail had been eaten. The three Easter Islanders refused to touch any of it, and kept away with worried expressions until the gnawed bones were thrown into the sea. Not until we were back in the jeep and driving away from the site did Henrique Ika, otherwise a proud and very brave man, gain courage enough to laugh at his own fear.

The open coastal cache of Pedro Atan

Pedro Atan was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable although not necessarily the most saintly among the contemporary Easter Islanders. The island population had elected him alcalde (mayor), or their chief spokesman to the Chilean governor. He was the oldest of the four Atan brothers whose genealogy, as stated, was counted in twelve paternal generations back to the last Long-ear, Ororoina (Englert, 1948, pp. 54–55, 127). Modesty was not one of Pedro Atan’s strongest virtues and he never hesitated to use superlatives about his own abilities and knowledge. Although many considered him a boaster, nobody could deny that it was he who made the most beautiful and accurate replicas of the ancient Easter Island wood carvings. His products were more coveted and generally higher priced than those of the other islanders, many of whom were excellent artists. The fact that he had demonstrated that he really knew to perfection the method by which a small group of men could erect giant monoliths also proved that he possessed knowledge of the past that he had managed to keep secret throughout his lifetime, though he knew very well that a great number of investigators, including Father Englert, had attempted to get this particular information from the contemporary population.
Pedro Atan’s emotional reaction when he saw the first aberrant sculptures that had been brought to camp as gifts from young Esteban Pakarati made me concentrate my efforts of persuasion on him from the very moment it became clear that objects of this kind were kept in hiding on the island. Yet, on this one point Pedro appeared more superstitious and reticent than any other Easter Islander we approached in the same manner. Esteban had brought his first aberrant figures almost three weeks earlier, and four other Easter Islanders had already started to bring similar material, before Pedro Atan was willing to bring a small sample selection of weird stone figures which, camouflaged in a sack of corn and melons, had to be fetched in broad daylight from his village home in Hangaroa. His samples included the first stone lobster we had ever seen (K-T 1338), though Lazaro could immediately match it with a similar specimen from his own cave. It was not until the following month that we entered the sea-cliff cave of old Santiago Pakarati and, as stated, found another stone lobster inside an ancient toto ra wrapping which crumbled on touch. Among the more outstanding pieces in this first collection of Pedro Atan’s was a somewhat anthropomorphic rat, carved from a dorsal view, crawling over a vaulted stone with its left forefoot stretched forward and the right one backwards, the hind legs terminating in human feet (K-T 1332, Pl. 228 b); another long, slim quadruped carved as a free-standing sculpture with short, stunted legs and erect ears (K-T 1330, Pl. 233 f); and a couple of extraordinarily realistic and ferocious-looking canine heads with snarling mouths (K-T 1333, 1335, Pl. 231 b).

According to Pedro Atan, his father, José Abrahan Atan, had instructed him in his “work” and made him work from the age of five, but he had never shown him anything from a cave until he was fifteen. He had then been taken to the neighborhood of the cave where he had to wait while his father went in and fetched something to show him. Pedro Atan estimated that at least fifteen family caves were still known and in use on the island. He had not found any of his own children worthy of being taken into confidence because they were “modern” and would only use the contents for trade with passing ships. Pedro Atan subsequently brought a few more pieces before he suddenly stopped entirely, and it was impossible to persuade him to bring anybody along to his cave. He blamed the aku-aku, his deceased grandmother, and anything he could think of for not permitting him to reveal the entrance, and he claimed that since his cave was the principal one that had belonged to his lineage since the time of Oroaina, his family insisted that he would die if he broke the “law” of the cave. His family had suggested, he said, that he might carry the contents into another cave instead, where we could take a photograph, if that was what we needed, but they had not permitted him to disclose the entrance to the real cave. It was as a sort of compensation for this refusal, and with Pedro’s obvious blessing, that we were taken soon after to what was termed the “less important” cave of the youngest of the four Atan brothers, Atan Atan. Subsequently, only four days after our entry into this first cave, the third of the Atan brothers, Juan Atan, an exceptionally reliable Easter Islander working for Ferdon on his excavations in the Orongo ceremonial village, secretly presented me with a small collection of fine lava sculptures. They were reportedly carved by his great-grandfather, Hare Kai Hiva, who was an old man when the first missionaries arrived and christened him Atamu (Adam). Juan explained with sincere regret that he could not show anybody the entrance to his depository because three families had their collections in the same cave. Samples of his sculptures are illustrated in Plates 230 b, 242 a, 252 a, 256 a, and 268 e. Three days later, on March 26, the remaining Atan brother, Esteban, the boat builder who had by then accompanied us to his youngest brother’s cave and also shown me his puzzling manuscript book, brought a magnificent stone skull described as his own “key” (K-T 1820, Pl. 200 b). It was agreed that a visit should be organized to his cave two nights later. Next day, however, Esteban Atan came riding over to our camp and asked to borrow some strong rope. He now used the same excuse that his brother Juan had just resorted to: there were two other persons who had things in the same
cave and they now bluntly objected to anybody else being shown the place. All he could do was to remove his own property and seal the entrance after him. This was an exceedingly difficult operation for a person alone, he said, as the cave was in the vertical cliffs on the coast northwards of Ahu Tepeu. He had spent the whole night removing a few sculptures from inside the cave to a narrow ledge outside, but needed rope to hoist them up the precipice. When he returned with rope the following day Esteban Atan brought some outstanding pieces of stone sculpture. Samples of his collection are illustrated in Plates 194 e, 200 a, 208 c, d, 213 b, 230 c, 244, 274 b, 295 c, and 296 e.

The Chilean warship _Pinto_ had made its brief annual call and was anchored off Hangaroa bay, just before the Easter Islanders began to take our expedition members to their secret caves. As always, an influenza epidemic known locally as the _cocongo_ swept the entire native population, and although the general effects were less severe this year than normally, enough disaster occurred to make some of the worst stricken among the superstitious population suspect a punishment for having given away _tapu_ objects. Pedro Atan happened to be one of those most severely hit; he lost his favorite grandchild and was himself so ill with pneumonia that his family expected him to die.

Before these misfortunes struck him, Pedro had presented me with the aforesaid series of figures including those illustrated in Plates 190 d, 192 b, 206 b, 207 a, b, 213 a, 228 b, 231 a, b, d, 232 b, 233 a, f, 246 a, 252 b, e, 260 a, 264 h, 267 b, 286, and 287.

When he recovered, Pedro Atan was found to be pale and emaciated as he was fetched by our jeep for his first brief visit to Anakena as a convalescent. More firmly than ever he now insisted that we might ask anything from him, but not what he simply termed “the door.”

Nevertheless, Pedro Atan seemed to change his mind completely once we started to enter the caves of others. The wife of his son Juan had given him a new red-haired grandson. Red hair was a family characteristic from pre-European times and considered by Pedro to be a sign of “good luck”. We were told that Tahu-tahu suddenly consented to let him dispose of his important cave. A curious “key,” in the shape of a pig’s head with three depressions said to have contained human bone meal removed by Tahu-tahu, was presented to me by Pedro Atan. However, rather than this transfer resulting as usual in an immediately forthcoming visit to the cave, day after day passed by, while Pedro Atan was too busy to be seen anywhere. Almost two weeks went by before Pedro finished “making food offerings,” as he said, to the _aku-aku_. The _aku-aku_ was almost suspiciously slow this time in giving its approval. We had in the meantime visited the caves of Atan Atan, Lazaro, Henrique, the Hoa brothers, and old Santiago.

On March 29, the day preceding the cave entry finally fixed by Pedro Atan, I received one more visit from the indolent young Aron Pakarati. He produced this time, solely for inspection and photography, some torn fragments of an old manuscript book (_Heyerdahl_, 1965, Pls. 189–91). He had reportedly stolen these from the cache of an uncle, and insisted on putting them back into hiding after my mere inspection. He also unpacked some freshly made and unartistic stone heads which he offered for barter, and admitted when asked that some young men in the village had told him to trade these on their behalf. This came as no surprise, since Ferdon, Figueroa, and a number of Easter Islanders had recently reported that the village was full of rumors concerning our secret visits to storage caves, and that, in consequence, a number of the more intrepid young men had started a secret production of imitation “cave stones” in their village back yards.

Early in the night Juan Haoa, “the sorcerer,” suddenly popped up in front of me in the dark between the tents. He appeared bitterly angry and told me in a grim voice that he had come all this way because his _aku-aku_ had ordered him to tell his new “older brother” not to accept any more “things” unless they were brought by one of Pedro Atan’s three younger brothers. What I had I should keep, he said, but I should accept no more, and he would know about it if I ignored his words.
He had hardly disappeared into the night before a young couple, Moices Secundo Tuki and Rosa Paoa, turned up outside my tent. They were an extremely humble and honest couple; he was one of my best workers, and inside my tent they produced from their bags seventeen of the most remarkable small stone figurines from Easter Island ever seen by me. A female bust carrying a large fish in ropes on her back (K-T 2193, Pls. 224–25) and a sphinxlike quadruped with an elegantly conventionalized human head (K-T 2192, Pl. 237) stood out as something quite unique. The patina of all the pieces left no doubt as to their authenticity. Nevertheless, Juan Haoa had been so extremely emphatic in his almost threatening message that I found it advisable to send the astounding couple away with their collection, begging them, however, to retain the carvings for some days in case “my aku-aku should change its mind.” As they proved to have come from somewhere on foot, they were given a jeep lift back to Hangaroa village in the dark, where I had a prearranged rendezvous that night with Dr. Mulloy, the expedition photographer Schjerven, and Pedro Atan with his son Juan. As soon as the couple had been let off we drove on to the isolated hut of Pedro’s old aunt, Tahu-tahu, who gave us an extremely warm welcome. Here her son Santiago Secundo Pakarati joined the rest of us, and we were now six men who set out on foot to visit Pedro Atan’s cave.

We had barely climbed a stone wall and were still on a terrace inside Tahu-tahu’s field, when the delicious perfume of a chicken umu rose from a visible heap of small heated stones, which quite correctly contained a hen baked in banana leaves. Pedro Atan seemed extraordinarily gay and contented, explaining that Tahu-tahu’s son, with whom we had formerly had no contact, had to come along because he had helped Pedro to persuade the old woman to let us take over the cave. The conversation went on, in Spanish as usual, and it did not escape our notice, that in this case, Spanish was apparently also the language understood by the local aku-aku. In fact, Pedro instructed me to eat the chicken tail and distribute the rest among the other five men present, whereupon each of us was told to toss the last morsel over our shoulder saying in Spanish, “Aku-aku para buena suerte” (“Aku-aku for good luck”).

Pedro Atan seemed somewhat theatrical and self-confident as he went aside for a smoke after the meal, before he asked us smilingly to follow him into the field. He told us beforehand that when we came to the cave entrance I had to say in Rapanui “ Koau Hanau-eepe Noruega matakite ana” (“I am a Long-ear from Norway, open the cave”). This instruction was repeated several times while we were still in Tahu-tahu’s garden, as Pedro explained he could not give us any instructions once we came to the real spot. Before setting out I was unexpectedly asked if I wanted to visit a cave with a very difficult access in a coastal cliff or a sealed one easily accessible inland. I suspected, and was probably right in doing so, that this choice was a trap to test my mana, and replied merely that I wanted to see the one with the most important contents.

We now walked across seemingly endless stone fields and crossed several sheep walls until, at about 2 A. M., Pedro Atan stopped in front of an artificially piled up heap of stones suspiciously far away from Tahu-tahu’s chicken umu. There was in this case no doubt as to where the cave entrance was concealed, for whoever had built the pile had taken no care to place the lava boulders consistently with their darkest, sunburned side up. The stone pig head brought along on Pedro’s special request was now produced, the magic Rapanui sentence pronounced by each of us, and when the top layers of stones had been removed the opening immediately appeared. With the two islanders close behind me, I slid down through a short but narrow, steeply slanting shaft, the floor of which had been recently carpeted with a freshly made totora mat. The cave itself was small and insignificant, and as I entered I hit my head against something hanging on a string from the roof. The beam from the flashlight immediately revealed that it was a light-colored, freshly carved stone bird with a human skull projecting from its back. Even the braided string was new.
Greatly disappointed I checked the rest of the cave exhibit. There were no burials, nor any hay on the floor. Three freshly made totora mats were placed directly on the soil on each side and at the far end of the cave. These three mats supported neatly arranged rows of rounded rectangular stone plaques of a remarkably homogeneous size and shape. The bright, freshly cut surfaces and the serial production with a striking lack of variation immediately set this cave far apart from all those hitherto visited, including that of Pedro’s own younger brother, Atan Atan. Each plaque bore a very simple relief design on its convex upper surface, and every one of these designs appeared to be but a well-known ideogram copied from the rongo-rongo symbols and enlarged. The monotony was only broken by three rather uninteresting bearded heads, a stone bowl containing freshly cut tufts of human hair each tied together with a piece of new string, and a more impressive three-masted stone ship which, however, was equally freshly made and obviously copied from the original stone boat previously brought to camp by Pedro himself. Mulloy and the photographer had barely time to enter through the shaft before I was on my way up again asking them to follow.

Pedro Atan and his cousin looked extremely uneasy as they came slithering out behind us and sat down silently on some stones. While heading towards the cave Pedro had repeatedly insisted that before the same night was over we had to remove everything hidden in it. The reason was now apparent: this cave was not a secret one at all, and thus not safe from thieves, as it had only been covered up for the occasion of this one visit. To observe the reaction of the two guilty cousins, I now proposed to bring all their carvings to Tahu-tahu’s hut and leave them there until we could fetch them in the morning. They both reacted violently against this proposal, explaining that Tahu-tahu would weep if confronted with these old family stones. The fear of letting old Tahu-tahu see their fakes seemed to indicate that the old woman was ignorant of the swindle.

Pedro Atan broke down completely and wept like a child when he was told that we had seen through his simple hoax. Mulloy now suggested that Pedro should immediately show us his real cave before he got time to prepare another show. It was about 4:30 A.M. before Pedro finally yielded to this request, and both Mulloy and I were then so tired and so thoroughly disgusted that neither of us was tempted, especially since Pedro admitted that he would never show us his big family cave, but only a small cache in one of the seaward cliffs.

Next day, however, on March 30, Pedro was quite beside himself, remained in bed, and would neither eat nor drink. It was decided that Mulloy, who at that time had his headquarters in Hangaroa village, should go the same night and check the other cache Pedro had suggested. Pedro would not leave his bed, but provided his son Juan with a crude sketch map and verbal instructions, and accompanied by Mulloy, the young man rode off at about midnight to the precipitous coast of Hangatepeu on the northwestern side of the island. Father Englert had told us that he had often heard from old people that there were supposed to be several caves with something hidden inside in that area, and this was also where Lavachery and Métraux had attempted their unsuccessful cave descent (p. 76).

The next morning a note from Mulloy stated that his visit to this cave had been exactly what he had hoped for, and I was asked to come to the village immediately to see a sample he had fetched. We now learned that the descent to the cave had been extremely perilous and could only be executed by rope. There was a drop of some 300 ft. down to the sea, and the cave entrance was about 60 ft. below the edge of the plateau. The locality was just beyond the sheep fence north of Ahu Tépeu, but, as expected, Pedro’s map had not been too exact, and Juan had made descents at a number of places. He was completely exhausted when he was finally pulled up for the last time and reported he had discovered the place. Mulloy had then climbed down the rope in the dark, hearing the breakers far below without seeing them. The rope took him down a sheer drop to a ledge where he could rest, but from there it
dangled free in space. Further down in the main cliff face was a horizontal crack too narrow for any of them to enter, but with the help of a flashlight Mulloy and Juan Atan, in turn, had seen that the narrow cave was packed with figures buried under a thick layer of dust. Juan managed to press his legs into the crack and succeeded in drawing out one of the items with his foot. It was a magnificently executed hook-nosed and bearded stone mask (K-T 2098, Pl. 188). In marked contrast to Pedro’s pieces seen the previous night, it was of completely aberrant type and showed every sign of age and authenticity. Mulloy and Juan Atan had both been so exhausted after their difficult descents that they had barely been able to bring up this piece, and neither of them wanted to climb down another time.

Two of the expedition’s best climbers were now brought from Anakena camp, and headed by Mulloy and Juan Atan, we all rode off in the afternoon on horseback to Ahu Tepeu. Mulloy reported that no ceremonies had preceded the cave descent with Juan Atan, nor were we asked to perform any on this mission, but on the open plateau about 600 ft. north of the Ahu Tepeu sheep fence, where we stopped to attach the long rope, the unmistakable smell of a chicken umu was wafted to our nostrils with the vague inland breeze, although neither smoke nor people were to be seen. No Easter Islander would prepare a profane chicken dinner in the local terrain, which was prohibited area for the island population anyhow to keep them from stealing the government’s sheep. The invisible chicken umu was therefore most likely an umu takapu prepared secretly either by Tahu-tahu or someone else who wanted to assist us, if not by someone who was looking for another nearby cave.

Mulloy was as horrified as the rest of us when, in daylight, he saw the place where he had been climbing, and all further descents were left to the more professional expedition climbers, Børge Bjerk and John Hanken, who were equipped with a sack and a long-handled net to fish the figures out of the deep and narrow crack where nobody could enter. They confirmed what had already been observed by Mulloy, that the densely packed sculptures had been stored in a slightly taller chamber inside the crack, where they were completely covered with a heavy coat of fine aeolian dust and cobweb. A thick layer of this extremely fine powder dust still filled depressions and concavities in the figures when hoisted up to us on the cliff’s edge. The conditions of this storage place alone excluded any possibility of Pedro Atan and his associates having prearranged its contents.

Whereas the sculptures inside the decomposed totora wrappings in Santiago Pakarati’s cave had been exceedingly crude and primitive, those in Pedro Atan’s cache were of extraordinary character and expert workmanship. One of the most remarkable pieces was a complex carving of what appeared to be a zoomorphic watercraft (K-T 2101, Pls. 288–89). Through analogy with sculptures from other caves it may be assumed to be a reed ship composed of different longitudinal bundles, but one end terminated in the head of a toothed whale or some other sea monster, the other end being carved like a cranial face. Six globular balls emerged from below the “belly” or “hull,” and on the “back” or “deck” was represented a characteristic lenticular Easter Island reed house with a square entrance in the long wall, and with a pentagonal hearth at its side. The carving of this boat-shaped sea monster represented a mythological composition, although neither Juan nor Pedro himself had any comments at all. Another remarkable composition was a finely worked stone decorated with tiny anthropomorphic masks and cup-shaped depressions and terminating in a realistically carved phallus (K-T 2100, Pls. 204, 205 a). A large and a small stone jar with vertical loop handle clearly had ceramic prototypes (K-T 2102, 2240, Pls. 276 b, c, 277), and as the lava from which they were executed was too porous to hold water, their presence in this storage cave tends to underline the impression that pottery vessels were considered to be of more than practical value to the generations that created secret cave storage on Easter Island.

Young Juan Atan had no information to offer other than what we ourselves had witnessed. He claimed that at the age of fifteen he had learned from his father that he had a big cave filled with hidden
objects, but he had never been shown anything and had been convinced that the cave his father had shown us the previous night had been the real one until he had gathered from everybody's strange reaction that this was not so. Neither did his father, Pedro Atan, have anything to add except that this coastal cave had belonged to some distant relative and was not his own paternal family cave. Our further attempts to make him show us or Father Engert his main cave were of no avail whatsoever, and resulted merely, on the very eve of our departure, in a ridiculous exhibit arranged on the floor of Pedro Atan's own house. He had accumulated whatever freshly made fakes, inspired by cave stones, the young men in the village had begun to manufacture. 'I readily recognized several of those I had already rejected from the sculptors themselves. It thus became evident that, as far as Pedro Atan was concerned, we had to reconcile ourselves to the important sea-coast cache that he had made known to us, and for which he and his son were duly rewarded. Samples of the twenty-five sculptures from this cave (K-T 2093–2117) are illustrated in Plates 187 a, 188, 189, 204, 205 a, 232 b, 257 b, 261 a, 264 f, 276 b, c, 277, 288, 289, and 291.

The turmoil following the disrupted cave secrecy

The dress material and other trade items given to the Easter Islanders in return for normal services were generally displayed openly by them to envious friends and relatives at the first opportunity. In contrast, similar gifts obtained in return for cave transactions disappeared from the surface of the island as fast as any hats or cloaks stolen at the time of the earliest European voyages. It appeared that, next to the range of an insulted aku-aku, there was nothing which the cave owners feared more than the reaction of the other village people if they learned that someone had broken an old family tapu of this kind. We witnessed Lazaro storing his sisters' dress material inside his Hanga-o-teo cave to keep it there until after we had left the island, and a similar precaution was evidently taken by the others rewarded for a similar contribution, as nothing was worn, or seen in the bare huts, during our sojourn. Nevertheless, our nightly missions through the village, the open efforts of Atan and Lazaro to persuade near friends and relatives to show us their caves, and gossip of an invidious, mercantile, or superstitious nature could not avoid creating a rapidly mounting emotional stir in Hangaroa village. One by one our native friends reported that they could not move by night without somebody trying to spy on them. Even Mulloy had to shake off spies detected at his heels as he tried to steal off on his nightly mission to Hanga-tepeu, and Lazaro, insisting that he knew of a cache in the sea-coast cliffs of Vinapu from which he had brought some of his early figures, reported that he dared not go there as he was either followed or else he detected people hiding near the spot. Ferdon, Mulloy, and Figueroa, all three of whom were residing at the time in the Mataveri-Hangaroa area on the west coast, had intimate contact with the local village population and were not slow in picking up news when production of faked cave stones was initiated. As seen earlier, Esteban Pakarati, whose original gifts had led to the disclosure of the continued use of secret caves, had in the end also been among the first to initiate imitations when he had no more original pieces to bring. As stated, the sudden lack of variation, the poverty in idea and execution, and consistent lack of patina created a marked contrast to the material he had originally brought to my tent while working in Anakena. His own production had barely been initiated in collaboration with a couple of young friends when Figueroa was tipped off and, inspecting his back yard, found a pile of recently assembled lava boulders selected by size and shape as perfectly suited for carving crude boulder heads of the stereotyped form Esteban was now producing. The owner's claim, that the boulders were collected for no other purpose than house building, was hardly convincing.
During his quests, however, Figueroa became aware of one of his Easter Island friends and workmen, Leviante Araki, having been taken to a secret cave contemporaneously with our expedition cave visits. As the information recorded in detail by Figueroa (Rpt. to exp. leader, April 11, 1956) contains ethnographic observations corroborating our own, a summary record may here be pertinent. Immediately prior to Ana Teave’s unsuccessful attempt to get into the cave near the water hole at Vai-tara-kai-ua, this same old woman had visited two caves on the south coast belonging to her own family, and there extracted the aforesaid stone chicken, the knowledge of which, as seen earlier, had enabled me to get information from her daughter, Analola, at Vaitae. The details of this preceding event were not known to me until the receipt of Figueroa’s subsequent report, which may be summarized as follows:

Ana Teave was descended from the Hau-moana tribe, the people who were the ancient owners of the southern part of the island where she had inherited two family caves. Her husband, Tuko Tuki, however, was descended from the Hanga-o-teo tribe which had been the main enemy of the Hau-moana tribe, and owing to this ancestral animosity, in 1956 it was still considered dangerous for a descendant from Hanga-o-teo to bathe on the south coast. For this reason, old Ana Teave did not permit her own husband to approach her caves, although he was brought part of the way along on the mission together with their son’s best friend, Leviante Araki. The first cave reportedly visited was about fifteen feet above sea level in the cliffs to the west of the open bay at Hanga Hemu. On the plains above, the old woman stopped at a cairn some hundred yards from the cliff’s edge, and started a speech in the ancient Rapanui language of which Leviante had understood very little, though he gathered that she asked her ancestors not to harm him because he, too, was a Hau-moana and had been asked by her to come along. When the speech was over she had prepared an umu, and when it was cooked and opened she asked Leviante to inhale the first vapor coming from it, before any part was eaten. While Tuko Tuki waited behind, Ana and Leviante, both descendants of the Hau-moana tribe, went below to the cave opening, where Leviante was instructed to climb in after being told to strip down to his loincloth. Immediately inside the cave opening to the right he found two human crania, and further in, in a wide chamber, he found the said stone hen placed just where light from a small hole in the wall cast a spot on the ground. The old woman had told him to look for some wooden rongo-rongo tablets inside a lateral tunnel that proved to have caved in and was partly covered by fallen rocks. Searching under the rocks he had found fragments of decomposed totora reed and bits of completely decayed wood. Leviante had brought the stone chicken to Ana. All three had next proceeded to Hanga Parera where Ana Teave had said she was the only one who knew the entrance to a cave that actually belonged to her younger brother, Juan Teave. This second cave was located very near the end of the fence that runs seaward from the windmill at Vinapu. The entrance, sealed by a nicely carved and fitted block wedged in place by a stone adze, could not be seen from land. Leviante was asked to get into the sea and point out the place to Ana on the cliff’s edge. They had next removed the big stone merely to look inside and had reportedly seen a stone figure to one side and some packages of plaited totora in the interior. Nothing had been touched as the cave did not belong to Ana; all according to what Figueroa learned from his friend.

Figueroa, anxious to test Leviante’s report, managed to persuade Leviante to take him to the Hanga Hemu cave where he found all details as described. Leviante had again stripped and removed his shoes before they entered the cave, and at first would not give any reason for doing so, but upon Figueroa’s insistence he explained that according to Ana this was a custom that had to be followed. Figueroa, however, was permitted to enter fully dressed. He had managed to squeeze into a narrow gallery that ran above the one which was partly caved in, and in doing so he found a hole in the ground which connected with the tunnel below. Hanging with his head down through this hole he reached into the
lower passage and picked up from a heap of earth a small piece of rotted totora reed. Remains of this plant found inside a cave tunnel could only be the result of human activity.

Leviante would not disclose the location of the second cave, but Figueroa, testing Ana’s brother Juan Teave, learned independently from him that he was the owner of a cave in Hanga Parera. His mother had asked him to accompany her to a cave in that region when he was a boy of about twelve, but he had declined the offer, and now he was most anxious to obtain the secret from his older sister, Ana, the only one who knew.

In the same period Mulloy lived in the Hangaroa home of his Easter Island foreman, Martin Rapu, the only islander later permitted by the governor to accompany the expedition into east-central Polynesia as a reward for efficient work. His close friendship with the Rapu family placed Mulloy in a special position to conduct interrogations, but he was requested, for the sake of the friendship, to satisfy himself with their assurance that there were secret caves on the island, which did contain stone sculptures of the types we were seeing. He learned, however, that Martin’s father, Alejo Rapu, himself owned such a cave, the entrance to which had been shown to him by an old aunt who had subsequently hoped to die inside her cave, but who had instead died in the village.

Leviante Araki, the Easter Islander who had accompanied Figueroa to Ana Teave’s Hanga Hemu cave, was a stepbrother of Mulloy’s foreman Martin Rapu, being an adopted son of Martin’s father, Alejo. On March 28 young Leviante came to my tent and presented me with a crisp tuft of old, reddish-brown human hair, said to have been cut off the head of a well-preserved individual resting in a totora wrapping inside a secret cave with a stone sculpture at its side. Leviante wanted to show me the cave that same night, and if “all went well,” he was going to take me to his stepfather’s important storage cave afterwards. As this program coincided with the night fixed for the visit to Santiago Pakarati’s cave, I suggested that Ferdon be brought along instead, and an agreement was reached on this point. The same evening Mulloy came to camp with a group of Easter Island singers invited for a tape recording, and since Mulloy was an intimate friend of the Rapu family it was agreed that he should replace Ferdon on this nocturnal mission. However, on second thoughts, Mulloy again became concerned that he might be involved in a family conflict, as he suspected that Leviante did not really have his stepfather, Alejo Rapu’s permission to reveal the cave, and the final appointment was thus once more set for Ferdon. These repeated changes ended in a misunderstanding, and two days later young Leviante was back in camp in the late evening, angrily complaining that Ferdon had not turned up, and his old stepfather was annoyed since a chicken umu was “a very serious thing,” and now his umu had got cold. For this reason the old man had to enter his cave alone. He had on that occasion fetched some figures which we were to pick up secretly in his house about 2 A.M., and we were then to learn if the old man was willing to take us along on a second trip to the cave.

The day between Leviante’s two visits concerning the “mummy caves,” March 29, was the date set aside for the visit to Pedro Atan’s first cave, and I was too involved to accept when I received yet another offer from an old man unknown to me who came to camp willing to show me his cave which was said to contain “a blond mummy.” The first officer of the expedition ship, John Sanne, was therefore delegated to accompany this old man to his cave, which he actually did that same night. Sanne returned to camp next day reporting that the old man had refused to let him use his boat and had made him swim to the low, volcanic Motu-tautara islands on the west coast south of Hanga-tepeu. There he showed Sanne where to climb into his cave. In the cave, Sanne found several burials, one of which had a dense scalp of dry reddish-brown hair. He managed to swim back to shore holding the scalp in a paper bag lifted above water. An examination of this scalp indicated the same provenience as that of the bone-dry and brittle hair sample brought by young Leviante only two days earlier, and, although the old man was never identified, it seems likely that both he and Leviante must have visited the same
cave either together or with a short interval between visits. Since neither Sanne nor I would have been sure of identifying on sight Alejo Rapu who was Leviante’s stepfather and owner of Leviante’s hair-sample cave, he might very well have been the old man who led Sanne to his cave. Burials with hair preserved were not encountered elsewhere by the expedition, and the two episodes coincided exactly in time. However, on Sanne’s visit to the Motu-tautara island cave no stone figure was found to be left among the burials; if it was ever there it must have been removed by Leviante or by the old man during their earlier visits.

As requested by Leviante Araki, I called at his village home accompanied by Ferdon to fetch the objects reportedly awaiting us there. Leviante received us with lights out, although an oil lamp was alight in his next-door bedroom. Using our flashlights, we observed a pile of paper-packed objects in a corner on the floor. To our surprise and disappointment they proved to contain stone carvings of greatly mixed quality. Our superficial flashlight inspection sufficed to reveal that the collection contained very doubtful pieces including some rather obvious fakes. As the carvings represented a gift, we accepted them without comment. When Leviante asked us to let him retain one “as a souvenir,” we left behind one of the obviously fresh duplicates. Leviante said he had learned from his stepfather that we had had some “bad luck” (plainly referring to our recent visit to Pedro Atan’s staged cave), and now the old man had decided to repay the blessings bestowed upon the island by taking us to his own cave. We were to meet in the early morning on the plains below the volcano Rano Raraku, and the date fixed by our choice was April 2.

The very next day Leviante came on horseback to our camp and pulled me aside, asking me with a scrutinizing look what I had thought of the stones he gave me the night before. I told him the plain truth, and rather than being insulted Leviante looked pleased and said he had personally carved all but one of the stones, as a test. The one exceptional stone, a double-headed figurine, was now pointed out by Leviante as the only one fetched by his stepfather from his cave. This piece, which actually had visible patina and lacked the file marks of the newly carved stones, could possibly have been the one reportedly removed from the burial cave on the islet of Motu-tautara prior to Sanne’s arrival. The date fixed for the cave visit below the Rano Raraku volcano was confirmed anew, and Leviante parted, visibly relieved.

In the evening of the day before this rendezvous, Leviante passed our camp together with his stepfather Alejo Rapu, who this time wanted a personal confirmation of the appointment below Rano Raraku next morning. I was told that the success of our mission depended on the sea; if it was high on the south coast, we would not be able to gain access to the cave opening. An interrogation of the two visitors resulted in a report coinciding in all aspects with the version of the Hanga Hemu and Hanga Parera cave visits independently recorded by Figueroa. It also emerged from this interrogation that old Alejo Rapu was not acquainted with the whereabouts of the entrance to the Hanga Perera cave, which was known only to Ana Teave and young Leviante as her recent Hau-moana helper. Alejo, however, had another cave of his own a bit farther east, on the shoreline at the foot of the Toa-Toa sugarloaf mountain, nearer Rano Raraku, and that was the one he was now going to show us. When the sea was high the entrance to this cave was said to be blocked by small boulders and breakers. This cave reportedly contained numerous stone sculptures, including a stone rongo-rongo tablet which old Alejo had promised to Leviante as advance payment for his help.

Next morning we found that Leviante had slept outside our camp, and he accompanied us in the jeep to Rano Raraku, whereas old Alejo Rapu had walked ahead during the night presumably to make an umu takapi. When we reached Hotu-iti, Leviante directed the jeep off the westbound cart tracks and across the rough ground to the east of the Toa-Toa hill. The wind was strong and the surf sent cascades of water into the air along the low local shoreline, so it was natural to ask Leviante if this sea
permitted an entry to the cave. Learning only now that it was absolutely impossible, we let him go off alone in accordance with his own request. Meanwhile we went on in the jeep to search for another Easter Islander, Pedro Pate, who had offered to show us a cave on the south coast on that same day, in broad daylight. Leviante was told to give the message to old Alejo Rapu that we had unfortunately no further chance to see his cave, as we had now only three crowded days left on the island before our departure.

By this time Mulloy had already led us to Pedro Atan's aforesaid cliff cache near Ahu Tepeu, and for practical reasons the haul from this cave had been temporarily brought to Mulloy's village residence, which happened to be Alejo Rapu's home. As our departure from the island was imminent, the plan was to transfer our anchorage from Anakena bay to the Hangaroa village bay where we could carry the sculptures directly on board. Mulloy was somewhat concerned about how his host, old Alejo Rapu, would react if he happened to see these sculptures stored in his house, and it is reasonable to suspect that the contents of our unlocked containers were not entirely unknown to the members of the Rapu family by the time the jeep at last came to bring the cargo to our ship, which had come around the coast on April 4.

When I came to collect these containers at the Rapu house, I was invited inside by Alejo's own son Eria. It was not until the complicated family connections became apparent that I realized that Eria might already by then have brought me a stone image removed from a proper family cave. For Eria had actually appeared one day in camp with a most remarkable sculpture in hard volcanic stone, covered with lichen and representing three interlocking heads, the curved mustaches of each upper face representing the eyebrows of the face immediately below, and the goatee beards of the ones above representing the noses of the ones below (K-T 1206, Pl. 215 a, Fig. 29). He had then told me that he had found this obviously old image "by accident" in a cave he named Ana Okahi. This was a sheltered cave reportedly covered by stones and said to be located in the seaward cliffs at Vinapu. Eria was the stepbrother of Leviante who, as we have seen from Figueroa's report, had been shown two caves in that very area by old Ana Teave, one of them being precisely in the seaward cliffs where the fence runs down to a dead end from the windmill at Vinapu. According to reports, it had a stone-covered opening visible only from the sea, and inside Leviante had seen a stone statue next to the door.
and some totora packages further in. Leviante had willingly taken Figueroa to the first cave with the stone chicken already removed by its legitimate owner, Ana Teave, but he had refused to show him the second cave, where he had left the stone image inside the door untouched. Had he refused Figueroa access to this place because he had in the meantime removed the image and sent it to me in collaboration with his stepbrother, Eria? This seems more likely than the possibility that Eria had independently and by accident found a similar cave in the very same area that contained another old stone statue.

Once I was well inside the Rapu house, young Eria this time wanted to give me a stone rongo-rongo plaque that he said he himself had carved four years ago, and was therefore “more or less ancient.” This remark was surprising, first because Eria had no reputation as a carver, and second because any carving made four years ago could have been easily sold to passing ships, not to mention to our present expedition group who had bought up all available souvenirs and handicraft. Since stone rongo-rongo tablets were not previously known, not even among Easter Island imitations, I suspected that Eria’s father or his stepbrother, Leviante, had carved the piece, inspired perhaps by the stone rongo-rongo tablet allegedly hidden in Alejo’s cave and promised as a gift to Leviante.

Eria Rapu asked me to wait while he left the house for a moment, apparently to visit the next-door building. He returned with a heavy hemp sack filled with paper parcels each neatly tied with a piece of homemade bark string. As he opened the parcels, a large table, the only piece of furniture in the room, was soon covered with twelve heterogeneous stone carvings, all of remarkable type, artistically executed, and with marked patina. One of the figures, a bird-man in stone of the tangata-manu type, was so badly eroded that near one eye cavity, a bridge as thin as a needle was all that remained of the vesicular lava. This bridge was obviously created by long erosion, as it would have broken at the slightest touch of a sculptor’s tool. The other figures all had a corresponding stamp of authenticity and age, deviating from the characteristics of recent fakes. The stone rongo-rongo tablet looked younger, but could well be contemporary with the faded rongo-rongo paper manuscripts we had come across by then.

Eria was obviously not telling the truth. He had not carved these figures. A completely new angle to the increasingly confused cave issue was clearly emerging. Only a few days earlier his stepbrother, Leviante, had attempted to “test” me by presenting me with new sculptures as old, and yet he appeared to be pleased when his fraud proved a failure; now Eria attempted to present me with old sculptures as new, claiming that he had carved them himself. It now seemed warranted for the receiver to put the donor to a test, and I began the following interrogation:

“Did you make all of these figures, Eria?”

“Yes, I want to tell the truth. I made all of them.”

“When?”

“About three years ago.”

“Where did you get the ideas and motifs?”

“From books!”

It was now apparent that he was evading the truth, since, apart from the tangata-manu, nothing like the sculptures on the table had ever been published from Easter Island or elsewhere. To test him further I pointed to a stone plaque image of a completely unknown and unique type, while tentatively remarking:

“I believe I have seen a monkey like that illustrated in Métraux’s book about ancient Easter Island.”

“Yes,” Eria came back, “that is where I have copied it from.”

The same trick was repeated by pointing at another unique figure, and again Eria was trapped. I finally pointed at a sitting image with its hands on its knees, stating that I had never seen anything
like that in the books. Eria hurried to explain that he had copied that from the large kneeling statue in Hotu-iti, to which in fact it hardly bore the slightest resemblance.

"Of course," I replied, "it is the kneeling statue which we excavated."

Eria confirmed the statement. He was obviously relieved and not thinking of the fact that he could hardly have made a model three years ago of a statue excavated by us only two months ago. He seemed in a moment to realize his blunder as he became nervous and uncomfortable. When I pointed to a weird animal head with a crest on its nose and said I had never seen anything similar before, Eria hurriedly stated that this was entirely his own invention: He had hardly finished this statement before his father, Alejo Rapu, came in, and finding me with the peculiar head in my hands he volunteered the information that this depicted a mythical animal known to the ancient Easter Islanders. Eria now got so visibly nervous that I changed the subject and, complimenting him on his skill, asked why he stopped this production three years ago. Eria replied that it was too much work. Asked how much time he needed to finish each piece, he said from one to two months. Both father and son were visibly relieved when the interrogation ended and they were asked to bring their collection on board our ship.

On the day of our departure old Alejo Rapu was on board to say farewell to his other son, Martin, who knew nothing about the whole transaction, being referred to as a "child of today." Eria and old Alejo had already received a reward as a return gift when I took the old man aside. Alejo, now calm and serious, replied on request that he would like the figures presented by Eria to end up not with the copies but with those which were authentic, because, he said, "my stones are old."

During these last confusing days three other Easter Islanders brought me old stone figurines for barter, which they, too, pretended to have carved themselves. First, on March 31, after our visits to both the false and authentic caves of Pedro Atan, another young member of the Atan family, Juan Pakarati II Atan, a son of Veronica Atan, appeared in the afternoon with a dozen aberrant stone figurines with visible patina (K-T 2027–38), saying that this was only part of a collection which he himself owned. He claimed to have carved them all in 1950 for a visiting Dutch ship, but the ship had left so fast that he did not get time to bring them on board. Later, as an employee of the airport under construction, he had never had time to sell to other ships. He did not explain why he had not found time to offer them to our expedition on the many visits he had paid us with the usual wood carvings. The visible patina, the remarkable motifs, and the young man's reputation as an inferior artist made an interrogation inevitable, and resulted in obvious contradictions. He claimed he needed one week per sculpture and had carved seventy figures during the said year, yet he could not account for how he got seventy weeks into one year, nor how he managed to complete such a vast collection during the two- or three-day visit of a Dutch ship.

We were asked to pick up the rest of his carvings in his village house, which we did, finding this heterogeneous lot of fifty-four additional pieces (K-T 2133–86) to be as remarkable as the first samples. With Father Englert and the governor present he insisted as before that he had carved them all himself, taking the motifs partly from "books on ancient Easter Island" and partly from "continental funny papers." The trick of pointing out alleged similarities to specifically named publications worked once more. He willingly agreed that such-and-such a sculpture was copied from photographs in books by and-so, accepting anything we suggested. One stone relief showing the palm of a hand with outstretched thumb and fingers (K-T 2134, Pl. 202 a) was intentionally handed back to him upside down with a request for an explanation. He hesitated a moment and then explained that it represented a four-legged animal with a long neck. There can be little doubt about young Juan Pakarati II Atan having had legal or illegitimate access to a store of sculptures the meaning of which was all beyond his knowledge. The carvings in his collection included the samples illustrated in
Two days later, on April 2, a gray-haired, good-natured Easter Islander, Eduardo Tuki, came to my tent. He appeared both shy and uneasy as he said that, on the eve of our departure he had carved three stones to give me as a farewell present and the work was just completed. He then pulled out of his sack a very striking bearded head recalling the best of European medieval art rather than anything out of Easter Island, a stone plaque with *rongo-rongo* signs in relief, and another similar plaque on which was carved an aberrant human head in relief, flanked on both sides by two curved symbols of irregular thickness with a shape mostly resembling worms (K-T 2235–37). Pointing to one of the two "worms," I asked what it represented. The unexpected answer came hesitantly: it was the letter U. The other one was just another letter U. Why had he carved the U's? He just felt like doing it. Where did he get the style and motif for the central head and for the other *rongo-rongo* plaque? From books. Which books, I had seen none with such figures. From a homemade book belonging to a relative. Could we see it? No, it was lost nine years ago (but the figures were just made). How much time was required to make that bearded head? One hour. Could he make one for us now? No, his tools were in his house, he could only work in his own house. Could we come and see him work? No, he was employed by the governor and had no more time.

The old man was now visibly nervous, and to divert further attention from himself he offered to show us that his brother could carve too, but he carved differently and had already sold his stone to one of the ship's crew. He left to fetch his brother's product purchased as a souvenir by one of our sailors, and came back with one of the freshly made tourist pieces, a usual Easter Island bust. The contrast in idea, patina, and workmanship could not be better illustrated. The origin and meaning of Eduardo Tuki's three sculptures remain obscure.

On the day of our departure, another old man, Horacio Teao Huki, approached me in the village and presented me with an unusual type of double-headed stone image (K-T 2075, Pl. 214 b). It had apparent patina on all surfaces except for a fresh scar on one side. Horacio claimed that he had just "made" the image as a farewell gift, specifying that the unfortunate scar was a fracture in the stone which was there before he started his work, although it was quite obvious to all of us that the opposite was the case: the scar was the result of recent damage to an old sculptured surface. Furthermore, he was very keen on stressing that all the other figures we had been given on the island were also freshly made copies from illustrations in books by Katalina (*i.e.*, Katherine Routledge) and others. But *his* figure, I interrupted, had never been illustrated in any book. No, he admitted, his head was a double-headed copy of an ancient triple-headed image already in my possession (Pl. 215 c), and found in an old burial platform on the island (*Heyerdahl*, 1961, p. 476. Pl. 92).

The similarity was far from convincing, and when later confronted by Father Englert, who happened to pass by and was shown the piece, the old man forgot what he had just said and explained that his carving represented *Ngarau Hiva Aringa Erua*, the double-headed son of the legendary King Kainga. Once more we were obliged to accept an art object whose background and history were deliberately kept secret.

It is certainly less obvious why some islanders attempted to offer old carvings as new, than why others started to offer new figures as old. Assuming that those who presented old figures as new were the legal owners of the property they disposed of, the only explanation seems to be that they were ashamed or afraid of admitting that they had until now been the owners of secret caves with this kind of contents.

The change in the pattern of behavior that took place during the last few days was also reflected in other episodes. Maria Pakomio, niece of our early camp guardian, Nicolas Pakomio, a kind, quiet
woman, first came to camp on March 23 and again on March 27, bringing as gifts some most remarkable stone figurines, one representing a bird-man in the act of pushing up a slanting ahu statue (K-T 1851, Pl. 219 c). She then volunteered the information that she, or her husband, Benedicto Riroroko, had a dry cave named Puha in an area called Puha near Raimundtuki Tuki’s house on the road from Hangaroa to Vaitea. There were about twenty more stones left on totora mats in the cave, two human skulls, and a large paddle which was the only wooden object. A heavy statue almost three feet tall, with an upturned face, was said to be the guardian. To enter they had to make an umu takapu, eating only the tail of the chicken and leaving the rest to the aki-aku.

Asked particularly to bring the wooden paddle, the woman came back with her husband the following night, bringing more sculptures and a large, double-bladed dance paddle which had obviously not been made during recent years although it was certainly not truly ancient. To judge from comparative museum material, it looked very much like the carvings collected on the island at the very end of the last century. The husband answered on request that the paddle had been carved by his own uncle, Simeon Riroroko, who allegedly died about eighty years ago. Although this might be slightly exaggerated, this post-missionary wood carving in all likelihood antedated both the present and the previous twentieth-century scientific missions to the island, and had obviously been kept in hiding for unknown reasons, like the recently emerging paper manuscripts and stone figurines. The stone figurines which the couple brought were reportedly made by the same uncle, and as their style and motifs were more impressive than their degree of patina, they could well date from a period corresponding to that of the paddle.

After the trick attempted by Pedro Atan with his staged cave, another similar attempt was made by Alberto Tepihi Tori together with a younger brother and Juan Nahua. Alberto had just brought me a few carvings which left the impression of being freshly made copies of some hitherto undisclosed models. Ferdon and I hopefully followed him and his two fellow conspirators on a nocturnal excursion. A small inland cave in the stony plains near the leper station had a roof opening covered up with layers of stones, and once we had eaten of a tough, cold chicken brought along in a paper bag, we climbed down to see the exhibit. Six stone figurines of mixed quality lay on a freshly made totora mat covering a small shelf. Two of them differed markedly in quality from the rest, and one of these again represented a human arm (K-T 2055, 2067). A freshly carved and even varnished rongo-rongo tablet of imported wood hung in a new totora bag from the ceiling. Two bleached human skulls lay on stones on the floor. Ferdon and I immediately climbed out, but not before we had observed that there was also a large, old and undisturbed shelf of coarse rocks laid out along the opposite wall of the cave. It had once clearly been intended to support something that was now missing, and closely resembled the shelves on which we had seen cave objects stored. The ceiling hung down in a fold and was too low above this shelf to permit the old structure to have served as a seat, and it was difficult to ignore the possibility that it might formerly have served as a support for the storage of property. Some traces of old hay were also seen trampled into the earthen floor prior to the arrangement of the faked exhibit, and it was natural to speculate about whether this was an abandoned storage cave dressed up as new for the occasion. In scrambling out we did not attempt to hide the fact that we had seen through their hoax.

After this embarrassing episode there was a strange difference in the behavior of the three islanders who had brought us to the cave. The two Tepihi brothers appeared completely indifferent, trying merely to sell the carvings, whereas Juan Nahua suddenly started to become hostile and arrogant. We were left with the impression that the cave was his and the property theirs. Juan Nahua came back shortly after with three potsherds representing three distinct types of coiled ceramic ware. One was polished black, one was of the incised red type found in the Haoa brothers’ cave, and one was of a
finer, hard-fired type of redware. I had barely been permitted to inspect these puzzling sherds before the owner triumphantly put them back in his own bag and left.

As soon as the expedition ship had anchored in front of the village in expectation of our departure, Moises Tuki and his wife Rosa Paoa came to deliver their sculptures. This was the quiet young couple who had happened to bring their unique collection to my tent precisely when Juan Haoa had given his warning not to accept further sculptures. Later events proved that this warning was motivated by Pedro Atan’s secret preparations for his staged cave and had nothing to do with this couple. The artistic and truly exceptional pieces they brought for the second time included some of the finest stone carvings ever collected on the island (K-T 2191–2210, Pls. 193 c, d, 194 c, i, 195 b, 219 b, 224, 225, 233 e, 237, 243 a, b, 245 a, 246 c, 274 a).

Rosa delivered her trade objects with the following information: she was a Hanau-momoko, or Short-ear, of the Ngaruti tribe. The pieces represented family heirlooms handed down to her father, Simon Paoa. They were stored in a cave in the lofty seaside cliffs close to Orongo, and the name of both the place and the cave was Mata-te-paina. There were more things inside belonging to another family all of whom were now dead; the last of these owners was a certain Marta Haoa. The entrance to the cave was closed. Her father visited the cave about every second month or so to keep the stones “clean.” He always went there alone, and none of the family had been with him. He had brought these stones from his cave during the night of March 15, but had kept them in the house until they were brought to me two weeks later. He used a candle inside the cave as he had nothing to fear since he was the owner, but he had to make an umu with chicken and sweet potatoes near the entrance each time he went there. The chicken had its entrails washed and was left open for the aku-aku. When she said she had no more to add she was asked if her father spoke to the aku-aku, to which she replied that he spoke “ancient words” to the aku-aku.

The open coastal storage cave of Pedro Pate

The confusion during the last few days of our stay enabled the expedition to enter into another authentic storage cave, access to which was a direct result of the internal intrigues that arose from the efforts at deceiving us with imitations. The person responsible for this worthwhile experience was Pedro Pate, a highly regarded middle-aged Easter Islander who had long served on the committee of three which officially represented the island population. Pedro Pate had first turned up much earlier, during the period the “Long-ears” worked at re-erecting the Anakena statue. He had then behaved very mysteriously and offered to assist in the work without any kind of pay. For two full days he shadowed me, sleeping at night with the men in the nearby cave. On March 9 Lazaro came over at night to fetch both myself and the expedition doctor, as Pedro Pate was seriously ill. The patient ran a high temperature, vomited and was already too sick to talk, but Lazaro could report that he had confessed to him that he had been to a cave the night before last and brought with him a sack of “things” that he had temporarily left in a hiding place in the hills behind our camp. The following morning he was taken ill and was finally so sick that he had confided his secret to Lazaro so he could fetch the sack if Pedro Pate should not be able to do so any more. The doctor gave the sick man antibiotics with visible success, as Pedro Pate disappeared from the Anakena sleeping cave next morning. His sudden illness had terrified him so much that he had brought the contents of his sack back to their original hiding place.

Not until March 20, the day after our visit to Atan Atan’s cave, did Pedro Pate venture back to our camp, led by Lazaro. Inside our tent, with his wife and Lazaro present, Pedro Pate pulled out from his
sack eight remarkable stone sculptures (K-T 1578-85), including two oversized crania with trepanation-like depressions (Pl. 198 a, b), and a two-masted reed ship with clumsy stone sails on masts socketed into the vessel. There was no impressive patina on any of the figures, and yet nothing to suggest that this was recent work. Pedro Pate claimed that these figures had been fetched from a cave he had inherited from his father, but the carvings had been carved by his grandfather, the famous Easter Island rongo-rongo man, Tomenika. Tomenika's name appeared on the first page of the rongo-rongo manuscript I had been able to photograph in the home of Esteban Pakarati (Heyerdahl, 1965, Fig. 96). When asked why he, Pedro, had received the cave and not his elder brother, Joseph, who was Father Englert's church assistant, Pedro replied that his father's property had been parcelled out and Joseph got his own cave. Pedro did not own his cave alone, as a "strong" younger sister had a part in it, and her part included a rongo-rongo paper book of about thirty or forty pages claimed to be signed by Tomenika. This second book of Tomenika was never seen by us. Pedro believed that there were close to a hundred stone figurines in their cave; some were described as horses with long necks and one as a stone bottle or jar. He promised to do all he could to persuade his sister to let me visit their cave, and if she did not agree he would bring out some more of his own share including, at my request, the long-necked horses.

Three days later he showed up again, visibly disappointed, regretting that his sister was completely intractable. She would under no circumstances permit anyone else to learn the whereabouts of the cave, but suggested that he could take out his own share if he wanted. Pedro Pate's sack now contained a few more figurines (K-T 1843-47) including two skillfully made stone animals resembling llamas; I honestly suspected that Pedro had made them himself, and I told him so. He reacted violently, and as he departed he left the impression of being truly hurt.

A week passed, and on March 31 he came riding slowly to Anakena with his brother, Joseph Pate, Father Englert's church assistant. I managed to get Joseph aside for a private talk. Joseph was a very serious person noted for his honesty. After some initial round-about talk he admitted that he had inherited a cave. He had received it from his father, but had lost the entrance many years ago and could not find it now. There were many things inside including a big moai (statue). When I asked him he told me that his brother Pedro did not know the entrance to his own cave either; in fact, as far as he knew, nobody on the island today had a private cave with a known entrance. On the other hand he insisted strongly that his brother Pedro never lied.

A number of Easter Islanders had come to visit our camp that day and moved about between the tents without any attempt to steal, yet Pedro Pate remained outside the rope fence just watching us from a distance. His behavior was so strange that Ferdon was asked to investigate, since Pedro had been one of his workmen at the Orongo excavations and had left an excellent impression. As Ferdon approached him with a friendly salutation Pedro was visibly relieved, and although groping at first for the right words he soon broke out in moral indignation at the last days' unfortunate events. Pedro Atan and certain other men had recently attempted to fool us with freshly carved stones, he said, and now "Señor Kon-Tiki" suspected the ones he had brought to be of recent manufacture also, thereby implying that Pedro Pate was a reo-reo (liar). Queried by Ferdon he repeated his claim of knowing the entrance to his secret cave, but that he had not been able to show it to us because his sister had a share. However, as he had become more and more disturbed over the stone carving now going on in the village, he had decided to show us his cave even against his sister's will. Learning this, she had disappeared the other day, and when she came back she had told him that now she had her own cave and had started to transfer her property there, so he was free to do what he wanted with his own.

To Ferdon's surprise Pedro Pate now offered to take him and myself to his cave at any time, without compensation of any nature, on the mere condition that no Easter Islander was to see where the cave
entrance was. Pedro Pate was willing to depart immediately, even in broad daylight, and was visibly upset when I attempted to explain that we had no more time left and that we were in fact just about ready to break camp. Ferdon, however, had strong faith in this man and recommended an inspection of his cave. Because our program was crammed, we were forced to ask Pedro Pate to come back two days later, on April 2. He showed up in the morning of that day and, in the late afternoon, after our aforesaid attempt to visit Alejo Rapu’s cave which failed because of the high sea, I drove with the archaeologists Ferdon and Sanchez farther westwards along the south coast with Pedro Pate as our guide. This was the expedition’s last day in Anakena, as we had already started to break camp and transfer our possessions to the ship.

Approaching Hanga-tetengo we parked the jeep off the cart tracks behind a large fallen statue, and headed for the rocky shoreline as soon as Pedro had assured himself that there were no people around. Ferdon had in advance checked that the tribal affiliation of our guide was Tupahotu, and he noted that we were now within their aboriginal area of residence. We climbed down through the rugged coastal lava formation to an area where shallows and a belt of huge fallen rocks kept the surf away from the low local cliffs. Here we crawled and climbed over and between boulders and rocks. Pedro Pate stopped and with a bundle of grass brushed away any footprints we left where there was a spot of sand. A deliberate attempt to throw away some small pieces of candy paper caused a violent reaction from our guide who came back and picked it all up. He stopped in the shade of some large rocks and gave a short speech to us repeating what he had said to Ferdon. He did not bring us here to sell anything, but Lazaro had told him of the bad behavior of Pedro Atan and others, and now he wanted to clear himself from all suspicion by showing us a “true” cave. All he could guarantee was that the cave and all its contents had been given to him and his sister by their father, Timoteo Patea a Vaka Tuku Onge, and his sister’s share, which had been picked out for her at that time, was no longer there. He next made us climb up onto a large fallen piece of rectangular rock surrounded by seething water from where he pointed out a small shelf in the cliff just above us. Where the shelf met the rock wall above, there was a narrow horizontal crack so insignificant that it would never have caught our attention unless specifically pointed out, and even then we would not suspect that anybody had ever tried to get into the rock face at that point.

There was no ceremony of any nature apart from Pedro Pate’s brief speech to us, and I was told to enter. It took a jump to reach and take hold of the shelf, and having lifted myself onto this ledge and put my head in sideways, I found it almost impossible to force my chest in, until I discovered that towards the right corner of the crack I could press my body through, with some pain. The narrow gap widened slightly inside the rock and my feet were just inside when my head entered a very low cave where it was possible to crawl on hands and knees. The flashlight disclosed a circular chamber barely fifteen feet in diameter, and a decomposed skeleton was stretched out in the center of the floor. In the wall opposite the entrance was another very narrow cave opening and, as the vaulted ceiling was too low near the walls, it was necessary to crawl over the burial to reach the next room. Others, doing a similar maneuver recently, had disturbed the position of some of the bones. Wriggling through the next passage I came into another, slightly smaller room with an equally low ceiling, where an impressive collection of stone sculptures rested directly on the rugged lava floor. While the floor of the first chamber was covered with a thin layer of black earth, the inner chamber and all its contents were covered with a coat of extremely fine, gray aeolian dust. My suspicions were roused once more when the collection included still one more llama-like creature which was the first to catch my eye, but touching it I found that this carving was covered with a thick coat of dust like all the rest. The most striking carvings were the stone models of no fewer than three reed boats with socketed masts of the kind we had already seen.
Before touching a single piece I examined every one carefully to see if there were any recent scars or bump marks from transportation, but there was absolutely no sign of recent handling or displacement. Pedro Pate’s sculptures previously brought to camp, like so many of the fragile tuff and lava figures, generally had some light-colored scratch marks or fine-grained bruises, especially when carved from the particularly dense non-vesicular material that had been used by the artist behind Pedro Pate’s smooth figurines. Attempting to wriggle with maximum caution through the two passages to show my companions one of the rigged vessels (Pls. 282, 283), I found it impossible to move on my elbows and stomach with the flashlight in one hand and the sculpture in the other without getting a couple of scratch marks on the figure. In addition, to pass the burial, it had been necessary to deposit the carving for a moment on the outer cave floor, which left a black soil mark for which I looked in vain on the dust-covered sculptures in the inner chamber. The finely particled dust still stood more than a centimeter thick on the deck of the boat model when handed to Ferdon, and his remark that this much dust would take a great many years to accumulate inside a seaside cave, prompted Pedro Pate immediately to present Ferdon with the stone vessel because, he said, he had been a good boss and was responsible for our visit to this cave. Pedro Pate and the young archaeologist Sanchez were both exceptionally slim and entered the cave with no apparent difficulties, but Ferdon was more strongly built and much to his own disappointment had to satisfy himself with an inspection of the various stones brought to the opening, all with an equally thick layer of accumulated dust.

It was obvious to all of us that Pedro Pate could not have staged this cave nor placed the present contents inside, and I was now firmly set on acquiring the whole collection. At this time, however, Pedro Pate was unapproachable and wanted to retain the remaining pieces at all costs. Ferdon had now got his vaka-oho, or “boat-for-travel” (oho also means “hair”), and I finally got permission to select three pieces from the cave as a token of re-established friendship. I chose the llama-like creature and the two remaining boat models, which Sanchez and Pedro had to crawl back in a second time to get. Together with the samples brought to me before, I had now received as gifts a total of forty-seven figures from Pedro Pate’s collection (examples in Pls. 190 b, 211 c, 219 d, 221 b, 222, 236 a, b, e, 239 b, 241 a, 243 d, 247 b, 248 a, 249 a, b, 259 b, 262 b, 264 b, 265 g, 266 e, 273 j, k, 276 a, 282, 283).

The remaining sculptures were left behind in the inner room of the cave. It was noteworthy that all those that had been brought out for inspection had scratch marks or black dirt spots, generally both, when they were brought back into their original storage place in the inner room.

Pedro had been very afraid that we might spill soil on the rock face outside the entrance crack, and when we left the area after a two-hour investigation he was behind us again with his grass broom obliterating every trace of our visit.

When we came back up to the coastal plains and approached our secret parking place, Pedro threw himself flat on the ground and made us do the same. He had detected another jeep that had followed our tracks off the road and was now parked behind the fallen statue next to ours. Three people were in the other jeep which belonged to the island governor. The situation was unpleasant: we could not get back to the jeep unseen and we did not want to hide from the governor, if it were he. Pedro realized that we, the expedition members, had to make our presence known, but he himself kept on hiding as Ferdon and I returned to the jeep. If the people in the other jeep were all “continentals” he had nothing to hide, but if they included any Rapanui (Easter Islander), then he could not come forth. Ferdon remained in hiding with Pedro Pate, while Sanchez and I walked up to the jeep where we found the governor, his Easter Island driver, and our former camp guardian, old Kasimiro. Taking the governor aside I told him our secret and suggested that he follow Sanchez down to the two men hiding behind the rocks, while I held the attention of the two islanders remaining in the jeep. No sooner had the governor left before Kasimiro exclaimed in an angry tone that “the cave which that
man in hiding was looking for" belonged to Kasimiro's family, and so did the rongo-rongo inside if he dared to steal it. The governor came back completely overwhelmed after seeing Ferdon's stone boat. He had never seen anything comparable on the island. For Ferdon, this was the first visit to one of the undisturbed depositories that had no other function than that of a mere cache, and he recorded (1966, p. 121): "Here, at last, was a real secret cave and, as I detailed in my mind each momentary stage and happening, I could find nothing to discredit its authenticity."

Modern imitations

The governor was so fascinated by Pedro Pate's stone boats that he offered him a bicycle, his great dream, in exchange for a similar boat. But Pedro Pate's supply of boat figures was exhausted after our visit to his cache and the governor was never to see another specimen. Although Pedro Pate was unable to comply with the governor's request, Ferdon managed to get Jorge Tepano, Pedro Pate's closest friend, to carve him a stone boat in what proved to be an interesting demonstration. Jorge, Ferdon's trustworthy foreman during his Orongo excavations, admitted that stone carvings and other pagan heirlooms had formerly been stored in secret family caves. He even volunteered the information that some were wrapped in toro reed, and every so often they had to be taken out to be cleaned and dried if the cave was damp. But he was thoroughly convinced that the entrances to all these former storage caves were now lost. Later Ferdon told him he had seen elaborately carved stone models of reed boats with sails brought from storage caves during our presence on the island, but Jorge Tepano insisted that they were new and that any good local sculptor could produce such a carving. Jorge, who was one of Easter Island's best carvers, immediately went to work to prove his point. However, the effect of Jorge's praiseworthy effort was to be the opposite of what the artist had intended. In fact, as Ferdon (1966, p. 118) has recorded, Jorge Tepano's model boat bore no resemblance to the remarkably detailed, broad, blunt, and bulky reed-bundle vessels with socketed masts and sails which we had encountered in several of the caves. Jorge set about carving a little stone boat with an axe-sharp bow like a modern yacht, and its streamlined and freshly cut hull lacked any indications of either bundles or lashings. The sail was carved in one piece with the hull and set longitudinally to it as on a modern sailing vessel rather than transversally as on ancient raft ships (Pl. 300 h). It was thus obvious that Jorge Tepano had never seen the reed boat models of his friend Pedro Pate, nor any of the others of corresponding type brought from the island caves in our presence. His experiment indicates, furthermore, that he was probably sincere when he insisted that, to his knowledge, the entrances to the former storage caves were forgotten. Jorge said he had timed his own work to half an hour, yet no matter how many days he had spent, he would never have ended up with anything resembling the original reed boat models from the caves, some of which carried human heads with their flowing hair intermingling with the reeds at the bow and the stern.

Ferdon (1958, pp. 147, 148) later wrote: "That the hiding of objects continues today was clearly revealed on the day that Heyerdahl came to inspect my excavations. Having sent word in advance that he would be interested in trading for any native material, my workers brought up various items. Of special interest was a beautifully finished stone fishhook which one of the workmen, Juan Atan, brought forth from his shoulder bag. To my surprise, the other three laborers, all related in one way or another to Atan, exclaimed over the fishhook as much as I did. It was obvious that they were seeing it for the first time. Questioning brought forth the fact that this specimen had been one of six found together in a sand bank near Hanga-piko
some years before, but few people had ever seen them as they promptly disappeared from circulation. It was further revealed that all three men had known that Juan possessed at least one of these hooks. Asked why, since they were all relatives, they had never seen the object before, they, and Juan Atan, admitted that for such valuables each man had to have a hiding place, for otherwise his relatives might take them.

"During a later discussion of hiding places, my same informants explained that in earlier days, some men possessed secret caves closed by a boulder and amply camouflaged. If a person who did not have such a cave wished to keep some valuable items intact, he would wrap them in a reed-mat bundle and give the package to a man with a hidden cave for safe storage. For the use of his cave the owner received an umu, or earth-oven meal, of chicken and sweet potatoes or some other vegetable, once each month. The owner of the package never knew where the storage cave was located and, should the cave's owner die before revealing its location to a chosen son, primogeniture not being followed, the cave and its contents were lost.

"Since my informants described the above in terms of 'earlier days,' I am unable to say whether or not this procedure applies to present-day practice, but considering the delicate nature of the subject, it is possible that they were explaining present-day custom but masking it in terms of the past. Be that as it may, two things seem clear: hidden storage does exist, whether in the form of a cave or a cache, and the spirit guarding such storage is still, in the eyes of the Easter Islander, a very real protective device."

The modern Easter Islanders are expert imitators. There is, however, a marked contrast between their ability to copy and their ability to create. A skill and trend for imitation was to some extent present even before European arrival, as witnessed by the several hundreds of giant Middle Period monuments all following one of the Early Period patterns. After European arrival this same monument type was commercialized as portable miniatures and thus through imitation, has survived all three island periods. As the authentic wood carvings that had left the island before commercialization became known to the modern carvers through illustrations of museum pieces, a renaissance in the production of wooden images occurred. Imitation became a profession, and there was no desire nor any need to diverge from the pattern of carving ribbed male images and flat female ones as long as the market was greater than the possible supply. An attempt to copy the unpublished stone figurines of heterogeneous nature that lay stored secretly in caves would have created bad feelings among the islanders and found no market among visiting tourists who were looking for reproductions of well-known Easter Island art.

As we have seen, when the secret was broken during our stay, the imitators were not slow in incorporating the extended range of motifs into their own repertoire. Less skill and energy was required to carve a crude boulder head than an average wooden image, and abundant material for figures made of stone was on hand, whereas wood had to be obtained from ships. It was therefore very tempting for Esteban Pakarati and his young friends to try to commercialize to the best of their ability this new field of art. Pedro Atan followed a different approach and he also had a different motive. The driving force behind his attempt at fraud was a desire to evade continued efforts to make him disclose his real cave. The surprising lack of ideas and variation in his staged exhibit was probably due to lack of time; the uniform stone plaques with a simple relief symbol on top could be produced in the required quantities by him and his cousin in the couple of weeks they had at their disposal, and the motifs were taken from rongo-rongo signs. He had possibly started his collection by carving five artistic pieces: the ship, the three bearded heads, and the bird suspended from the ceiling, but finding this work too time-consuming he resorted with his aide to the serial production of rongo-rongo signs. Several such simple rongo-rongo-like plaques were actually present among the authentic Easter Island carvings
(Pls. 264–69), so this was also an imitation of an existing idea. The ship and the heads were direct copies of originals he had previously brought as gifts, and his only carving for which no exact model can be found was the suspended bird with a human skull projecting from its back. However, some similar combinations are present in our total collection from the island, and it may therefore not be too much to assume that Pedro Atan might have been inspired in this one case by some undisclosed figurine retained in his own cave. It was at any rate striking that none of the truly remarkable pieces encountered by Mulloy under the cover of dust in Pedro Atan’s cliff cache the following night had been duplicated in his staged cave. Assuming that Pedro was familiar at least to some extent with the most conspicuous pieces in the foremost row of his Hanga-tepeu cache, his careful avoidance of revealing in advance any of these motifs by carving imitations suggests that he wanted any motif that had not already been disclosed to remain secret.

On April 5, the eve of our departure, Ferdon had an interesting interview with Juan Nahoe (Tumu) and a couple of his friends who, during the final days, had brought us a few good figurines mixed with obviously new pieces. Under the pretext of being interested in opening up some sort of folk-art workshop on the island, Ferdon had obtained their confession: the newly made sculptures had been carved by them either as imitations of the genuine pieces we had already received or of pieces still left in hiding. To produce a stone figurine, they said, they would go into their cave and make a drawing from which they carved the copy. To illustrate this point Tumu drew for Ferdon a grotesque mask with large eyes and a narrow nose that terminated in long, thin, upturned nasal wings, like an anchor, and he termed this mask Mata varavara. Beside it he drew a monster with a bird’s body, pendent wings, and a goggle-faced, almost feline head with long whiskers and a ferocious mouth with teeth exposed; this creature being termed Hiva kararere. Since no written names could be found attached to the pieces in a cave, it is probable that, at least in some exceptional cases, a verbal heritage might have accompanied the artistic one down to modern times.

It seems clear enough that a number of Easter Island imitators, perhaps the majority, had no cave of their own and were not even familiar with the type of art such caves contained. Alejo Rapu’s son Martin, Pedro Atan’s son Juan, and Ana Teave’s daughter Analola were previously ignorant of their parents’ dealings with art objects of this nature. Joseph Pate did not know that his brother Pedro was handling such figures, nor even that he still had a cave. Jorge Tepano, and many other skilled carvers, were unable to imitate a secret cave sculpture, because they had never seen one. Leviante Araki, from all appearances, had never seen a secret cave or handled a cave sculpture until Ana Teave brought him to her two caves while we were on the island. Helping the old woman, he happened to see a simple stone chicken before it fell into our possession. From then on he kept on producing imitations of this original chicken to the best of his ability. His main attempt at variation from the cave model was to place the head of the chicken at different angles, since the original piece had its head turned to one side.

Leviante’s attempt to pass on his copies as authentic failed completely, and Figueroa finally persuaded him to carve one of his hens in front of our movie camera (Pl. 300 a–g). Leviante selected a conveniently formed lump of volcanic rock of the lightest, fine-grained type locally known as hani-hani, and he initiated his work with an axe to obtain the rough outlines of the hen. He next reduced all excessive projections with a coarse file, which worked more effectively on this kind of lava than on wood, and finally he used a chisel to incise the fine lines of the wings, tail feathers, the beak, and the eyes. The bulk of the coarse file marks were removed by rubbing with sand or with another piece of the same rock. The result, however, was a fresh, light-colored stone surface which contrasted with that of old figures and clearly revealed that the product was new. Leviante tried to remedy this obvious lack of patina by various methods, but always with poor results (Pl. 300 g).
To darken the fresh surfaces some imitators tried to cover their stone figures with varnish or even rub them with coffee. These procedures could be recognized from the smell. An ingenious islander, Daniel Huki, then invented what Leviante and most imitators considered to be a successful system: they whipped the finished sculpture with juicy banana leaves. This procedure left tiny fiber fragments in the pores of the vesicular stone. The fibers were not removed, as they were to simulate vestiges of decayed totora reed wrappings, an element apparently assumed by the imitators to be present on all ancient stones stored in caves. Bits of banana leaf, in reality easily distinguishable from totora fiber segments, were thus for us a useful indicator of artificial treatment and recent workmanship although the intention had been the very opposite.

Experiments conducted by Mulloy showed that a more impressive result could be obtained by placing the figure for several hours in the hot ashes of a fire, and then rubbing it all over with dirt and washing it. This method was particularly effective on a very coarse and porous lava generally of reddish or dark gray color, but the extremely vesicular nature of this material did not permit the execution of finer lines or essential details, and it was therefore not favored by the imitators. Whatever the case might be, Leviante, like Pedro Atan and the others, was not able to give the desired patina to his stones. Mulloy’s method of firing must therefore have been unknown or unsuccessful among the shrewdest of the imitators. Esteban Pakarati scrubbed the first figures he brought to camp, but his intention was to make them look fresh and new. After he abandoned this cleaning he brought a series of fine sculptures with proper patina. His subsequent fakes, however, like those of his helpers, were all as fresh and deprived of patina as the chickens of Leviante or the rongo-rongo plaques of Pedro Atan.

The bulk of the fakes offered to us secretly in camp or openly in Hangaroa village during the last days of our visit was so markedly distinct in patina and workmanship from the authentic pieces that a superficial glance sufficed to distinguish one category from the other. However, this was not universally so. If some of the simpler forms among the scrubbed authentic pieces originally brought by Esteban Pakarati had been shown to us during the final days among his own recent carvings, there would hardly have been any way of distinguishing them from commercial copies. In fact, in addition to undoubtedly genuine specimens recognized as such through patina and erosion, through the growth of moss and lichen, crumbling totora wrappings, aeolian dust, and particular motifs, or conditions of discovery, we collected samples of stone carvings of a doubtful category, including freshly scrubbed but possibly old sculptures, twentieth-century authentic pieces and interesting copies made during our visit. The bulk of the clearly identifiable commercial pieces brought to us during the last days was left behind on the island, having little appeal even as souvenirs.

In the allegedly functional caves of Atan Atan, Henrique Teao, and the Haa brothers, it is possible that recently carved copies had been introduced among the authentic sculptures. It is true that the sculptures in these three functional caves displayed a greater internal variation in degree of erosion or patina than those of the four plain storage caves of Lazaro Hotu, Pedro Atan, Pedro Pate, and Santiago Pakarati. The contents of the untouched storage caves showed little or no visible variation in patina within each individual cave. This difference may be due either to the actual maintenance of the functional caves, which reportedly included the cleaning of figures attacked by vegetation, or to the growth of the collection through additions by different generations. The variation in patina would therefore not necessarily mean that the collections concerned had been enlarged for our benefit, although it could well have been so.

The circumstances surrounding the discoveries of secret storage caves on Easter Island make it most unlikely that the artists had merely stored the pieces away temporarily for the purpose of subsequent trade. The Easter Islanders have never been known to hoard carvings of either wood or stone in an
effort to obtain patina and, as already remarked, there has been such a demand for their carvings that any piece, whether new or old, was sold to visiting vessels. As pointed out in Lavachery’s foreword, the total collection of close to a thousand stone sculptures obtained by our expedition during our last weeks on Easter Island includes several groups of figurines each of which is more or less a copy of one common prototype. This may, for instance, be a turtle or bird with a human head projecting from its back, a human cranium with cup-shaped depressions in the forehead, a reed boat with socketed stone masts and sails, a female bust carrying a child, a stone bowl with projecting faces around the rim, a lobster, etc. In some of these cases, like the human head on the turtle’s back (Pls. 292–93), a time sequence can be followed from a clearly antique and strongly eroded specimen through some old but less weathered replicas and down to quite freshly made imitations. Some of the most recent products in this series differ most from the oldest prototype, and seem to be copied by verbal description rather than by sight. This shows that the tradition of duplicating or multiplying a figurine antedates the period of commercialization, which obviously broke out in full only during our visit. The purpose of this earlier duplication would seem quite apparent in a case where one cave owner wants to pass objects down to two or more of his heirs.

The origins of secret storage caves

The origins of the secret caves and of the storage of pagan art on Easter Island may be found in the period of civil wars immediately followed by missionary influence. During the feuds that raged on the island in the Late Period, from about A. D. 1680 to about 1868, secret caves were the only hiding places for people and property on this treeless island from which there was no escape to other lands. While large stone statues had to be abandoned in the field, where they were overthrown and mutilated, portable images and household accessories were presumably all stored in caches or brought along with the hiding families into their secret caves.

Under normal circumstances all these hidden objects would probably have been brought back into the native huts once the wars and associated plunderings were ended. The fact that this did not happen may be ascribed primarily to the coinciding introduction of Christianity with the historically recorded burning of wooden figurines and rongo-rongo tablets. It would hardly be realistic to assume that the ancestors of the still extremely superstitious Easter Islanders became thoroughly acculturated and fully converted Christians during the first brief and subsequently violently interrupted visit of the missionaries between 1864 and 1871. In fact, our historic review shows that in this brief period the missionaries were twice expelled from the island. The second time they were even forced to abandon their newly founded mission, and later visitors found the natives returned to paganism with stone and wooden images openly exposed, either as doorway guardians, as dance accessories, or as household property.

History has also shown that a considerable quantity of rongo-rongo tablets and figurines of wood and stone, all of which were hidden, subsequently came forth to reach museum collections all over the world. It is therefore clear enough that objects still considered to be of occult value to the owners were stored in secret caves in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Considering the almost incredible superstition prevailing among the spirit-haunted aboriginal population of Easter Island, and the solid grasp Christianity has on everyday community life, it is not surprising that the hidden objects have been sufficiently respected not to be destroyed, and yet considered too vicious and pagan to be brought into the open. Although probably as good Christians as most continentals, these islanders saw in their secret inheritance an officially forbidden link with their own respected ancestry, which
happened to be pagan a mere generation or two ago, even though they were perhaps converted in writing to the new religion of the visitors from abroad.

The religious confusion of these gradually acculturated artists is shown most clearly in the crude carving of the crowned Madonna-and-Child image that came forth with the moss-covered lot of Aron Pakarati and probably owed its origins to his grandfather, the catechist Nicolás Pakarati Ure Potahi, who in his own way took over the functions as religious leader on the island after the belligerent expulsion of the missionaries.

It is clearly known by every Easter Islander that the horse reliefs found among the cave sculptures represent animals of modern European introduction, and the rabbit heads make it possible to date their own manufacture to a period between 1866 and the end of the last century. The wooden paddle was of even later workmanship, and the various hand-written rongo-rongo manuscripts came into existence upon missionary contact and were extended and copied in complete secrecy until the time of our visit. It would therefore be tempting to suspect that the rest of the sculptures and motifs date from the same post-missionary period. This, however, might be jumping to hasty conclusions.

The mere fact that the objects hidden for storage upon missionary arrival were of pre-missionary manufacture shows that ideas and motifs as well as actual specimens were available to the cave owners when the acculturation process started. We may therefore assume that the authentic pieces that came into our possession through various circumstances in 1956 could theoretically fall into three distinct categories: pre-missionary sculptures stored in the caves during the Late Period of civil war or at the introduction of Christianity; post-missionary replicas of these earliest pieces, carved as the desire for duplicates or multiple inheritance arose; and new types of figurines inspired by post-missionary motifs which for some reason caused the cave owners to expand the existing repertoire.

It is very likely that a considerable number of the oldest, best executed, and topically most interesting figurines pertain to the first mentioned category, whereas the bulk of the remaining figures may well be the result of this original art tradition that has lived on into the early decades of the present century. If we analyze the best of the detailed and beautifully carved reed ship models we can hardly escape the conclusion that they represent an artistic tradition that extends back not only into pre-missionary but probably into Middle Period times. Although one of the larger reed vessels was associated with traditions of cannibal ceremonies, it can hardly be assumed that the restless Late Period of civil wars would permit any group of people to organize enough labor for the construction of reed boats much larger than the small fishing boats and one-man reed rollers of the types still observed on the arrival of the early Europeans. True enough, as pointed out by the old Pakarati brothers when they built for our expedition a four-man reed boat large enough for ocean navigation, it was a mere question of labor to harvest enough totora reed in the enormous reed-covered bogs of Rano Kao to permit the building of reed ships of any size desired. Yet, since the disorganized Late Period population was unable to carve and erect, or even re-erect, a single monolithic statue, it seems very doubtful that they were able to organize the building of sea-going ships able to carry up to four hundred people each, according to traditions recorded at the time of the first missionaries (Roussel, 1869, pp. 356–57; Gana, 1870, p. 31). Therefore the reed ship models with their remarkably artistic execution and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic embellishment which resemble the ceramic representations of reed ships in ancient Peru, clearly seem to represent an art tradition dating back to the period of high cultural activity on Easter Island.

It would probably be unjust, however, to ascribe the secrecy of the Easter Island storage caves altogether to the fear of offending the Church. No doubt another not unessential factor to take into account is the previously mentioned, traditional inclination towards, and toleration of, theft among
the Easter Island population. In his paper "Easter Island Exchange Systems," Ferdon (1958, pp. 144–49) includes his earlier quoted discussion of what he terms "steal trading" and its influence on the island culture. He stresses that there is a practical need for secret caves on Easter Island even in modern times:

"It is, in fact, the only manner of control, for, as described, any available object is an insecure one as far as its owner is concerned. Since secret caves or caches may be accidentally found by another, they are guarded by dangerous personal spirits called akuaku who have the power to disable or kill any trespasser.

"That the existence and power of these guardian spirits is still very real to the Easter Islanders is demonstrated by a happening on my excavation. We had received indirect word that a native had accidentally discovered a cave with a wooden rongorongo plaque in it. . . . After bringing the matter up with my native laborers, they entered upon a long and serious discussion as to the dangers involved. The power of the cave’s guardian akuaku over a foreigner, or even a foreigner's gun, was thoroughly talked over. In the end my chief informant and close friend ended the discussion by announcing that, since I had a wife and children whom I would want to see again, they would not, if the finding of a rongorongo cave were true, tell me about it, for if I entered it I would surely die before reaching home again. . . .

"As may be seen, the need for some secret and spiritually protected 'warehouse' is a functional necessity for the personal preservation of family heirlooms and capital assets—and the amassing of capital assets, usually in the form of goods, does exist as part of the cultural complex. That such caves have not been revealed, and normally will not be revealed without tremendous pressure, or until acculturation is far advanced and a cash economy has been fully accepted, is logical. The secret cave in Easter Island culture represents the one secure place for whatever kind of property an islander wishes to keep, so that if its location were once revealed and an intruder should fail to be persecuted by the guardian spirit, the one security system that is untouchable might well be broken. With its downfall, the accumulation of anything, whether it be regarded as wealth or not, would be impossible under a continued existence of the steal trading system."

It is not going too far to say that the ownership of secret caves for the hiding of persons and property emerges as one of the most characteristic features of Easter Island culture. In the decadent Late Period, secret caves were probably as important to the Easter Islanders in their daily life as were the famous ahu images in the Middle Period. The fact that this phenomenon has not previously been known is obviously due to the secret nature of the caves in contrast to the stone giants which dominate the open landscape.
PART 2

Art Objects from Easter Island
Until recently it has been the impression among Polynesianists and art dealers that Easter Island sculpture could be readily fitted into some very few typological groups, all representing standardized forms identifiable by Rapanui names. Recent sub-surface discoveries combined with the disclosure of art objects in secret storage caves, as well as a survey of unpublished or little known carvings which reached museums for exhibition or storage prior to the commercialization of Easter Island sculpture, all combine to show that the art inventory of this island is more complex than hitherto assumed.
Early Period Monolithic Art

Our excavations on the island in 1955–56, combined with a study of architectural stratigraphy, reveal that the large homogeneous Rano Raraku stone busts, hitherto known by the hundreds from surface surveys, were not representative of the earliest period of Easter Island art. They all belong to the second, or Middle Period in the island’s aboriginal history. The statuary art of Easter Island’s Early Period evinces, as we have seen, more artistic freedom with truly heterogeneous monuments which include certain hitherto unknown types.

The excavations by Ferdon, Mulloy, Skjölovld, and Smith of stone statues entirely different from the common type on the island, and in most cases identifiable with an Early Period structure, or buried in Early Period quarry refuse, are described in detail elsewhere (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, Reports 1–3, 14, 18). The same reports include descriptions of an additional number of complete and fragmentary Early Period statues of a similarly aberrant nature, which had been carried away, left unfinished, hidden as masonry core fill, or re-used as ordinary building blocks, in the secular and religious stone structures of the subsequent Middle Period (Ibid., pp. 133–35, 209, 231, 240, 248, 252, 360–62, 462–69).

It suffices to recall here that these aberrant or Early Period monuments were not universally carved from Rano Raraku tuff (maea matariki) as were the Middle Period statues. They were as often carved from hard black basalt, coarse red scoria, and other volcanic rock from a variety of quarries, which included as well the southeastern crater walls of Rano Raraku. These aberrant stone statues may be divided into four main types, as follows:

Monument Type 1

Monument Type 1 is represented by squared, sometimes flattish, stone heads without a body and with a rounded, rectangular outline. The face is carved either in low relief on one side, or sometimes on each side of a corner which coincides with the nose. Ears are sometimes lacking and the mouth is insignificant. Huge eyes are carved below curving eyebrows that run in a Y-shape into the nose. The material is commonly yellowish-gray Rano Raraku tuff (Pl. 2 a–c).
Monument Type 2

Monument Type 2 is represented by a pillar-shaped and highly unrealistic figure also with a rounded rectangular cross-section, but with a complete body and stunted legs. The arms are bent at right angles and the fingers of the hands almost meet on each side of the stomach. Only one completed specimen, formerly with a double head, was encountered, carved from red scoria. Two other unfinished samples lacking legs were seen in the red scoria quarries at Tuu-tapu (Pl. 2 d).

Monument Type 3

Monument Type 3 is represented by a remarkably realistic figure of a naked man kneeling in such a way that the vertical soles of his feet are turned up behind as support for his bulging buttocks. The knees project forward at right angles to the body, and the hands are resting on each thigh above the knees. The face gazes forward and slightly upward, and the oval eyes are vaguely convex, the cheeks projecting. The small mouth has pursed lips, and the chin is decorated with a small goatee beard. Only one example was encountered, carved from Rano Raraku tuff and buried under silt and refuse below the oldest part of the quarries (Pl. 3, Color Pl. VI).

Monument Type 4

Monument Type 4 is represented by a considerable number of busts carved from hard and dense black or gray basalt, reddish scoria, or more usually from Rano Raraku tuff. This is the evident prototype of the subsequently homogeneous form of Middle Period ahu image. The figure is a stiff, conventionalized bust truncated just below the loins. The elbows are bent at right angles so that the hands rest on the stomach in the same stiff pose as of Monument Type 2, but the body is bulky and round with marked shoulders. Nipples, navel, and male genitalia are often present. The head is rounded and has deep, oval depressions where the eyes should be. In view of the otherwise realistic features of this special type of statue, the large hollow eye sockets, not natural for a human face, are sometimes so deep that one may be led to speculate as to the reason. Since no other Easter Island representation of the human face, either the other types of statue or the wooden figurines, have the eyes indicated by deep holes only, this would seem to be a special characteristic only of Monument Type 4. However, some of the wooden figurines do have eye cavities of identical shape and proportionally the same size and depth. But these are without exception carvings with inlay fallen out of one or both eyes. This type of small wooden figurine had inlays consisting of white shell or bone, and with black obsidian pupils. In fact, inlaid eyes also exist on one big Early Period statue head collected by Thomson in 1886 (Pl. 156 i, pp. 313–14) and at least on one ancient bearded stone figurine (Pls. 160–61) which found its way to the old Boston Museum collection and was transferred from there to the Peabody Museum at Harvard University in 1899. Stone statues with inlaid eyes are known elsewhere. The very same type of white shell inlay with black obsidian pupils is common in ancient Mexico both on large stone statues and on small sculptures in stone and wood, and precisely the same custom prevailed on both huge and small stone statues among the Hittites. Furthermore, those monumental statues in the Old and the New World that have lost their eye inlay have precisely the same deep, oval eye sockets as the Easter Island Type 4 Monuments. Even if one prefers to imagine an independent evolution behind the Easter Island stone statues, the idea of an inlay in eye sockets would not seem far-fetched for statue
sculptors who applied it to smaller images. If white disks cut from human skulls were used for eye inlays, such as remembered from the large Late Period *paina* figures (p. 177), then this inlay from Early and Middle Period statues would have long since deteriorated. Statues that are clearly of the Early Period, as opposed to the Middle Period specimens of this type, often have a convex to peg-shaped base indicating that they were probably not intended for superimposition on the level stone platform of an *ahu* terrace, but that they were rather designed for erection in soil. As opposed to their Middle Period counterparts, none of these, nor any other Early Period types had a loose stone topknot superimposed on the head, nor did they have obviously elongated ears. Three of the finest examples of this common type have been removed from the island, and may be seen in the British Museum, London, in Otago Museum, Dunedin, and in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels, all three being carved from hard basalt (Pls. 4–5).
Middle Period Monolithic Art

Monument Type 4

More than six hundred Middle Period statues had been identified and numbered by Englert prior to our arrival, and this quantity was considerably augmented by our excavations at Rano Raraku, and by the discovery of unnumbered fragments scattered about the island. These Middle Period monuments were consistently carved from Rano Raraku tuff, and they all generally follow the norms of Monument Type 4 of the preceding cultural period, with some modifications. The main distinctive feature is the representation of extended earlobes on all the Middle Period images. These earlobes are sometimes decorated with incisions. Both body and face are generally more drawn out so as to be long and slim with narrow shoulders. The lower face from the mouth downwards is exaggerated in length, ending in a very wide and sharp edge, wedge-shaped rather than rounded when seen in profile. This shape is strongly suggestive of a beard, a resemblance that on some statues is augmented by a ridge running from the lower lip down the center of the chin. The representation of a bearded chin would not be surprising in view of the fact that early voyagers both described and illustrated some of the Easter Islanders as thickly bearded. All their wooden figurines of ribbed males have a pronounced goatee beard. While the very few and much smaller stone statues on other islands in Polynesia (the Marquesas and Raivavae) have extremely flat noses with very wide, flaring nostrils and thick lips, the Easter Island ahu images have a long and narrow nasal ridge terminating in a large, protruding tip. This, combined with the narrow face and thin lips, gives these portraits a strikingly European aspect. Not even this is surprising, however, in view of the fact that the early voyagers emphasized the strong resemblance of many Easter Islanders to Europeans.

Contrary to previous speculations, none of these giant images was carved with a peg-shaped base for erection in the ground. All were horizontally truncated below the genitals to make it possible for them to fulfill their uniform function: to balance as high as possible on the upper platform of a stepped Middle Period masonry ahu. This fact was realized by nineteenth-century visitors. Geiseler (1883, p. 13) pointed out that the backs of the statues were not carved until they had been tilted on end in prepared pits at the foot of the quarries. Subsequent visitors therefore correctly presumed that these statues standing in disorder in the quarry débris below the workshops were merely awaiting removal to an ahu. Routledge (1919, pp. 186–87), however, removed the soil from some of these erect but partly buried Rano Raraku images and found one single specimen with its lower part contracted to give the appearance of a peg-shaped base. This statue was later to be the cause of a whole series of misunderstandings which led eventually to complete confusion about the Easter Island monuments. The specimen, which later proved to be defective, was in any case realized by Routledge to be unique in the shape of its base, and she in fact points out that the only difference between all the Rano Raraku images and all those of the ahu is that the former have not received hollow eye sockets, while those of
the *ahu* have. Buck (1938, p. 234), however, and later also Métraux (1940, p. 293) misinterpreted Routledge's discovery of the defective image and assumed that there were two fundamentally different classes of Rano Raraku statues, one class with a peg-shaped base designed to be planted in the ground near the quarries and along the highways, and another with flat and expanded bases designed to balance on *ahu* platforms. Buck, however, had never been to Easter Island and Métraux had never attempted excavations. Our excavations in 1955–56 (Skjølsvold, 1961, pp. 339–79), together with an examination of all the unfinished images in the quarries and all the overthrown specimens throughout the island, revealed that the nineteenth-century assumptions were correct: There was no difference between the statues standing at the foot of the quarries and the *ahu* statues except that the former were unfinished examples of the latter (Pl. 6, Color Pls. IV, V).

A clear distinguishing mark of most Middle Period statues is that the apex of the head is truncated to be able to support a superimposed *pukao* or "topknot." The idea of superimposing extra "topknots" was probably born well into the Middle Period since, at the time work was interrupted, many "topknots" were abandoned during transportation to the *ahu* images that had not received any when they were originally erected.

The eye sockets were not carved until the last moment when the image was finally erected on its *ahu*. The absence of eyes on the partly buried busts standing deep in silt in the slopes of the Rano Raraku quarries has confused many observers and, combined with the erroneous assumption that these blind specimens had peg-shaped bases, helped to lead Buck, Métraux, and others to the conclusion that they represent a different class of monument.

**The Early Period model behind the uniform Middle Period statues**

A combination of archaeological investigation, historic records, and practical experiment based upon native tradition makes it possible today to reconstruct the genesis and function of the Middle Period monuments.

Inspired by an artistic model designed by stone sculptors of the Early Period on the same island, the Middle Period monument makers set to work with a preconceived concept of the image they decided to carve. Although they obviously were hostile to the people or to the religion that preceded their own on Easter Island, since they destroyed their images and rebuilt their sun-oriented temples, they preserved and kept on venerating one particular Early Period basalt statue at the top of the Rano Kao volcano. This statue, which in the Early Period stood in the open, merely set in the soil, was moved by Middle Period people into one of their own newly constructed stone houses in the ceremonial village at Orongo (*Ferdon*, 1961, p. 250). Here this Early Period image continued to serve Middle Period religious functions. Subsequently it was again spared from destruction during the final period of civil wars, and it actually remained as the only universally worshipped statue serving all tribes throughout the Late Period when all *ahu* images on the island were overthrown from their numerous family platforms. The reason for this very particular position of the Orongo statue, which is now in the British Museum (*Hoa-haka-nana-ia*, Pl. 5), is understandable when we bear in mind the fact that it was always considered an image of the sun god, or the creator, and paid honors through fertility rites. All other statues represented only some deceased human ancestor, they were even known by the name of such individuals, and as private family property they were not respected by hostile tribes, but became a prey for them.

With the pan-Easter Island ceremonial center of Orongo and its basalt statue as the nucleus of all inter-tribal religious activities on the island, it is natural that this image of the supreme deity became
the model for Middle Period sculptors who were to depict kings and other important individuals. In fact, the royal lines claimed direct descent from this supreme god, and sought to resemble him. The rulers were themselves considered to become deified and return to their common primeval progenitor in after life.

The working technique in the quarries

Since the Middle Period image makers were obvious imitators in concept and style, it may be assumed that the technique of manufacture followed by them hardly differed essentially from that of their predecessors in the Rano Raraku quarries, especially since the stone carving tools appear to have been the same in both periods. They consisted of coarsely flaked hand picks of the coup de poing type (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, Pls. 23 b, c, 63 a–c). This tool, unknown elsewhere in Polynesia, but widespread among the stone sculptors in ancient America, was found by the thousands among the refuse from the Rano Raraku quarries in 1956. It is shaped from the same hard volcanic material as occurs in the form of lapilli in the Rano Raraku tuff. Usually from 4½ to 6½ ins. (12 to 17 cm,) long and crudely pointed at one or both ends, these unhafted hand picks, with the aid of time and patience, made it possible to quarry the slightly softer local tuff with the aid of water splashed on from gourd containers (Pl. 9 a). Calculations based on tests and a practical experiment disclosed that, although the eroded surface coat of the Rano Raraku quarries and the old statues is soft and friable, in fact too much so to permit carving, the protected inside of the rock and of the large monuments is so extremely hard that a year must be estimated as necessary for the completion of an average fifteen to twenty feet tall statue.

The Middle Period sculptors first outlined the desired size of the projected monument on a leveled surface in the Rano Raraku crater walls. The image was usually carved face up in such a way that it was approached en face if a horizontal rock face was selected by the sculptors, and in profile if a vertical cliffside was chosen. In the former case the sculptors would place themselves at about two-foot intervals along each side of the projected image, whereas in the latter case they would form a single file, cutting free a niche above the figure's face and body before they were able to get inside the rock and down to work free the other side of the image (Pls. 9 a, 11 a, b). In either case front and both sides of the statue were completed to the last detail except for the eyes before the undermining of the back was initiated. Finely curving chest muscles with nipples, a disk-shaped navel on a rather bulging stomach, and extremely long fingers and thumbs with curved and pointed nails on each side of a conventionalized, rectangoloid pubic area, were carved in relief and finally ground with abrasive stones to a perfect polish. The face with its strongly projecting forehead, long narrow nose, pursed lips, and sharp, long and broad chin was similarly completed, except for the eye concavities, which were never carved until the image was erected at its final destination. The ears with their finely incised decorations were carved extremely long and narrow to illustrate artificial extension of the lobe, conforming to the locally prevailing custom among one section of the population in prehistoric and early historic times.

Only at this stage did the undermining of the back begin, the sculptors working their way in under-neath the image from both sides until the giant looked like a ship resting on a keel, with only the area along the spine still attached to the bedrock (Pl. 11 c). Before this final keel was cut away, the statue was blocked up by loose stones to prevent it from rolling over on to one of its already polished sides, and to stop it from sliding or rolling down the steep slope of the volcano (Pl. 11 d).

With the now detached back still keel-shaped and unworked, the giant must next have been manuevered with guide ropes and skids down the difficult crater wall which had gradually been modified by
generations of image makers to become a continuous series of vertical cliffs, terraces, and niches (Color Pl. II). The bust was then temporarily tipped up into a standing position on a small prepared terrace cut into the silt at the steeply sloping foot of the hill and paved with flat stones. Standing on this provisional base with its unworked back free and turned towards the mountain, the statue could now be approached for work on its back (Pl. 11 f, g). The transversal convexity of the back was cut away by sculptors working from the base upwards, and the dorsal side was given its final shape with graceful longitudinal and transversal curves and a perfect polish. Sometimes a relief design was carved on the lower back in the shape of a wide bow or arc from one side to the other, subdivided by incisions into three parallel bands (Pl. 13 a). The Atan family identified this arc with the multicolored rainbow. From its mid-section is suspended an M-shaped symbol, said by the same informants to represent the rain, and actually corresponding with a symbol for rain in ancient Mexico. The ring on top of the rainbow was claimed to be the sun. Some statues had two rings side by side. Our informants did not agree about whether this represented "two suns" or whether one represented the moon.

The temporarily erected statues buried in silt

As we have seen, work was abruptly terminated in the quarries at the outbreak of the disastrous civil war about A.D. 1680. The large rubble heaps accumulated around the quarries in the crater walls descended with the first heavy rains and gradually buried the nearly completed giants temporarily erected at the foot of the mountain. The descending quarry rubble mixed with broken stone picks soon covered some giants entirely, others to the nose, chin, or chest, and gave rise to the popular modern misconception that the Easter Island monuments were "heads" without bodies or limbs. The quickly descending silt also prevented the Easter Islanders during the civil wars of the Late Period from overthrowing these incompletely giants which were now solidly planted in the ground, whereas every single statue erected on the island's one hundred and twenty-four image ahu were tipped over to remain face down. For this reason, standing statues with eye sockets ready carved had never been photographed on Easter Island until our expedition re-erected one of the fallen ahu monuments in 1956 (Pl. 9 f). Subsequently Mulloy and Figueroa have re-erected others (Pl. 10 b). The fact that the bodies of these standing quarry statues were already covered with silt during the Late Period of civil wars is proved by a deep scar left from an unsuccessful attempt to behead one of them with a stone adze. The position of the scar shows that the level of the ground was then much the same as at present. It was therefore natural that Captain Cook's party, who reached the foot of Rano Raraku in 1774, about a century after the termination of the Middle Period, correspondingly found the bodies of the statues buried in the ground. We have also seen that a photograph taken by us in 1956, when compared to the drawing made on the same spot by Julien Viaud (Pierre Loti) in 1872, proves that the local soil level has remained quite stable throughout the last century (Fig. 12, Pl. 12 a).

This evidence has a certain importance in the dating of some petroglyphs incised like tattoos on the body of some of the statues before their submergence in silt. Of particular interest is the three-masted, sickle-shaped ship with sails and a large crew found incised on Statue No. 263 when its body was exposed by Skjölsvold (1961, Report 14; this vol., Pl. 14 c, Fig. 26). A fishing line runs down to a turtle carved very low on the abdomen of the statue. This detail was thus undoubtedly covered by descending silt prior to the eighteenth century visit of the first Europeans. It is also unlikely that the Easter Island artists would depict a European ship fishing for turtle, and incise it on a body representing that of one of their own ancestors.
Furthermore, the local concept of a European ship was very clear; for example, an early mural painting in a cave near Vaihu shows a level-decked wooden ship with bowsprit and European sails, as distinguished from the characteristic crescent shape of the reed boat (Fig. 28). Corroborative evidence in the dating of these boat petroglyphs on the body of Middle Period images comes from independent excavations by all the other expedition archaeologists.

The transport and erection of the statues

We have shown earlier that C-14 datings of the very rich stratum of burned charcoal from the pyre in the Poike defensive ditch concur with Englert’s genealogical dating in indicating that the disastrous civil war, that put an end to the Middle Period culture, occurred about A. D. 1680. Archaeology reveals that all image work in the quarries and along the roads was interrupted abruptly, and that no work of a similar nature was attempted in the Late Period. When the production of the statues ceased, a considerable quantity were left unfinished on the shelves of the Rano Raraku quarries. Many, however, had been abandoned prior to the general cessation of the work due to some unexpected flaw or disturbing lapilli encountered by the artists at critical points. Since only a limited number of sculptors had room to work alongside each image, the total number of men engaged in the actual quarries was not necessarily excessively great, although it must have run into a few hundred, all expert stone carvers. The real quantity of labor was needed in the transportation of the stone colossi, many of which were eighteen to twenty feet tall and some even considerably larger. The heaviest weighed up to sixty or even eighty tons. Not only would great care have to be taken to prevent these long and slender blocks from breaking during transportation through the undulating and rocky terrain, but any maneuver was apparently rendered infinitely more complicated by the fact that front, back, and all sides of a giant image had already been finished down to the last detail of the final polish prior to its removal from the depository at the foot of Rano Raraku. The delicate surface finish would be ruined through contact with any material as hard or harder than tuff, and it seems clear enough that reed matting and some protective wooden frame would have surrounded the monuments on their extensive displacement from the volcano to all near and far parts of the island. More than three hundred finished statues had been conveyed to different regions, sometimes as far as seven miles from the quarries.

The practical demonstration organized by Pedro Atan at Anakena showed that 180 men and women pulling on two ropes sufficed to draw a 12-ton statue on a wooden sledge across a level plain. Routledge (1919, pp. 194–95) discovered the now almost obliterated tracks of prehistoric roads on Easter Island. Their main function, presumably, had been to make the transportation of the heavy monuments possible. These roads with cut and fill, and sometimes even with elaborate smooth boulder paving, would at any rate greatly facilitate the transport of monoliths. Some statues and topknots, however, may have been transported part of the way by sea. This is suggested by the discovery offshore of specimens lost through some accident in front of an area where a ready paved way leads from the shoreline up to the nearby ahu platform (Pl. 6 d, Color Pl. XIII).

Although Pedro Atan demonstrated that a couple of hundred laborers suffice to drag a medium-size image across a plain, he insisted with all the other Easter Islanders that this was not the way the statues had originally been moved. Large, crude stones like those of the ahu walls, he said, had been transported that way by the use of a wooden sledge called miro manga erau. This was merely a forked, or Y-shaped, trunk of a tree to which a cross-piece had been lashed to support the cargo better. The images, however, were firmly believed by the Easter Islanders to have moved by themselves in an
upright position, or as they expressed it, they had “walked.” In fact, Routledge observed that many of the statues abandoned face down during transport along the roads had broken transversally as if they had fallen from an upright position. Mulloy made the same observation and noted in addition that several statues, especially those left face down on Routledge’s “southern image road,” have a marked flaring ridge standing out across their base on the dorsal side, whereas the base on the ventral side is incurved below the convex stomach (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, Pls. 70 d, e). This means that, with little extra support below the chin, these statues could easily be balanced in a slanting upright position, resting only on the base of the stomach, which thereby became a fulcrum. As pointed out by Mulloy, this specialized backward flare of the base seems hard to explain except in functional terms. It would seem ideally adapted to a rocking movement of the image, such as would be necessary if a bipod hoisting shear had been employed, a working system well known in aboriginal Polynesia and America where it was used for erecting tall and heavy wooden posts (Heyerdahl, 1952, Fig. p. 115). A rope fastened from the chin of the image to the top of the bipod shear would jerk the monument ahead in a semi-upright rocking manner each time the swinging top of the shear was pulled forward and passed its own perpendicular position. Then the legs of the shear could be moved ahead a few steps to be prepared for the next jerk, like walking on crutches. If Mulloy’s purely hypothetical solution should be proven correct by future discoveries, the broken statues on the roads would have a logical explanation, the firm native tradition would be founded in actual tribal memories, and the number of transport workers, as well as sledge or skid dimensions needed for each moving statue, would be greatly reduced. But at present this tentative suggestion can be considered no more than an interesting working hypothesis. At any rate, the transport of monuments effected by the aboriginal engineers on Easter Island creates no obstacle to our understanding of the practicability of their enterprise, as a few hundred toiling men would suffice to draw even the largest of their monuments along the cleared island roads.

The temporary erection of the statues, intended merely to permit access to the unfinished back, took place on small paved terraces provisionally cut into the rubble at the foot of the quarry wall. This temporary erection created no great problem due to the steep incline of the slope down which the monument had been maneuvered. With guide ropes and the gradual insertion of stones under the rear of the head, the base of the bust could easily be tipped into the ready excavated pit or terrace. If, then, the transportation continued in an upright position, less labor would have been needed for final erection when the image reached its destination. However, assuming that it was laid down and dragged by sheer manpower like the one in our successful experiment, then a double engineering task awaited the constructors when the monument reached its destination. Firstly, it would have had to be lifted from ground level until its lowest section reached the level of the top terrace of the ahu on which it was destined to rest and, secondly, in this elevated position the prone statue would have had to be tilted up on end to stand erect.

Pedro Atan insisted very strongly that he knew the coveted secret of this working procedure, stating that he had learned it as a boy from his own grandfather, Tuputahi (christened Atamu) and the latter’s brother-in-law, Porotu. With the consent of the island governor, he moved, as we have seen, to a cave in Anakena with eleven of his relatives and friends, all said to be descendants in some way of the “Long-ears.” The statue chosen for the experiment was a bulky figure measuring about 9 ft. across its shoulders and weighing approximately 25 tons. This stone giant had been overthrown like all the rest of the ahu images during the Late Period civil wars, and lay prone with its head directed down hill at the foot of Ahu Ature-huki. Its base was 12 ft. away from the platform on which it once stood, and its head 10 ft. below the level of the same pedestal. Pedro Atan and his collaborators, twelve men in all, lifted the statue back into a standing position on its former ahu in eighteen days of work, their only
mechanical devices being two strong logs and a large quantity of crude stones found scattered about the ground. The technique they used was remarkably simple and ingenious. The statue was gradually tilted from one longitudinal side by means of continuous but almost invisible levering movements. Ten or eleven men levering at the end of two long poles with all their combined strength and body weights were able to shake one side of the giant perhaps a millimeter at a time, while one or two others pushed stone wedges further underneath, changing small stones with bigger ones, and continually adding new ones. Thus, by gradually raising one side and then the other, the giant rose, still in its prone position, and face down, but now on top of a constantly growing stone tower. After ten days the stone foundation under the statue had lifted the horizontal monument up so it now rested prone on a stone tower 10 ft. above the ground, and its base was level with the old ahu platform on which it was to be re-erected. The remaining eight of the total eighteen days were devoted to the actual erection of the monolith. Instead of continuing to lever up the sides alternately, all levering activity was transferred to the head section. With one log projecting laterally from each side of the giant's face, both were now jerked simultaneously while stones were inserted only under the head and chest of the statue. The ends of the poles were padded and the stones were adjusted carefully so as not to scratch any part of the monument. After some days the figure reached an angle of slightly more than 45 degrees. At this time levering was transferred to the peak of the forehead, and four guide ropes were now lashed to the head and neck and firmly anchored to the ground to prevent the giant from toppling over during the last days while it was gradually tipped into a vertical position (Pl. 9). The rest of the Easter Island population proved to be as surprised and impressed as us over this spectacular performance of the Long-ears.

The superimposed topknots

The moment the Anakena statue stood erect on the top platform of its former ahu, a huge pile of boulders and smaller stones remained piled up against its ventral side, reaching almost to the chin of the statue. Before removal, this pile made it easy to gain access to the very top of the statue. The facilities for the superimposition of a headgear or additional upper section must therefore have been obvious to the early sculptors and engineers, whose only ambition was to create ever taller and more impressive images.

It is therefore not so surprising to note that the custom of adding a pukao, or topknot, to the images was born well inside the Middle Period, when competition in raising the tallest giants really began. The addition of a stone cylinder was a comparatively late practice, and once it was introduced, the apexes of the statue heads were particularly adapted to receive such a burden by being flattened above and narrowed behind to fit into a concavity in the superimposed stone. Stone cylinders were even on the way to being secondarily superimposed on those earlier erected images that had none, such as our re-erected monument in Anakena. From its crude features and squat, bulky body, this monument undoubtedly dated from the early part of the Middle Period.

It is most noteworthy that the topknots were not carved from the same yellowish-gray Rano Raraku tuff that was used for the monolithic head and body section of all the Middle Period images. All the topknots, without exception, had been quarried from a specially selected reddish scoria found in the interior of the Puna Pau crater, which was situated to the northeast of the Hangaroa village, more than seven miles away from the image quarries in Rano Raraku. Except for a few exposed rocks, the quarries of this small crater are now concealed by rubble and wind-blown sand covered by turf and grass (Color Pl. VIII bottom).
Since the coarse Puna Pau scoria was greatly inferior to the fine-grained Rano Raraku tuff as material for sculpturing, the only evident reason for this inconvenient choice is the color of the rock. It is evident that whereas the light-colored, yellowish-gray Rano Raraku tuff was found suitable for the naked images, a different color was preferred for the hair. The popular term “hat” frequently used by Europeans to describe these superimposed stone cylinders is a clear misnomer. As learned by the early missionaries and recorded by Jaussen (1894, p. 245), the original native term for these red cylinders was pukao, or “topknot.” Métraux (1940, p. 301) was aware of this and suggested that the knob carved on top of these cylinders “may have been an attempt to represent the long hair tied up on the head in a big knot (pukao), a fashion very common on Easter Island.” Métraux stressed the fact that hair coloring was not practiced on Easter Island. Yet, the choice of red color for the pukao is not surprising when it is borne in mind that red and auburn hair has been particularly noted on individuals on Easter Island since the time of European discovery and subsequent missionary settlement, and runs in certain families. In fact, red hair has continued to be particularly common among those who count descent from the Long-ears, such as the Atans. These families were very much aware of their own fair skins and unusual hair color, and until recently the Easter Islanders in enumerating their genealogies, could specify the color of even remote relations (Routledge, 1919, p. 221).

About half a dozen detached cylinders are still left at the bottom of the Puna Pau crater, and about twenty large specimens are stored on the ridge outside the rim, as if awaiting transport to different parts of the island (Pls. 1 c, d, 6 b, c, Color PI. VIII). The largest of these is more than 10 ft. in diameter, more than 8 ft. in height, and weighs roughly 30 tons. Two isolated specimens lie farther away, in the wide open valley extending eastwards from these quarries, abandoned during transportation in the direction of Anakena. A huge specimen has been left en route a few hundred yards short of reaching the old “hairless” statue re-erected by us in Anakena.

The red scoria cylinders left in or near the Puna Pau quarries, and those abandoned en route to some ahu, do not have the characteristic knot, or knob, on top as is typical of most of the specimens fallen from the heads of overthrown statues, nor do they have the hollow depression underneath which they were to get when they reached their final destination. These were obviously details that would make the scoria cylinder more vulnerable during transportation, that appears to have been accomplished by rolling. The upper knob of the topknot was, at any rate, carved after arrival at the ahu, and so was its basal concavity, which was designed to socket onto the image’s head. This concavity was placed off center so that the topknot projected somewhat out from above the statue’s eyebrows. The average size of these topknots seem to range from about 7 to 8 ft. in diameter and about 4 to 6 ft. in height, although some specimens were considerably larger (Pls. 6 b, c).

It is an enormous feat of engineering to lift a weight of anything from 10 to 30 tons as high above the ground as 20 to 30 ft. in order to place it on to the narrow apex of a monolith. The most obvious and practical way of doing this would be to utilize the already present stone incline. The topknot could be jerked up the incline by successive levering movements similar to those previously used on the statue itself, and the stones removed afterwards to expose the completed monument.

Only at this stage, either immediately before or after the superimposition of the red-stone topknot, was the statue considered fit to have its eyes opened. These were now carved as deep oval sockets in the plain area below the projecting eyebrows, and as indicated earlier they probably contained some sort of inlay. With the boulder heap removed and commonly stored as crude masonry wings, or as inland ramps, to the main central ahu, the Middle Period monumental statue was ready for its ceremonial functions.
The rebuilding of the *ahu*

Although Early Period statues commonly had peg-shaped or unworked bases and thus might well have stood on the ground in the temple plaza, we have seen that the Middle Period monuments invariably had plane, truncated bases designed to balance on top of a modified and strengthened Early Period masonry terrace, the so-called *ahu*.

The Early Period temple structure on Easter Island was essentially different from the subsequent image *ahu* in architecture as well as in workmanship and function. One of the least modified examples, Ahu Hanga Poukura (Pl. 7 a), shows that its original Early Period shape was that of a stepped pyramid with a rectangular ground plan, while the stepped terraces in the Middle Period were limited to the inland side thus creating the semi-pyramidal shape termed *ahu* common both in Peru and Polynesia. The Early Period temples were carefully oriented to the annual movements of the sun, and they were culturally linked to a solar observatory on top of the volcano next to the subsequently erected ceremonial village of Orongo. They were, furthermore, designed and constructed with a special view to the esthetic appearance, but they lacked the solidity required by a wall intended to support cyclopean monuments. Special attention was concentrated on the tall front wall which was laid out according to the sun’s movements. Being perfectly smooth and even, it consisted of irregularly superimposed and heterogeneously shaped megalithic blocks of different sizes, exquisitely cut, fitted, and polished without leaving the least sign of cracks or holes between them. Wherever an open space occurred at the juncture of two or more stones, this opening was re-shaped and perfectly plugged by a smallish stone which may be triangular, semicircular, or have any odd shape that the opening required. To facilitate this ambitious esthetic effect, the mason carved facing slabs that were set on end exposing their most impressive surface, but they did not extend deeply into the wall except at the slightly rounded corners. The surfaces of the facing blocks were often made slightly convex before they received the final polish, and the inside of the structure was filled with a core of crude stones mixed with sand.

To judge from Ahu Hanga Poukura and some of the other less modified Early Period temple walls along the south coast, the front wall was not universally perpendicular but sometimes stepped into as many as three superimposed masonry terraces of exquisitely fitted blocks. The rear wall remained elaborately stepped by carved facing slabs on most if not all these structures, although they were secondarily covered with boulders to form a crude ramp. Its solar orientation associated with the Early Period observatory and sun-cult center on top of Rano Kao suggests a function similar to the raised temple platforms throughout ancient Peru. The Peruvian structures also had the same architectonic design,
often with the very same asymmetrically stepped front and rear wall, and were fitted together with a specialized megalithic masonry technique with corresponded remarkably (Pls. 306–7, Fig. 30).

A slightly sunken plaza or temple court had also been prepared adjacent to the elevated stone platform in Peru as on Easter Island. This correspondence is the more noteworthy when we consider the geographical neighborhood and recall that elsewhere, throughout the Pacific, no equivalent temple structure is found, either with regard to solar orientation or masonry technique.

Although Routledge (1919, pp. 166–72) and Englert (1948, p. 515) both suspected and in fact pointed out that the Easter Island ahu, as known throughout the historic period, were actually rebuilt structures of a different type remaining from an earlier culture on the same island, their observations were ignored and the actual evidence overlooked until Mulloy, Smith, and Ferdon had completed the first stratigraphic examination of these archaeological remains in 1955–56 (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, pp. 93–225). It was then discovered that the image ahu was a characteristic feature of the Middle Period. All the Early Period temple structures that we investigated had been abandoned and also been affected by considerable erosion and talus accumulation when finally new architects took over about A. D. 1100, introducing new building plans and new religious concepts. The old, abandoned temple structures were partly torn down, the thin facing slabs turned over and piled flat on top of each other mixed with house foundation stones and shapeless boulders to form crude but solid walls in the general shape of ahu. In this reconstruction no apparent regard was shown for astronomical orientation or for the esthetic effect of the formerly beautifully fitted walls. The stepped rear wall was occasionally covered up below a crude boulder ramp, and the sole object of the architects was to form a thoroughly solid foundation on which they could raise the tallest possible images. A few of the smaller ahu have only one, two or three images, but four, five, or six in a row is common, and the largest ahu could have as many as fifteen or sixteen colossal statues.

The purpose of the ahu images

Much nonsense has been written about the direction in which the images faced and its importance in solving the mystery of the island. It is a common misconception that the Easter Island ahu images faced the sea. This was not so, and does not even apply to the temporarily erected unfinished statues on the slopes of Rano Raraku. The latter were raised at any casual angle that made the temporary erection easier, and therefore generally stood with their backs to the steep hill behind them. The ahu images, however, which were erected to remain permanently in position, were without exception set up to face the inland temple plaza, which means that they normally stood with their backs towards the sea. The statues were to face the people, and the worshippers were now as before assembled in the plaza behind the altarlike platform. But what was formerly the beautifully executed façade turned outwards towards the sun in the finest structures of the Early Period, now became the rear of the temple in the Middle Period when the ancestor figures were turned inland to face their worshippers in the plaza instead of the sun.

It therefore seems quite apparent that the heliolyatry of the Early Period had been displaced in the Middle Period by a new religion where all attention was focused on these giant ancestor statues and the associated bird cult.

The bird-cult rite was an all-island ceremony held at the masonry village of Orongo on top of the Rano Kao volcano in which everyone, irrespective of tribe, participated. Each image ahu, on the other hand, belonged to an individual family, an extended family, or a tribe. Accordingly, whereas the
Orongo ceremonies were concerned with celestial bodies and supernatural beings, the *ahu* was simply dedicated to religious family matters. Many speculative theories were launched in connection with the so-called “Rano-Raraku images” and “roadside” images before it became clear that these statues represent merely the unfinished stages of those erected on the *ahu*. On the other hand there have never been any arguments concerning the significance of the Easter Island *ahu* monuments, as everyone has accepted the information received from the islanders by the early voyagers that these statues were not idols but ancestor monuments. In fact, ever since the time of Captain Cook’s visit it has been clear that the Easter Island *ahu* statues were monuments erected to commemorate deceased kings, chiefs, or other important individuals. Cook (1777, p. 296) and Forster (1777, p. 575) learned this by interrogating Late Period Easter Islanders with a Tahitian interpreter, and they even recorded that many of the statues still had personal names, to which the natives sometimes annexed the Polynesian term *ariki*, meaning “king” or “chief”. Traditional memories to this effect have survived down to the present day. They recount that important people placed an order for the largest possible monument to be carved in their memory by professional image makers. The image makers were, in turn, supported by other groups of people, organized as professional fishermen or agriculturists. It is obvious that, as technical skill and organizing abilities increased throughout the generations and centuries, it became a matter of prestige to have the tallest and most impressive *ahu* monument. Whereas the Early Period monuments rarely exceeded 6 to 10 ft. (the kneeling statue, however, was about 12 ft. or 3.67 m. tall), the Middle Period statues gradually increased in height to stupendous proportions. The largest statue ever erected on an *ahu* was brought to Ahu Te-pito-te-kura, involving transport of more than 5 miles (7 km). This monolith weighed about 82 tons, and was over 32 ft. (9.80 m.) tall. In addition it carried a topknot weighing 11.5 tons, adding nearly 8 ft. (2.4 m.) more to its impressive stature. The largest excavated statue temporarily erected at the foot of Rano Raraku, Statue No. 295, was more than 46 ft. (11.40 m.) tall in one piece; whereas the tallest of the unfinished images still left on its back in the quarries measured nearly 70 ft. (20.90 m.) from apex to base (Fig. 31).

The pride in these colossal ancestor figures naturally became the most vulnerable point in the period of the civil wars, and through assaults and revenge the foundations of some were undermined and others were pulled down with ropes until the last giant lay face down. The topknots often rolled far away from the *ahu*.

We have seen that Roggeveen and his companions had a glimpse of Easter Island life in 1722, prior to the last tribal massacres that seem to have occurred between 1770 and 1774. They observed that the islanders kindled fire in front of their monolithic images while prostrating themselves towards the rising sun. This observation suggests that in the Late Period there was still some religious link between the Early Period sun worship and the Middle Period ancestor worship, probably because the ancestors were supposed to be descended from the sun. Cook and his companions who reached the island in 1774 after the last massacre and yet before the last statue was felled, found no worship of the *ahu* images. They did observe, however, that the standing statues were generally respected, some of them even remembered by name, and that the natives disliked the foreigners to approach them too closely. It was now also found that remains of burials were scattered about the *ahu*, between the stones of their inland boulder mantles and even on top of the superimposed topknots. Skulls and long bones have remained hidden among the stones of some *ahu* until the present day and have caused the general belief that the Easter Island image *ahu* were burial platforms. These structures were not originally built to enclose burials.

Our archaeological investigations revealed that no burial chamber was found in Early Period masonry platforms, and it appears that such vaults were not constructed until the very end of the Middle Period.
Ahu burials, however, became the main funeral custom of the decadent Late Period, when individual and multiple burials were placed in secondarily constructed vaults underneath the fallen images, in narrow shafts, or merely scattered underneath the loose stone mantle of the secondary ramp. The only identifiable burial remains from the earlier culture phases on Easter Island were located in stone-lined crematoria excavated in front of some ahu. These crematoria contained, apart from great quantities of burned human bones datable to the end of the Early or beginning of the Middle Period, such non-Polynesian features as burned fishhooks and other grave offerings (Mulloy, 1961, pp. 100–66; Heyerdahl, 1965, pp. 325–27). Attempts to mummify deceased kings are well known both to the east and to the west of Easter Island, and mummification has even been reported from the island itself (Dixon, 1928, p. 252). Eastwards of Easter Island it was a common custom in ancient Peru practiced with considerable success, and westwards of Easter Island it was attempted in several parts
of Polynesia proper, but with little success due to the wet climate. Knowing that the Middle Period images represent deceased chiefs or royalty, it is interesting to note that some of them had rows of short, vertical lines incised across the lips, strongly suggesting the stitched lips of a mummy. With reference to the protruding narrow lips of this type of statue, Skjölsvold (1961, pp. 357–58, Pl. 49 c) points out that where the lips of mummies are sewn together with transverse stitches in South America, their mouths assume the characteristic pout of Easter Island ahu images. He further points out that whereas all the images have these strangely pouting lips, on many the transverse stitches have been partly obliterated by erosion and that this detail had possibly been far more common than has been generally realized.

**Possible origins**

We know today that the spectacular type of Middle Period image which made Easter Island famous has no outside origins. It represents a stylistic continuation of a monolithic art fully developed on the same island in an earlier local culture period. The Middle Period sculptors chose to imitate only one out of four already existing monument types. We are therefore well on the way towards having an answer to a long-debated problem. The classic Easter Island statues are no longer without local prototypes. The question is reduced to whether these newly discovered prototypes were, in turn, the result of local evolution or outside influence.

As long as the large and homogeneous Middle Period images were the only ones known, their presence scattered all over Easter Island remained an enigma to Polynesian scholars. No better explanation could be offered than to suggest a spontaneous growth to full perfection in stone-shaping art among Polynesian sculptors who came to an island where wood was not available. It had become a widely held theory that consistently eastward-pushing migrants from Polynesia had finally reached the last Oceanian outpost, Easter Island. The Marquesas group, some 2,000 miles to the northwest, was assumed to be the last stepping stone. From the Marquesas they had, according to this theory, brought the idea of carving human figures in both wood and stone, and due to the absence of wood on Easter Island the stone technique was here immediately developed to stupendous proportions exceeding anything found on the wooded islands elsewhere in the Pacific (Bück, 1938, p. 232; Métroaux, 1940, p. 308).

As shown elsewhere (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, 1961, pp. 12–13, 519; Heyerdahl, 1968, pp. 159–60), these purely hypothetical assumptions were based on insufficient information. There was, in fact, an ample supply of wood for the immigrants to continue the same kind of wood carving they had practiced in other parts of Polynesia. The first immigrants to Easter Island, however, were more interested in locating stone quarries than in preserving the local supply of wood. Our pollen borings from the bogs surrounding the Rano Raraku and Rano Kao crater lakes disclosed that Easter Island was no less barren than Mangareva, Rapaiti, the Chatham Islands, and many other Polynesian habitats, when man first settled ashore. In fact, the Rano Raraku crater was covered with a rich growth of a subsequently extinct palm and various other kinds of trees and shrubs including a conifer (Ephedra). These are among the subsequently extinct species identified in the stratigraphic pollen samples analyzed by the Swedish palaeobotanist Dr. Olof H. Selling (loc. cit.). He found that, at a time when indigenous trees still surrounded the Easter Island crater lakes and sent large quantities of pollen into the open water, the first pollen of a plant introduced by man, the aquatic Polygonum acuminatum, began to appear. This is a strictly American plant unknown in the rest of the world, and it is a freshwater species which can only be propagated across an open ocean through human aid. It was used as a medicinal plant both in Peru and on Easter Island. With it came another and still more important
aquatic species, _Scirpus tatora_, or the South American _tatora_ reed, the principal material for house thatch, matting, and for building boats in Peru as well as on Easter Island. Neither of these two strictly American plants could have spread to the fresh-water crater lakes of Easter Island without human aid, since they can only propagate through root stocks and not by means of seeds. The pollen borings furthermore show that, in the strata deposited immediately above those containing pollen from these first introduced species, soot particles began to appear simultaneously with a rapid impoverishment of the original island flora. The soot particles were recognized by Selling as vestiges of vegetation fires sending clouds of smoke across the crater lakes. Since all volcanic activity was long since ended, and furthermore, man had just arrived, as can be judged from his introduction of _Polygonum_ and _tatora_, the fires were evidently caused by the aboriginal immigrants clearing land for settlement and cultivation. The destruction became so effective that in the upper strata of pollen deposits hardly anything survived from the original flora. Grass and ferns gradually covered the barren landscape. While the fires destroyed most of the terrestrial flora, the newly introduced _Polygonum_ and _tatora_ established themselves in the three crater lakes as the only Easter Island fresh-water species.

To summarize, there was originally no more shortage of wood on Easter Island than on most other islands in adjacent sections of Polynesia. In fact, various kinds of trees and shrubs were growing on the island until the advent of man, who brought aquatic reeds from South America and let the forests burn, because he built his temples and monuments of quarried stones, and lived in masonry houses covered with corbeled slabs and imported _tatora_ thatch.

Equally unfounded is the frequently cited theory that Marquesan monoliths are ancestral to those of Easter Island (e. g., _Buck_, 1938, p. 232). This hypothesis is untenable for chronological reasons. The carbon datings resulting from our expedition show that the only two real sites of monolithic statues in the Marquesas, _i. e._, Puamau in eastern Hivaoa and Taipi in eastern Nukuhiwa, date respectively from ca. A. D. 1316 and A. D. 1516 (_Heyerdahl_ and _Ferdon_, 1965, pp. 117–51). The Marquesan statues are thus much later than the Early Period statues on Easter Island; in fact they even post-date the first Middle Period statues whose production was initiated around A. D. 1100. The Marquesan statues therefore obviously cannot be the source of inspiration for the Easter Island monuments. Since the few small stone images formerly found on Pitcairn and Raivavae were evidently still more recent and have never been suggested as inspirations behind the Easter Island monuments, we are left with no chronological background in the Oceanian area for any of the stone giants on Easter Island. The distribution of monolithic monuments in human form is strikingly restricted to the four island areas of Easter Island, the Marquesas, Pitcairn, and Raivavae, all in the extreme eastern fringe of Polynesia directly facing South America, whereas they are conspicuously absent from central and west Polynesia, Austro-Melanesia, and Micronesia (_Heyerdahl_, 1965, pp. 137–50).

If we next approach the problem on a purely stylistic basis, we are helped no further by looking to the islands of Polynesia for possible inspiration.

Monument Type 1 in the Early Period of Easter Island was a rectanguloid head without body. This type does not occur elsewhere in Polynesia. In fact, detached heads in any form carved as separate monuments do not exist on the other islands apart from a few specimens in the Marquesas group, but these are globular and differ widely from Monument Type 1 on Easter Island.

Monument Type 2 on Easter Island was a pillarlike full figure image with a rectanguloid cross-section. Again, nothing equivalent has ever been known on any other island in the Pacific.

Monument Type 3 on Easter Island was a kneeling figure with knees projecting forward from the body, and heels turned up behind. The figure had a goatee beard, and its arms ran along the thighs so the hands rested near the knees. Not a single statue elsewhere in Oceania has any of these features.
Monument Type 4 was a truncated bust which later became the prototype of the Middle Period images. There are no monumental statues either in the Marquesas or Raivavae with bodies which do not also have arms and legs, and in most cases the legs are even extended downwards into pedestals sunk into the ground (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, pp. 97–151, Pls. 27 a, b, 29–31, 38 d, 39 b, 41, 45 f). Accordingly, they do not fall into the category of our Monument Type 4. The only monumental busts in Polynesia outside Easter Island are the few small specimens discovered by the mutineers of the “Bounty” on uninhabited Pitcairn Island, the one speck of land nearest to Easter Island (Heyerdahl and Skjølsvold, 1965, pp. 3–7, Pl. 1 c). Four reported Pitcairn statues were destroyed or thrown into the sea by the mutineers and only one headless bust some 30 ins. (76 cm.) tall has been preserved and is now in the Otago Museum, New Zealand. The scarcity of archaeological vestiges on Pitcairn and the absence of inhabitants at the time of European arrival indicates a short and unimportant period of aboriginal occupation. In all likelihood the small, crude busts on Pitcairn were left behind by visitors from Easter Island rather than being the inspiration behind the impressive enterprises of that important culture center on Pitcairn’s windward side.

Since there is neither a chronological nor a typological background to the various categories of Easter Island statues on the extremely few Pacific islands which do have statues, we must look either for a local origin or for an inspiration from elsewhere. When we are tempted to look first at the numerous monolithic monuments on the opposite side of Easter Island before we accept a theory of independent evolution, it is for several apparent reasons.

There is already evidence of human contact between South America and Easter Island before European arrival, since the aboriginal Easter Islanders were cultivating sweet potatoes, gourds, chili peppers, totora reeds and other strictly South American plants which could only have crossed the intervening ocean space by boat (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 27–31, 519–26; 1968, pp. 61–64). The most common boat type along the Pacific coast of South America from pre-Inca times to the period of the Spanish Conquest was the reed boat built from Scirpus tatora. This reed was widely cultivated mainly for this purpose in irrigated fields along the desert coast of ancient Peru. It is therefore important to note that this fresh-water plant was introduced by the first settlers in the Easter Island crater lakes for subsequent use in building the very same kind of vessel as the one dominating the continental coastline on the windward side of the island.

The Kon-Tiki Expedition in 1947 demonstrated that a Peruvian balsa raft could sail at least twice as far into the Pacific Ocean as the distance to Easter Island. Furthermore, the seaworthiness of the Peruvian reed boats has subsequently been empirically demonstrated. In 1969 the coastal voyage all the way from Peru to Panama was successfully undertaken by a Peruvian totora reed boat. This experimental voyage led by Gene Savoy took two months, from April 15 to June 17. At about the same time, from May 25 to July 18, the papyrus reed boat Ra I, built according to African design, sailed from the Old World to the vicinity of Barbados. This experimental voyage was repeated on Ra II, built by Aymara Indians from South America, and in 57 days the vessel crossed the Atlantic on a voyage which was nearly 1,000 miles longer than the distance from Peru to Easter Island. There is, accordingly, no doubt about the fact that both Peruvian log rafts and reed boats could easily have sailed as far as to Easter Island.

Another reason for not ignoring the possibility of a “down-stream” introduction from the same continental source is the stratified sequence discovered both in the temple architecture and in the masonry technique which, on Easter Island as on the South American mainland, were intimately associated with the stone statues. This temple masonry of Easter Island was unique in Oceania, but followed closely that found in ancient Peru. The similarity between the ahu of Easter Island and corresponding remains in Peru has impressed itself on observers ever since the early
voyagers became acquainted with the ruins in both places. After returning from his voyage to Easter Island in 1868, Palmer (1870 a, pp. 116–17) quoted the noted authority on early Andean history, C. R. Markham, who in an address before the Royal Geographical Society in London, stated: “When the Spaniards conquered the country there were at Tiahuanaco ruins of platforms similar to those of Easter Island, upon which were statues also resembling, to a certain extent, those of Easter Island. They represented giants with enormous ears, and with crowns on their heads, or conical caps. . . . It was impossible not to be struck with the resemblance between these remains and those on Easter Island.”

Markham’s early suggestion of direct contact was at the time refuted for linguistic reasons, but numerous writers have returned to the same striking similarities since. Among those who took the problem up again was the Polynesian scholar, K. P. Emory (1933, p. 48), in his monograph on Polynesian stone remains:

“That the construction of facings of rectangular blocks of unequal size, necessitating in some instances the cutting of shoulders or jogs in order to bring the top of the finishing course at a level, is an old technique in southeastern Polynesia is clear from its appearance in prehistoric image platforms of Easter Island, where it is even more at home than in the Society Islands, the only other place in Polynesia from which it has been reported besides Hawaii. While it may have evolved either in Tahiti or Easter Island, its appearance as the dominant note in the cut-stone facings of ancient Peru makes South America a possible source, with Easter Island, where its megalithic aspect brings it more in line with the Inca work, the introductory point. As it is now generally agreed that the sweet potato in southeastern Polynesia is an introduction from America, . . . it is quite within reason to entertain an American origin for a cultural element so specialized as this stone facing. It is a conspicuous element localized in the part of America nearest to Polynesia, a part where currents strike out and flow in the direction of Easter Island and the Tuamotus.”

Shortly afterwards R. B. Dixon (1934, p. 173) and Peter Buck (1945, p. 11) introduced to Polynesian scholarship the erroneous dogma that aboriginal South American vessels could never have reached Polynesia as they would become waterlogged and sink. To replace any idea of influence from South America, it was now commonly assumed that the specialized stone facing under discussion represented the last and most advanced stage of a local evolution inside Easter Island with the only stimulus being “the desire to improve upon slabs so abundantly provided by nature.” (Métraux, 1940, p. 290.) However, the first landing of Polynesians on this easternmost outpost was stipulated in these various theories to have occurred about A. D. 1200–1500. This would leave very little time for a significant local evolution, which must have reached its peak and even have had time to fall into disuse before the earliest European visitors arrived and described the masonry as ancient and deteriorating. These theories were, as shown earlier (pp. 85, 87), disproved by the archaeological disclosures that the finest and most Peruvian-like megalithic masonry was built by the founders of Easter Island’s Early Period culture whereas the Middle Period masons left behind a greatly inferior work and the Late Period Easter Islanders did not produce fitted stone masonry at all. Evidence now available therefore suggests an extra-island origin of this specialized culture element. Anyone who has had the opportunity to visit the recent excavations conducted by Bolivian archaeologists at the Kalasasaya temple platform with its superimposed statues in Tiahuanaco will have noted that a megalithic masonry technique, strikingly similar to that of Early Period Easter Island, was used in the earliest pre-Inca strata of that temple platform which, like so many other stepped and open temple platforms in ancient Peru, also shared its general architectonic plan with the Early Period temple structures of Easter Island. There is, accordingly, further reason for comparing the monument types associated with these corresponding structures in ancient Tiahuanaco and Easter Island.
We have shown elsewhere (Heyerdahl, 1965, pp. 123–51) that there is an almost continuous range of abandoned cult sites with monolithic statues in human form extending from Mexico through Central America and the Andean region of northwestern South America as far south as to Tiahuanaco and the surrounding area. On the Pacific desert coast of Peru with its crumbling cliffs, where stone fit for quarrying and sculpture is lacking, and where adobe blocks are used as a substitute for stone masonry in the building of stepped temple platforms, monolithic statues are naturally absent, although large slates carved to represent human figures are sometimes raised as stele (Casma and Nepeña valleys). In the northern area of the former Inca and Tiahuanaco Empires, where workable stone is present, monolithic statues are carved right down to the coastal plains (Manabi, Azucar, Guayaquil bay) and even on one of the offshore Pacific islands (Santa Clara island). The Inca Empire, and at an earlier period even the Tiahuanaco Empire, extended right from the shores of Lake Titicaca down to this northern coastal region. This demonstrates a geographical and cultural link between the monoliths of the two principal navigation areas of ancient South America: the large mountain lake, Titicaca, and the Guayaquil area on the Pacific coast. If we may digress for a moment into Peruvian tradition, it was in the Guayaquil area that the culture hero Kon-Tiki Viracocha, after carving the stone monuments of Tiahuanaco, embarked with his white and bearded followers on their final voyage into the open Pacific. If nothing else, this tradition shows the Inca concept of the route and distance they themselves readily traveled and took for granted as feasible even for their Tiahuanaco predecessors who had a higher culture but no superior means of traveling.

As within eastern Polynesian, and also within northwestern South America, the art displays considerable stylistic variation from one site to another. In fact there is sometimes greater resemblance to be found if the statuary art in certain Andean regions is compared to that of certain Polynesian regions than if South American art in one part of the Andes is compared to that of another local area, or if the art of one Polynesian island is compared to that of another. Thus, for instance, the statues of San Agustin in the northern Andes resemble very much those of the Marquesas Islands, but differ greatly from those of Tiahuanaco in the southern Andes. Likewise, the statues of Easter Island resemble very much those of Tiahuanaco and differ greatly from those of the Marquesas Islands (Ibid., Pls. 26–31, 35–54). However, behind the outer polish of distinguishing artistic style the basic concept is invariably the same in the Andean region and eastern Polynesia: there is a consistent desire to erect anthropomorphic stone figures out of doors, frequently of superhuman size, and sometimes on top of stepped stone platforms (Tiahuanaco, Easter Island, Marquesas). They always have huge, bulky heads so exaggerated in size that they usually account for between ⅓ and ¼ of the entire sculpture and sometimes more. The legs, if not totally absent as on Monument Type 4 from Easter Island and Tiahuanaco, are extremely thick and stunted, usually they are not longer than the head, often are shorter, and normally are carved with a pedestal which is sunk into the ground. Another common feature shared by the continental and the island specimens is that most have the elbows drawn in close to the body and flexed at right angles to permit the hands to rest in an unnatural, conventionalized pose on the stomach, the tips of the fingers pointing towards each other. Wherever traditions survive within this coherent Andean-East-Polynesian area of distribution, these figures have personal names and are said to represent deceased chiefs and tribal ancestors (Ibid., pp. 147–48). In Tiahuanaco, just as on Easter Island, the traditions had the very remarkable statement in common that the people who carved them were called “Big-ears,” or “Long-ears,” because these sculptors practiced artificial ear extension (Oliva, 1631, p. 37; Baudelier, 1910, pp. 304–5). Tiahuanaco headgear resembles Easter Island pūkao (Pl. 305).

Numerous attempts at calling attention to correspondences between Andean and Polynesian anthropomorphic monoliths have been made, particularly between the more sophisticated and spectacular
monuments of Tiahuanaco and Easter Island. Among all the South American statuary sites, Tiahuanaco is the one not only artistically but also geographically closest to Easter Island. Nevertheless, there are more differences in style and ornamentation between the common monument type at Tiahuanaco and the familiar ahu images of Easter Island than there are between the crude, ogrelie statues of the northern Andes (north Peru, Colombia, Ecuador) and those of the Marquesas Islands, Raivavae and Pitcairn. Only the recent discovery of Early Period statues on Easter Island removes this apparent discrepancy which was misleading and solely due to the fact that local comparisons were made at a wrong level. The comparisons had been made at the Middle Period level, but no striking extra-island parallels should be expected at that point, since the Middle Period statues were not the result of extra-island stimuli. Indeed, the Middle Period giants represent the final stage of a purely local evolution, in the same way that the classic monuments of Tiahuanaco represent secondary conventionalizations of original Andean types. It would thus have to be the original Andean types and the original, or Early Period, Easter Island types that merit a comparison. With examples of these early types now available within either area, such a comparison may be attempted. Bennett (1934, pp. 460–75) points out in his Tiahuanaco survey that the well-known, ornate statues of that site represent the apogee of local evolution, and that other, simpler types preceded that final form. He tentatively segregates the Tiahuanaco statue types into three separate groups:

Group I: Realistic Stone Carving.
Group II: Conventionalized Classic Figure and Head.
Group III: Squared Pillar Type Statue.

Turning now to Early Period statues on Easter Island we cannot escape the following observations:

*Easter Island Monument Type 1*, the flat rectanguloid head unknown elsewhere in Oceania, is common and characteristic among the excavations at Tiahuanaco (Pls. 2 a–c, 302 a–c). Bennett includes such flat, rectanguloid Tiahuanaco heads in his comprehensive Group III, *Squared Pillar Type Statues*. The importance of the large eyes, the conventionalized nose relief which splits upwards into two curving eyebrows, as well as the sagging pouches below the eyes, and the absence or unimportance of ears, are all characteristic Tiahuanaco features reappearing on these rectanguloid stone heads of Easter Island.

*Easter Island Monument Type 2*, the pillarlike statue, also unknown elsewhere in Oceania, coincides fully with the main type included by Bennett among his Tiahuanaco statues of Group III, the *Squared Pillar Type Statues*. This is the most common form among the statues that have escaped destruction in Tiahuanaco and the surrounding plains. It has, in fact, so far generally been considered a diagnostic feature of Tiahuanacoid influence, as pillar statues with square or rectanguloid cross-sections have a very limited geographical distribution, characteristic of the Titicaca region (Pls. 2 d, 302 d). Most of these squared pillar images of Tiahuanaco have flexed arms holding the hands in the same conventionalized pose on the abdomen as the corresponding statue type on Easter Island. One of the principal Tiahuanaco specimens of this type was carved in a specially selected red stone, as was the red pillar statue on Easter Island. It was excavated by Bennett (1934, p. 441) in the sunken ceremonial court adjoining the main Tiahuanaco megalithic temple platform, Kalasassaya. The red pillar statue of Easter Island was correspondingly excavated from the sunken ceremonial court behind the megalithic temple platform of Vinapu. The analogy becomes more obvious when we take into account the close structural relationship between the directly associated megalithic temple platforms in these same two areas. The most recent excavations of
Kalasasaya have shown the original structure, directly adjacent to the sunken court, to be an elevated rectangular rubble mound faced by beautifully dressed stones joined together with the very same technique and with the same general architectural plan as employed in the Early Period temple platforms of Easter Island. Furthermore, giant statues were found overthrown on this elevated platform at Kalasasaya, just as on Easter Island. In both areas the earliest temple platforms were oriented to the annual movements of the sun. In other words, the red, squared pillar type statue found in a sunken court behind a temple platform with specialized masonry on Easter Island finds its only analogy in another red, squared pillar type statue correspondingly placed in a sunken court behind the same kind of solar oriented masonry platform at Tiahuanaco (Pls. 2 d, 305 a).

*Easter Island Monument Type 3,* the realistic kneeling statue, equally unknown elsewhere in Oceania, concurs entirely with Bennett’s Tiahuanaco monuments of his Group I, *Realistic Stone Carvings.* He writes (*Ibid.*, p. 474): “The two kneeling statues in front of the church and the two modelled type stone heads certainly form a group which is more realistic in style than the other Tiahuanaco stone sculpturing. These may well be older than the other material, as Posnansky and others believe. On stylistic grounds it would be difficult to derive these realistic statues from the highly conventionalized Classic monoliths.” These two kneeling statues, assumed to antedate the classical period in Tiahuanaco, were both considerably eroded and damaged before being protected by a fence in front of the modern village church, but two additional kneeling statues have more recently been found through excavation of the Kalasasaya temple platform. These are both in an excellent state of repair and, although more artistically developed and probably of later date, they provide an excellent opportunity for comparison to the kneeling statue of Easter Island (Pls. 3, 303 a–d). The strange kneeling position with feet turned behind, the hands on the thighs, the nakedness with the navel shown, the exaggerated proportion of the head, the goatee beard, the slightly upturned face with vaguely bulging oval eyes, sagging upper cheeks, and a small mouth with narrow pursed lips, concur to a striking degree with the kneeling monument on Easter Island. The island specimen is less sophisticated in its execution, and in this respect more in line with the two simpler figures in front of the Tiahuanaco church, but this is only what should be expected. The elaborate hairdo and the stress laid on the representation of outstanding ribs on the Tiahuanaco specimens are the only distinguishing details, but we have already seen the importance of hairdo representations in Monument Type 4 on Easter Island, and we shall soon also discuss the very special stress laid on the carving of protruding ribs on the dominant figures in Easter Island wood-carving art, as well as on some of the stone figurines (Pls. 24–27, 160).

Skjölsvold (1961, p. 362) wrote upon his discovery of the kneeling statue on Easter Island: “the similarity between this Tiahuanaco statue from South America and our specimen is so great that it can scarcely be put down to chance, but must be ascribed to a close relationship, which implies that there is a connection between these two examples of ancient stone sculpture in the Andes and on Easter Island. . . .”

*Easter Island Monument Type 4,* the legless bust, reached its apogee of evolution on the island. Smaller images and statuettes are frequently legless, both in the Andes and in Polynesia, but the larger monuments have legs, although they may be stunted or sometimes squatting. Monumental busts without legs were, in fact, unknown elsewhere in Polynesia. They were not entirely unknown in the Tiahuanaco area, however, as may be witnessed at the Tiahuanaco cult site of Taraco on the northern shore of Lake Titicaca, where excavations have exposed a broad, flattish statue truncated at the base of the body. Although facial features, except for the outstanding ears, are completely eroded, the size, proportions, and general artistic concept of this Tiahuanaco specimen are the same as on Monument Type 4 on Easter Island, which is apparent from a comparison between Plates 304 a and 304 b.
To summarize: the spectacular Middle Period monoliths of Easter Island are local improvements of a smaller and less sophisticated type present on the same island in an earlier culture period. This local prototype, on the other hand, is only one out of four heterogeneous types of Early Period statues, each of which closely follows the highly specialized designs of the four types of monolithic statues that are known from early Tiahuanaco. In both areas these statues are known to have been erected either on top of a terraced and sun-oriented megalithic platform, or inside a sunken temple court adjoining this same platform. In Tiahuanaco, monuments corresponding to Easter Island Types 1 and 2 have been found in the sunken temple plaza, Type 3 on top of the platforms, and Type 4 excavated from débris. On Easter Island, Types 1 and 2 have been similarly found in temple plazas, while Type 4 was found on top of the platforms, and Type 3 excavated from débris.
Late Period Tapa Figures

The large paina

The outbreak of the civil war about A. D. 1680 stopped all monolithic image carving on Easter Island. The decadent Late Period either lacked skilled stone carvers or the necessary organization to carry out such demanding tasks, or both. Crude boulders piled in heaps and capped by a white stone, or smooth paenga stones dug up from an abandoned house foundation and set on end on top of alu, were substitutes for ancestral stone monuments all of which had been torn down. The light-weight paina figures might to some extent have served to take the place of the earlier statues.

Very little is known about this curious art form which appears to have been an important element at least in the Late Period culture on Easter Island. The first reference came from Agüera (1770, p.95): "They have another effigy or idol clothed and portable which is about four yards in length: it is properly speaking the figure of a Judas, stuffed with straw or dried grass. It has arms and legs, and the head has coarsely figured eyes, nostrils, and mouth: it is adorned with a black fringe of hair made of rushes, which hangs half-way down the back. On certain days they carry this idol to the place where they gather together, and judging by the demonstrations some of them made, we understood it to be the one dedicated to enjoyment . . ." De Langle, who later visited the island with La Pérouse (1797, Vol. 1, Ch. 5, pp. 331–32) wrote: "In the course of the morning we visited seven different platforms, on which were statues, erect or reversed, and differing from each other only in their size, and the greater or less decay they had undergone from the duration of their exposure. Near one of the latter we found a kind of mannequin of rushes, which exhibited a human statue six feet in height, covered with a white cloth of the fabric of the country; the head of the natural size, the body thin, and the legs in a tolerably exact proportion. To the neck hung a net or basket, covered with white cloth, and which appeared to be filled with grass. By the side of this bag was a figure of a child two feet in length, with the arms crossed, and the legs pendent. This mannequin could not have existed for a great number of years, and it was, perhaps, a model of the statues, erected at present to chiefs of the country."

On the arrival of the missionaries these stuffed effigies seem to have disappeared, and only the name and the feast formerly associated with them continued. Eyraud (1864, p. 66) describes these: "The paina are held in the summer, and they attract all the population. Every participant takes his food for the time of the feast and especially for the last day which is the day of the banquet. All these rations, placed on the same line and covered with branches, formed the principal element of the feast. After having run for many days and after all sorts of performances according to all the rules of the ceremony, then comes the final clearing up. They swallow all the sweet potatoes and then put together in bundles all the branches which covered them, and they set up a sort of column or mast. That is the meaning of the word paina."
Routledge (1919, p. 233) obtained some further traditional information: "The 'paina,' which means simply picture or representation, was given by the family as a testimonial of esteem to a father, or possibly a brother who might be either alive or dead; it was a serious matter, and the original direction for the celebration came from a supernaturally gifted individual known as an 'ivi-atua.' The paina was a large figure made of woven rods, and the host would clamber up inside it and look through eyes or mouth; it had a crown made of the wings of a particular sea-bird, known as 'makohe,' and long ears. Occasionally it was put up on a special spot, where, for example, a man had been killed, but the interesting point in connection with the paina is that the usual place for erection was in front of an image ahu on its landward side, and at most, or all, of the large ahu, there can still be seen, in the grass at the foot of the paved slope, the holes where the paina have stood. It was kept in place by four long ropes, one of which passed over the ahu. The feast was held in the summer, and lasted from two to four days; at any given ahu there might be only one in the season or as many as five."

Finally, Métraux (1940, pp. 344-45) added the following memories: "The feast and the paina ceremony were held on the ahu where the honored dead relative was buried, and the ceremony was directed by an ivi-atua (priest). A huge image of a human figure made of rods and reeds and covered with tapa was erected on the landward side (front) of the ahu. Paina images have been variously described. The present natives remember them as follows: The framework rods were sufficiently strong to hold the weight of a man. On the perpendicular poles were fastened 11 or 12 rings of 'reeds,' the diameter of each ring decreasing towards the upper part of the pole. Tapa cloth was sewn on to the conical framework and painted. The head was made separately, and consisted of a framework of wood and reed covered with tapa cloth. The mouth was left open so that the man who climbed into the figure could see and speak. The top of the head was surmounted by a circlet of frigate bird (makohe) feathers. The eyebrows were made of black feathers; the eyes were painted and the balls were represented by black shells (pure uriuri) surrounded by a white disk cut from a human skull (ivi puoko). The nose was a piece of tapa stuffed with reed. The body of the paina was stained yellow with turmeric dye. Perpendicular lines on the neck symbolized a man, but dots on the forehead and a black triangle on the cheeks (retu) indicated that the paina stood for a woman." He adds that the paina figures, according to his informants, were not destroyed but were carefully preserved to be used in some future ceremony. The heads, especially, received great care.

Unfortunately, no such paina figure has come down to the present day; they have all been destroyed, or deteriorated in caves. Fortunately, however, some smaller stuffed tapa figurines have been preserved, and a study of these may give us an approximate idea of the appearance of the larger specimens.

Small stuffed figurines

It is not known whether small tapa figurines were formerly common on Easter Island. If they were, they have been kept hidden and escaped the attention of most visitors. They would not stand up to enduring storage in caves, and extremely few specimens now exist. However, the expert workmanship and highly developed technique of the few specimens preserved indicate professional tradition. Certainly, no one would be capable of producing figurines of the type seen in Plates 16–21 without previous experience. In these tapa figurines we have yet another art form that should be added to the already impressive list in Dr. Lavachery's foreword to this volume. These small figurines undoubt-

edly throw some further light on the lost large paina figures. Most likely the general method of production and perhaps even the artistic decoration of these smaller specimens do not differ greatly from the larger ones.
Two of these smaller stuffed figurines are preserved in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, where there are also two stuffed headdresses of closely related character (Pls. 16–20, 22, 23). One additional specimen is in Belfast Municipal Museum and Art Gallery (Pl. 21, Color Pl. IX). No further vestiges of this form of Easter Island art appear to be preserved. The Belfast specimen is so remarkably like one of the samples in the Peabody Museum that this concurrence alone suffices to identify both as having the same provenience, although the former has for some time in the past been exhibited and published as from Hawaii (Belfast Museum illustrated catalogue, Publ. No. 152, 1961).

An examination of these small museum specimens reveals the rather intricate method of fabrication. An interior framework of thin twigs is held in position by bindings of fine twisted hau strings.* A complicated network of similar strings extend as stays from this skeleton to the outer skin, pulling inwards sections that ought to be contracted or indented. Empty space is stuffed with bundles of totora reed, which supplement the framework and give the general shape of the figure. Rolls and odd pieces of tapa are finally tucked in wherever necessary to give finer details, like lips or nasal wings. The entire surface consists of a coherent tight-fitting “skin,” beautifully patched together with fine seams from different sheets of tapa cloth. The eyes, and sometimes small ears, are sewn on separately with fiber strings. The general appearance is intentionally grotesque, with a disproportionately large head and mouth, but more realistic limbs. The fingers of the hands are separated, each wound around by fine thread, and totora reeds project through the skin cover as long nails on fingers and toes. An intricate polychrome design covers the entire figure to symbolize body paint or tattoo.

A detailed description of each known specimen is found in the Appendix (pp. 264–69).

Possible origins

Throughout Polynesia there is nothing like the stuffed images and effigy headdresses of Easter Island. Certain striking parallels are, however, found in extra-Polynesian territories bordering on the same ocean. The Melanansians in the Bismarck archipelago and the New Hebrides, and especially in New Britain and the Banks Islands, constructed enormous portable tapa figures which they brought forth on ceremonial occasions. They must have shared most of their peculiar characteristics with the large ceremonial paina figures of Easter Island, as a number of specimens preserved for instance in Bremen and other German museums show that they were constructed with an inner framework filled with hay or other fibers and clothed with tapa to form anthropomorphic or monstrous beings sometimes of stupendous size. Features and body decoration were painted on the tapa as on Easter Island, and on some specimens wooden nails emerge from the tapa-covered finger tips precisely as on the small stuffed figurines of Easter Island.

This analogy is, in fact, so striking that independent invention does not seem to be the most plausible explanation. A diffusionist would find an argument here as good as any so far produced for contact between Melanesia and distant Easter Island. A cautious practical approach, however, will show the unlikelihood of a voyage from this area to Easter Island which failed to leave a stronger array of racial and cultural elements en route or on Easter Island itself. Aboriginal voyagers from the tropical jungle areas of the Bismarck archipelago or the New Hebrides would not survive an open boat voyage in the eastward Antarctic drifts below the “Roaring Forties.” They would have had to beat their way against prevailing winds and currents through 5,000 miles of Polynesian island territory to discover Easter

* Made from the inner bark of the hibiscus tree.

178
Island, the most isolated point in the ocean, and leave there nothing but their instructions on how to make paina figures. In crossing against the wind and currents towards Easter Island they could not have avoided ending their voyage on some of the countless western and central islands of Polynesia that block the way, and leave their idea and technique there, which they did not. If we still believe in a mutual inspiration, we shall either have to bring Easter Islanders on a down-wind voyage to the New Hebrides, or else look for some common extra-marginal source area from which these non-Polynesian ideas spread to such remotely separated islands on both sides of the Polynesian ocean. Both Melanesia and Easter Island could very easily have been reached successively or quite independently on non-stop down-wind voyages from aboriginal South America. This has been proved by no fewer than eleven manned sailing rafts having successfully drifted with the current from Peru to Polynesia, Melanesia, and five of them even to Australia, since 1947 (Heyerdahl, 1971, pp. 120–21; 1975). There is a continuous movement of winds and currents from both South America and Easter Island to Melanesia. The Melanesian islands of the New Hebrides and the Bismarck archipelago are respectively 2,500 and 3,100 miles from Easter Island, whereas South America is only slightly more than 1,000 miles away from Easter Island with no land in between. In South America stuffed masks and figures had a sporadic distribution at least from Rio Negro in Brazil to the Pacific shores of Peru. The big, remarkably grotesque and diabolic samples brought by Spix and Martin from Brazil and preserved in the München Museum are made from stuffed tapa, whereas the small, stuffed figurines found archaeologically by Gretzer on the Pacific coast of Peru and preserved in Berlin, were clothed with woven material rather than bark cloth, and were not designed to be quite so grotesque. Although stylistically of a typical local design which bears no resemblance to the Easter Island style, and covered with cotton cloth rather than with tapa, the Peruvian figurines were stuffed with the very same totora reed as that used to fill the specimens on Easter Island, and the stuffed effigies in these two adjacent areas are thus genetically as well as technically related. The totora reed, as stated, was imported to Easter Island by aboriginal planters from the irrigated desert fields of coastal Peru.

In Peru, as on Easter Island, larger stuffed effigies carried in processions formerly existed, although only small models or figurines the size of a personal fetish have been preserved in both areas. The best collection of such stuffed figurines is probably the one containing those excavated by W. Gretzer from desert tombs in Chancay on the central coast of Peru and brought to Germany in 1899. They were examined by the writer in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin-Dahlem.

The specimens studied ranged in size from about 10 ins. (27 cm.) down to about 3 ins. (8 cm.). Most are represented as legless busts, although feet are present on at least one specimen. The artistic style is typical of the Chancay culture, as should be expected, and thus widely different from that of the Easter Island specimens, but the fundamental features are the same. The Peruvian specimens are also made from a framework of thin twigs, cane, or sometimes stalks, to which is added a totora-reed filling modeled to the desired form. Crude cotton is sometimes added to the reed bundles to permit finer detail, and all is covered with cloth sewn together in the shape of a grotesque figure composed of a body, head and arms. Some have eyes woven into the material, some have them applied with thread. Those that have a nose and ears have them applied by cord to the ready-made base. Many have a peculiar triangular form of head. Some have human hair attached to the head and some have the totora reed left exposed on top of the head to simulate hair, which recalls the early Spaniard's description of the paina figures on Easter Island. Although sex is not indicated, dress and ornament show that all Chancay specimens are female, one of them (Berlin V. A. 24859) is actually carrying a child on her back. Most of them are deliberately made flat, a feature also common to a vast number of female figurines in wood both from early Peru and Easter Island.

As will be noted, these stuffed effigies from early coastal Peru, in spite of stylistic differences, have
certain features in common with the only three anthropomorphic specimens preserved from Easter Island. The construction technique, with a fine wooden framework, a *tota*ra-reed filling, and cloth sewn together in segments to cover all in the shape of a grotesque human effigy, is the same. Whereas the Peruvians used cotton cloth for cover and crude cotton to add shape to the reed bundles, the island craftsmen used local *tapa* for the cover and rough bits of *tapa* added to the interior reeds. In both areas fine cord was sometimes twisted around each individual finger, and several Peruvian specimens have stalks emerging from the finger tips to form nails, similar to their Easter Island counterparts. One Peruvian figure (*Berlin V. A. 35042*) has feet with toes and toe nails prepared in the same manner, although the feet barely emerge from the gown. Another point of resemblance is that some of the Chancay figurines have their faces represented with designs meant to illustrate body paint or tattoo. Various geometrical patterns in yellow-brown, white, burgundy-red, blue, and black are represented. There are often perpendicular stripes below the mouth, probably representing tattoo marks rather than teeth. Tattoo was as highly developed in ancient Peru as in Polynesia. The child attached to the back of one of the stuffed figurines from Peru and the net hanging down the neck of another (*Berlin V. A. 35043*) are reminiscent of the larger stuffed figure from Easter Island described by De Langle (this vol., p. 176). The peculiar trianguloid head form is a common feature in Easter Island art. Turning next to the modeled animal heads on the two Boston samples of pre-missionary Easter Island headwear, nothing equivalent is found either in any other Polynesian locality or in Melanesia. On no other islands in Polynesia were headdresses modeled with projecting animal heads, a feature which is highly characteristic of ceremonial headgear in ancient Peru. Furthermore, the animals represented on the reed-padded *tapa* headdresses of Easter Island have no counterpart in the fauna of Polynesia, whereas they bear a strong resemblance to the feline which is the animal dominating the headdresses of men of rank in ancient coastal Peru (Pls. 22, 23, 313 i–m, Fig. 32). In pre-Inca Peru, almost without exception, the head worn on the front of chieftain's caps represented a puma, a spotted jaguar, or a conventionalized cat-demon. The feline head is generally placed alone in front of the person's forehead, as in the case of the Easter Island fillet, but sometimes the whole animal is represented in a crouching position with legs curved respectively in front and in the back of the headgear, as on the Easter Island stuffed cap. Ceremonial fillets and caps with a feline head in front are so commonly represented on pre-Inca effigy jars that more than thirty specimens are illustrated in a single album devoted to general ceramic types from ancient Peru (*Wassermann-San Blas*, 1938). Also obviously made from perishable material, the common Peruvian fillet with its feline head would provide a perfect prototype for an Easter Island specimen which was stuffed with South American reed.

Fig. 32: Two Easter Island headdresses of zoomorphic form (from *Métraux*, 1940, p. 227). The right-hand specimen is shaped like a feline head, the other one represents a crouching animal painted with the colors of a spotted jaguar, the feline commonly ornamenting the headdresses of pre-Inca chiefs (pp. 268–69, Pl. 313 i–m).
Standard Wood Carvings

*Moai kavakava* ("ribbed figure," male),
Plates 24–27

No other example of Polynesian wood-carving art has become so widely known and distributed as the hook-nosed emaciated men with long ears and goatee beards, characteristic of Easter Island. Ever since the first specimens were brought forth for sale by the famished population encountered by Cook in 1774, these figurines have continued to spread from the island in endless quantities but consistent form. In 1882 there were still some specimens on the island not originally carved for commercial use and which the natives were unwilling to sell (Geiseler, 1883, p. 32), but shortly after that time the carvers, stimulated by Salmon and Brander, began to manufacture commercial pieces. Some specimens of this category are naturally indistinguishable from authentic pieces, since they are carved by the same artists with the same technique applied to the same indigenous type of wood. For this reason the writer has found it of doubtful value to attempt to list existing samples of genuine *moai kavakava*, a great many of which have been acquired by collectors throughout the world. However, in the great majority of cases the commercial pieces are readily distinguishable from the authentic ones through the reduction or omission of the prominent penis present on pre-missionary carvings, the generally hasty and crude surface finish, the absence of the smoothness in exposed areas produced through much handling, the frequent lack of the perforations for a suspension string, and very often, but not always, the use of imported wood as a substitute for the gradually disappearing local *Sophora toromiro*.

The *moai kavakava* figures, which at the time of Cook's visit were about 20 ins. (50–60 cm.) tall, became smaller at the time of commercialization, but once imported wood was obtained through barter with visiting ships they soon assumed all possible sizes from that of small chessmen to extravagant figures 3 ft. tall or even more. A varnish was sometimes applied in imitation of the reddish *toromiro* wood, and the carving of a penis was finally resumed by some artists who realized that the absence of this feature was an indicator of post-missionary workmanship. At the turn of the century the commercial replicas were less well finished than in the pre-missionary period, but more recently a few of the Easter Islanders, and especially Pedro Atan, have produced *moai kavakava* which fully equal the original pieces in artistic workmanship, surface polish, and motif. The last pieces of *toromiro* wood hoarded by Pedro Atan and others are now long since consumed, however, and furthermore, the last specimen of *Sophora toromiro* died inside the crater of Rano Kao after the visit of our expedition in 1956. At the eleventh hour the writer collected seeds and these were planted with success by Professor Carl Skottsberg in the botanical garden in Gothenburg. A new generation of seeds from three young Gothenburg trees have been planted on Easter Island in an attempt to re-establish the species. Years will pass, however, before trunks large enough for wood carving will reappear.
The characteristic aspects of the *moai kavakava* have successfully survived at least two centuries of traditional art, judging from a comparison with the Cook expedition's original pieces. The standing and vaguely stooping emaciated male figure has remarkably standardized facial features, the most notable of which are a large, strongly hooked and narrow nose with an incurved, sagging tip and realistic alae; extremely long and pendent ears with circular ear plugs in the lobes which reach the level of the chin; and a pronounced goatee beard below the mouth and projecting down below the chin. The head is large in proportion to the body, and still more so in proportion to the underdimensioned legs. Instead of hair or headwear, the narrow elongated head is ornamented with a conventionalized symbol or design which is either incised or raised in low relief. This design is the only feature that does not follow a consistent model, as it varies on authentic specimens from anthropomorphic to zoomorphic and celestial representations. A star, a crouching quadruped with a short tail, bird or fish monsters, or one or more men with extremely long, flowing beards are among the more commonly recurring motifs carved on the head of Easter Island figurines (Pis. 27 a–c, 35 a, b, 36, Figs. 33–36).

The eyebrows are large and prominent, each represented by a ridge, trianguloid in cross-section and hatched with incised chevrons. A circularly chipped black obsidian disk set in a white ring carved from

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Fig. 33: Bearded faces on whales' bodies represent an important motif on the head of Easter Island wooden figurines (from *Buitinck and Rosina*, 1956, Vol. 18, p. 312, Fig. 4). Father Englert reported in 1956 that his Easter Island housekeeper firmly believed she was descended from a whale once stranded on the coast.
Fig. 34: Head designs from Easter Island wooden images (from Métraux, 1948, p. 252, Fig. 38). Since the rat was the only mammal on Easter Island, Métraux theorized that the left-hand creature was a human figure with a bird's tail, and the central figure a lizard with a human face. However, the wide variety of zoomorphic creatures depicted in the stone carvings shows that Easter Island motifs go beyond the local fauna.

a fish vertebra or shell is inserted in each almond-shaped eye area. The cheekbones protrude like pouches below the eyes, accentuating the hollow cheeks. The large mouth has narrow lips set in a characteristic grin. The lips are open in such a way that they are farther apart toward the rounded corners than at the center. The chin protrudes with a sharp edge at each side of the goatee beard. In some rare specimens traces of red paint are seen inside the mouth between the teeth and inside the nostrils. The realistically carved neck inclines forwards with the larynx protruding. The dominant features of the realistic body are the projecting ribs above a strongly receding abdomen. Their number may vary, but the ribs, kavakava, are always present and give the descriptive name to the image. Commonly the two series of ribs join directly in front without any representation of a sternum, but an exaggeratedly long, incurved xyphisternum extends below the rib cage and in front of the sunken abdomen. The clavicles are represented by two narrow, raised arches carved to join across the upper chest. Small nipples are carved just above the ribs. The navel is also always present and carved on a region of the abdomen that bulges out in marked contrast to the incurved area directly below the ribs. The long abdominal area is separated from the area of the innominate bones by a deep groove. The circumcised penis is semi-pendent, often with accentuation of the glans, but testicles are not represented. The emaciated appearance is equally pronounced on the back. The shoulder blades stand out in relief, and the spinal column protrudes as a notched ridge. The individual vertebrae are indicated although their
Fig. 35: Short-tailed anthropomorphic quadruped with feather-crown and nasal ornaments (Pl. 72-73).

Fig. 36: Turtle incised on the head of a wooden image (Pl. 81 a).

length is usually exaggerated and their proper number accordingly reduced. Near its upper termination, at the back of the neck, one vertebra is enlarged to become a protruding hemisphere which is often bilaterally perforated to hold a suspension string. At its lower part the vertebral column generally ends in a raised ring placed above the pelvic rim, although the column sometimes continues as a vertical ridge even below this ring. The innominate bones are sometimes rather naturalistically represented and sometimes merely indicated by two narrow ridges arching towards each side from the lower end of the vertebral column. In a still more simplified or conventionalized version the crest of the hipbone has become a transverse ridge curving below the raised ring, and thus approaching in an intentional manner the relief design sometimes carved on the back of the Middle Period stone statues, which are in no way emaciated.

The buttocks are rounded and prominent like the lower abdomen, and the short legs are remarkably stout compared to the long, slim arms. The latter hang down from rounded shoulders with only vaguely flexed elbows permitting the stooping image to hold its hands down along the sides of the thighs. The internal condyles are represented as knobs at the wrists. The fingers are held together, the thumb not being particularly distinguished, and nails are not represented. The short, thick legs are also slightly flexed, and usually both the external and internal malleoli are represented as knobs on the ankles. The feet are always extremely short, sometimes hooflike in profile and therefore with toes indicated merely by vertically incised grooves. The projection of the heel region towards the rear is
sometimes greatly exaggerated as compared to the length of the barely forward-projecting foot. All surfaces on finished authentic specimens have been ground and polished to a perfect shine, and left unpainted.

Métraux (1940, p. 252) has shown that the bent position of most *moai kavakava* is due to the natural curve of the branch or trunk of the *toromiro* tree from which the carvings were made, and he suggests that it is likely that this crouching attitude, after having been imposed on many figures by the material, was accepted as conventional for all *moai kavakava* figures. It seems more likely, however, that vaguely curving branches were selected by the artist to produce an intentional stooping position of a figure which also had all other features characteristic of a famished and weak person barely able to stand erect.

**Possible origins:** The *moai kavakava* is characteristic of Easter Island and nothing similar is found elsewhere in Polynesia. The stress laid on the ribs and the receding abdomen is in marked contrast to human representations on other Pacific islands, where statuary art tends to depict well-fed individuals with stout bodies and bulging abdomens. A unique wooden figure from the Chatham Islands, now in the museum of Dunedin, has ribs indicated and it has for this sole reason been compared to Easter Island art, but the crude Chatham specimen does not have a single other feature remotely resembling a *moai kavakava*, and the simple presence of ribs on one figure has little comparative value.

Turning once more in the opposite direction, towards South America, we still find nothing directly suggestive of a *moai kavakava*, although we do find here, sporadically from Peru to Mexico, that the representation of ribs is important on a quite considerable number of religious effigies in both wood and stone. We have seen above that two of the large kneeling statues from Tiahuanaco have very prominent ribs indicated, and their goatee beards, aquiline noses and certain other facial features, including the prominent eyebrows and protruding cheekbones, are reminiscent of corresponding characteristics typical of the model behind the *moai kavakava* (Pls. 303 b, d, 305 b). Small, standing figures carved in wood and with protruding ribs are also present in ancient Peru, and eyes inlaid with white shell and obsidian or some other dark material for pupil are common on wooden and stone figures from Mexico to Peru (Pl. 317 e–i, n).

Yet, the total composition of the *moai kavakava* is found nowhere outside Easter Island, and the inspiration behind this locally important and mass produced image must presumably be sought on the island itself. The physical type represented, however, with aquiline nose, thin lips, goatee beard, as well as the practice of ear extention and circumcision, are all features reappearing in pre-Inca art on the coast of Peru (e. g., Pl. 312 i–m). The naturalistic human aspect of the *moai kavakava*, with its long extended earlobes, suggests no imaginary monster, but a model taken from some actual personage among the traditionally important “Long-ears” formerly living among the ancestors of the now dominant “Short-ears” on the island.

The Easter Islanders preserve a very specific tradition as to why they have been giving this peculiar figure all its specific features, unaltered from one generation of carvers to the next. There is not a single carver on the island who does not know this tradition by heart, although details of secondary embellishment may vary. Routledge (1919, pp. 269–70), Brown (1924, pp. 139–40), Métraux (1940, pp. 260–61), Englert (1948, pp. 79–83), and others have devoted much attention to this vivid tradition, and it suffices here to repeat the central element of the story, which is common to all versions. The story refers to the times of King Tuu-ko-ihu, who was only second in importance to King Hotu Matua in the traditions of Easter Island. Whereas Hotu Matua was recorded as Easter Island’s original discoverer who came from a large sun-scorched country to the east and began sculpturing the first statues, Tuu-ko-ihu came from certain distant islands to the west and found the island already inhabited (*Heyerdahl*, 1961, pp. 33–43). Tuu-ko-ihu is honored as the artist who carved the first
moai kavakava, and the tradition of how he got his model is invariably the same. Going for a walk to the Puna Pau topknot quarry he discovered two famished persons sleeping inside the crater. They seemed at first to be nothing but skin and bone until they woke up and proved to be able to move and speak. Routledge refers to them merely as two aku-aku, or ghosts, but Brown's informants added the remarkable detail that they were "aborigines who had been driven into the mountains by the newcomers and then driven frantic by famine." The tradition goes on to say that Tuu-ko-ihu returned to his own home and secured a suitable piece of wood: "So afraid was he lest any detail should fade from his memory that he sat down at once and carved the first moai kavakava . . . ."

Modern Easter Islanders were very explicit in emphasizing that their ancestors had no other way to memorize and describe for future generations the appearance of people and objects seen by them, except through representations in wood and stone. Our people did not know how to take photographs, an Easter Islander said to me, but they knew how to illustrate by carving. Routledge (1919, p. 271) reached a corresponding conclusion with regard to these standard wooden figurines: "It appears probable that they are portraits, or memorial figures . . . ." In fact, the Arabic-Semitic profile of some of the still living descendants of the "Long-ears," the members of the Atan family, is so remarkably like the non-Polynesian profile of the moai kavakava that their ancestors could well have served as models. It is perhaps not at all unlikely that the origin of this sculpture is to be found in victorious Short-ears wanting to perpetuate the memory of a different physical type expected to disappear with the last adult men already observed in a dying condition. At any rate, the artistic tradition of carving moai kavakava on Easter Island was kept up by successive generations of carvers who were convinced they were representing, not a god, nor one of their own ancestors, but an alien physical type formerly seen by Tuu-ko-ihu on the island.

Moai papa, or pa'a-pa'a ("flat figure," female),
Plate 28–31

The most commonly occurring wooden figurine in pre-missionary collections from Easter Island is, together with the ribbed male, a flat, female figure variously referred to as moai pa'a-pa'a and moai papa. The former denomination is obviously the derivative form of moai papa-papa, since papa is the Easter Island term for something flat and level. The distinguishing feature of this female figure is that it is carved perfectly flat. This is not due to any shortage of wood, as great waste has taken place to level off front and back of the body and limbs, although the head is left in realistic proportions with a profile projecting in front of the flat torso. The flatness is not meant to represent emaciation, since no ribs are shown, and the smooth back has no projecting spine or vertebrae.

It is obvious that the figure is meant to represent an old woman and not a young beauty. The facial features are realistic and not too unlike those of the moai kavakava, a slight resemblance accentuated on many specimens by the presence of a marked goatee beard giving the female effigy a certain hermaphroditic appearance. As on the moai kavakava, the head is smoothly rounded, generally without hair, but sometimes with relief decoration. The head is less elongated and the nose less exaggerated than on the male figure, but a definitely aquiline contour is present on the narrow nasal ridge which is given an elegant form according to European concepts of beauty (Pl. 30). The eyes are inlaid with obsidian disks in round or lenticular bone or shell rings, as on the moai kavakava, and as on that figure the earlobes have circular and concave earplugs, although the ears are not extended to the same degree. Sometimes they are drawn back to form vertical ridges near the back of the head, invisible when viewed en face. The mouth has thin lips, usually pressed together in a determined expression,
instead of being drawn open in a grotesque grin as on the emaciated men. Teeth, however, are present on some rare specimens. The neck is generally inclined forwards and is fairly naturalistic, but the curvature of the chest and abdomen is completely lacking and the whole body has been leveled almost to a plane front and back.

The clavicles arch across the upper chest below the shoulders, and large but completely flat female breasts are carved in low relief as sagging, almost triangular, pouches with nipples at the lower end. The navel is usually, and the vulva always, represented. The upper arms are sometimes separated from the body by an open slot, whereas the lower arms are represented in relief against the body. Carved long and thin, the arms are generally flexed at the elbows in such a way that the right hand is placed immediately below the left breast, often with thumb and fingers at each side of it, while the finger tips of the left hand are placed near, and sometimes touch, one side of the vulva, as if to emphasize the feminine parts. The vulva is commonly represented by the local komari symbol. The pelvic rim is marked as on the moai kavakava, and knobs on the wrists and ankles indicate condyles and malleoli. The thick and short legs with slightly flexed knees and extremely short feet have all the aspects of the male figure. Instead of the projecting backbone of the emaciated male, the female figure has a grooved depression running vertically down the center of the back, which is otherwise flat and rarely ornamented. Not even buttocks are permitted on the female figure, to retain the perfect impression of its unnaturalistic flatness. Two transversally curved ridges usually join at the vertebral groove, and below them the surface of the figure is slightly raised in relief along a line corresponding to the crest of the ilia in the rear and at the transition to the thigh in front. All surfaces are finished to a smooth polish, and paint is not used.

Pre-missionary specimens of this type were commonly about 20 ins. (50–60 cm.) tall, and specimens with a body width of about 6 ins. (15–16 cm.) were rarely more than about 1 in. (2.5–3 cm.) thick at chest and stomach. Smaller specimens were generally proportionately thinner, although this was not universally so.

Possible origins: The appreciation of the flat female figurines has been far less among visitors to the island than that of the elegant male figures, and mass production for commercial purposes, although originally initiated in Salmon's time, soon petered out to a minimum and has only recently been resumed by carvers who have seen photographs of old specimens. The type, extremely important in aboriginal times, has thus never been mass produced to the same extent as the ribbed male. Perhaps for this reason, any dependable tradition pertaining to this class of effigies is lacking. As stressed by Métraux (1940, p. 255), both the use and the value, symbolical or otherwise, of these images are unknown, although the workmanship is too careful and the type is too uniform to be a recent development. As stated, the flatness of these female figures is not meant to represent emaciation, for ribs and vertebrae are not indicated, and cheeks and abdomen are full as opposed to those of the moai kavakava.

As with the ribbed male figure it is fruitless to look among the stout effigies of Polynesia for a prototype for this flat female figure. Métraux (1940, p. 259) wrote: "Like the stone images, the moai kavakava and papaau are enigmas."

If we turn to Peru, however, we find that flat female figures are not only common, but represent a characteristic feature in aboriginal wood-carving art. No other human representation in wood is so consistently repeated on the Pacific coast of Peru as the completely flat female figure. In spite of the local scarcity of wood, which does not encourage waste, a great effort is made to reduce front and back of the female image so as to obtain the traditionally required flatness. The importance and great antiquity of this peculiar kind of effigy in vast areas of Pacific South America is shown by the fact that correspondingly flat female figurines were also made in ceramic all through tropical Central America.
and Mexico, and are therefore found in large quantities even in areas where woodwork has not been preserved. The style of these flat female figurines varies from one cultural area to the next along the coast, and is the diagnostic feature that helps the archaeologist in identifying specimens from different localities, but the basic concept of a flat woman always underlies the differences in artistic tastes. The wide distribution in Pacific South America shows that this female image represents a major goddess recognized over vast regions, and there is little doubt that she is a waka or house idol of the pan-Peruvian goddess, Paca-mama, or "Earth-mother." Thus the symbolic importance of the flatness in form. An exceptionally fine collection of such flat female wood carvings is preserved in the Peruvian storage rooms at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin-Dahlem. The features common to all are that they are intentionally carved flat (Pl. 316 a–f), and all are feminine, represented as naked with the vulva plainly showing, and usually also with flat breasts carved in low relief. The elbows are generally flexed with both hands placed in low relief on the chest near the breasts, or with both hands placed opposite each other on the stomach in the conventionalized pose of the hundreds of Middle Period statues on Easter Island. The head is disproportionately large in comparison with the body and especially when compared to the stunted legs. The top of the head is not always realistically rounded but is often cut off straight giving the head the rounded triangular shape reappearing on so many cave stone heads on Easter Island (e.g., Pls. 190, 194). As opposed to the flat Easter Island female figures, those on the mainland also have their heads carved as flat as the body. The flat chin barely stands out in relief to the chest. The nose, however, is raised, and on nearly all specimens has the same pronounced aquiline profile as the nose on the island figurines. The legs are short, thick, and generally vaguely flexed at the knees, like the island specimens, and the feet have the same conical or hoof-shaped appearance as on the island, toes being generally indicated as more or less vertical grooves. On one specimen (Berlin V.A. 35113) the heel section projects further than the toes, a not uncommon feature on Easter Island. The upper arms are sometimes separated from the body by an open slot, a feature often seen on Easter Island wooden figurines. Clothing is as absent on the flat mainland specimens as on the Easter Island ones, and if any apparel is represented it is occasionally a necklace or a girdle which does not cover the sexual parts. The figures are normally left unpainted, but in rare instances (e.g., Berlin V.A. 35113 and O.N.) the surface has been entirely or partly covered with a reddish or ochre-colored paint similar to that appearing in the mouth and nostrils on rare Easter Island specimens. A truly remarkable feature appearing on a number of the wooden figurines from Peru is the presence of a suspension string such as used on the moai kavakava and on most other wooden figurines from Easter Island, although it is rarely if ever present on the flat females. In Peru, however, the flat females commonly, but not universally, have two small perforation holes in the upper body, which usually coincide with the arm pit, more rarely the top of the head. On some specimens, notably Berlin V.A. 6425, V.A. 854, and O.N. (Pl. 316 a), sections of the old, original suspension string are still intact, showing that the wooden effigy has actually been hung on a cord, presumably for wear as a pectoral, or to make the effigy itself perform dances, as is customary on Easter Island. One specimen (Berlin V.A. 854; Pl. 316 b) has perforations at each corner of the upper head, but remains of cord are left through the arm slot. The size of the cord and the measurements of the narrow perforation holes are the same as on the island. The size of the flat, female wooden figures in Peru generally varies from about 11 to 15 ins. (30–40 cm.) in length, although many are smaller. The largest measured by the writer were Berlin V.A. 4299 which was 43.5 cm. tall, 12.5 cm. wide, and ca. 5 cm. thick; and Berlin V.A. 4307 which was 42 cm. tall, 13.5 cm. wide, and ca. 4.5 cm. thick. The smallest, Berlin V.A. 24245, was 7.8 cm. tall, 2.6 cm. wide, and only 8 mm. thick.

188
The correspondences between these ancient pan-Peruvian and Easter Island flat figurines are apparent, and a further link may be found in the name. In ancient Peru the principal female deity of the Inca Empire was Paca-mama, "Earth-mother," a composite word where paca, in the southern highlands pampa, is the term for the earth or any area of level land. In any Polynesian dialect, including that of Easter Island, pampa would be pronounced papa. The flat female figures on Easter Island were correspondingly called papa, or pa'a-pa'a, as the prefix moai simply means "statue" or "statuette." Routledge (1919, pp. 269–70) states that her informants on Easter Island believed that Tuuko-ihu, the creator of the ribbed male figurines, had seen two female aku-aku named Papa in a dream and thus knew how to carve the first figures which later served as models for the people. This, she says, obviously bears the marks of endeavoring to explain facts whose genesis has been forgotten, and she adds her own noteworthy observation:

"The term 'papa' is also applied to any flat, horizontal surface of fused igneous rock. The double use seems to be explained by connecting it with the facts that in Hawaii, Papa is the name of the female progenitor of the race (or at least of a line of chiefs), while in the Marquesas and Hervey Islands Papa is the earth personified, the Great Mother."

The presence of the flat moai papa or moai pa'a-pa'a among the wooden figurines collected on Easter Island by Cook's expedition in 1774 excludes any post-missionary inspiration from coastal Peru, and another remarkable link is thus added to the artistic traditions indicating aboriginal contact with the windward, South American continent.

*Moai tangata* ("human figure," male),
Plates 32–37

Some few but undoubtedly authentic wooden figurines termed *moai tangata*, or "human figures," have been preserved. They are sufficiently consistent in type to be listed with standardized wood carvings, although nowhere as important as the ribbed male or flat female representations. In general it may be said that they share all their main features with the *moai kavakava*, except those added to show the state of emaciation. The facial features are usually the same, or approaching slightly more those of the *moai papa*, but the body represents that of an extremely well-fed person, usually with a bulging stomach. The carving is in fact distinctly realistic, and usually leaves the impression that it represents a well-fed, young male child. No traditions or explanations of origins are preserved, but we are undoubtedly confronted with a local art form closely affiliated in its genesis to the stylistic development of the ribbed figure. To judge from the name, the figure may represent mankind as opposed to the flat earth-mother and the emaciated, semi-divine aku-aku.

*Moai tangata-manu* ("bird-man figure," male),
Plates 38–41

No other wooden figurines assume an importance equivalent to that of the *moai kavakava*, *moai papa*, and *moai tangata* on Easter Island. To complete the series considered significant to the Easter Islanders today, it is necessary, however, to include as well the demon-god or mythical figure of the tangata-manu, literally "man-bird." No homogeneity in detail is present among the preserved precommercial pieces pertaining to this particular category, and a rather general description is required to cover them all.

189
Common to all carvings of this class is that they have a bird’s head on a human body, often with both arms and wings present, and with the conventional tassel symbolizing a bird’s tail. Certain details of head, body and lower limbs can be strikingly reminiscent of the *moai kavakava*, but this is not always so.

A rather standardized type of *tangata-manu* has become so common since the introduction of commercial art that most students of Easter Island culture list it as a normal form together with *moai kavakava* and *moai papa*. Only a thorough examination of available museum specimens shows that the prototype was a sculpture that was transferred from the Russian Admiralty Museum to the Leningrad Museum in 1828 and probably brought from Easter Island by Lisianskij in 1804. Numerous replicas have been carved on the island for commercial purposes, especially since an illustration of the Leningrad specimen reached the island upon the publication of a book by Stephen-Chauvet in 1934. This illustration, however, is a profile photograph which does not reveal the human face carved on top of the bird’s head and beak. This most remarkable detail of the Leningrad specimen is therefore usually duplicated by the commercial carver as meaningless bumps on top of the beak. The Leningrad specimen, as illustrated in Plates 38 and 39 and further described in the Appendix, shows that the bird’s beak becomes the long, flowing beard of the human being when the image is seen from above. The fringe of the human beard shows up as indentations along the opening of the bird’s beak. This strange indentation is often repeated on similar beaks on other bird-man figures which have no human face on top.

On some bird-men the body is emaciated with a protruding spine, ribs, and xyphistemum, but other bird-men are not emaciated at all and what seem to be ribs are long featherlike fingers extending from the tips of the wings behind. A round disk is carved at the end of the spine, or spinal groove, from which extends a fan-shaped tassel hanging above the buttocks to symbolize a bird’s tail. The size of these bird-men does not vary greatly from that of the wooden figures described above.

Métraux (1940, pp. 256–57) writes: "The image of the bird-man, a being with bird head and human body, is one of the most frequently represented figures of the petroglyphs. At Orongo, the center of the cult of the bird-headed god, this image has been carved in the rock more than 150 times. There is strong evidence that the bird-man thus figured symbolized the god Makemake. On the other hand, wooden images of this god are rare. The bird-man images demonstrate the extent to which the conventional motifs were imposed on all Easter Island wood-carving. The bird-men of the petroglyphs have none of the features of those cut in wood."

There are, in fact, three types of bird-man on Easter Island. The concept of a human being with a bird’s head was extremely important. The wooden bird-man differs from the Orongo bird-man reliefs in having wings instead of arms, and from the bird-man symbols of the *rongo-rongo* script in having a long and thick rather than short, aquiline beak. It is obvious that there is no stylistic relationship between the wooden *tangata-manu* statuettes and the crouching bird-men carved in relief on the cliffs of Orongo (Color Pl. VII top) and on loose slabs elsewhere (Pls. 179–81, 265–67). It is very likely, as suggested by Métraux, that the relief bird-men represent an important deity and not the human heroes elected in honor of that deity to be the ceremonial bird-man for one year at a time, a theory advanced by Routledge (1919, pp. 262–63). It seems obvious, however, that when it comes to the wooden bird-man statuettes, these are meant to depict human beings carrying a bird mask and possibly feather ornaments as well. The London specimen (Pls. 40–41) clearly shows the bird mask lifted up to expose the human face underneath.

The frequently occurring statement in ethnographic literature, that masks were unknown in Polynesia, is erroneous as can be judged from this pre-missionary specimen. Two wooden masks from New Zealand and one from the Tuamotu group are preserved in Pacific island museums (p. 238), and
an old, wooden dance mask from Mangareva is preserved in the Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo (Heyerdahl, 1965, pp. 157–58, Pl. 55 a–f). The writer has witnessed masked ceremonial dances both in Mangareva and on Easter Island. The Easter Island dancer actually imitated a bird-man. His body was wrapped in sacks and his head was covered with a paper mask in the form of a long beak with a zigzag, toothed pattern marking the opening (Pl. 184 f). The use of masks by secret societies is also reported by Métraux (1940, p. 139).

Possible origins: The tangata-manu in Easter Island wood-carving art is, in any case, somehow obviously linked to the bird-man cult, the principal element in all religious activities on the island at the time of missionary arrival. Our excavations at the ceremonial stone-house village of Orongo, where the cliffs are covered with bird-man reliefs (Ferdon, 1961, pp. 221–55), have shown that the bird-man cult was introduced when the Middle Period on Easter Island began. It gradually almost entirely replaced the formerly all-important solar cult. Bird-man symbols were carved across earlier sun symbols on rocks and images, and Early Period statues had bird-men incised on their overturned bases.

As stressed by Métraux (1940, p. 341) the Easter Island bird cult has no parallel in the rest of Polynesia. Figures of a man with a bird's head occur elsewhere only among a few petroglyphs on the island of Lanai in the Hawaiian group, and nobody would attempt to trace the origin of the complex Easter Island bird-man cult from these rare and distant motifs. What is more, there are no birds in the Easter Island fauna with a long beak hooked at the tip like that of local representations of bird-men. For these reasons observers have been led to search outside Polynesia for an origin of the bird-man cult and bird-man motifs so fundamental to Easter Island culture. Routledge (1919, p. 297, Fig. 125), inspired by Balfour (1917), saw a parallel in a wooden float from a Solomon Island fishing net carved like a sitting person with a birdlike head. Métraux (1940, pp. 413–14) rejects this superficial parallel in Melanesia. Königswald (1951) is thus tempted to go still farther afield, and points out the existence of a few birdlike figures on embroidered textiles in distant Sumatra, stylistically quite unlike those of Easter Island and separated from them by 150 degrees of the earth's circumference.

Turning again, however, to the mainland next to Easter Island we immediately face a vast area where bird-men form a principal element in the aboriginal art and religious beliefs, an area extending right from Tiahuanaco down to the Pacific coast. Apart from personifications of the sun itself no other motif is as important in the ancient cult center of Tiahuanaco as the bird-man. The central figure of the ceremonial gateway of Tiahuanaco is surrounded by three rows of mythical creatures all of which are part men and part birds. The sixteen figures of the middle row are all relief representations of figures with hook-beaked birds' heads and wings added to human bodies with human legs and arms (Pl. 310 a, b). The short condor beak of these highland bird-men corresponds closely to the sharply curved beak on the birds and bird-men that dominate the conventionalized symbols on the undec-
Fig. 38: Short-beaked bird-man at sea with crew and provisions under the deck of a double-sterned reed boat, from Mochica iconographic art on the north coast of Peru (from Leicht, 1944).

Fig. 39: Bird-men with long beaks hooked at the end helping a deity navigate a double-sterned reed boat in the ocean. Design on Mochica pot from the north coast of Peru (from Joyce, 1912).
phered Easter Island rongo-rongo tablets. However, the very long beak, curved only at the point, as represented in the Orongo reliefs and on the wooden tangata-manu under discussion, is closely analogous to mythical bird-men represented in the art of the Peruvian coast, where both types of beaks actually occur side by side (Figs. 37–39), as in the art of Easter Island. That these bird-men were closely associated with maritime activity in ancient Peru is apparent from their frequent presence together with ocean-going reed boats. Either they navigate these from the deck together with human beings, or help pull them through the water with cords (Fig. 39). The bird-man concept is deeply rooted in the aboriginal South American cultures and bird-man masks were recorded all the way from South America to the Pacific northwest where secret societies performed in wooden masks with extremely long beaks. The typical crouching, almost feline body characteristic of Easter Island bird-man reliefs recurs on early ceramic beads and cylinder seals from the Pacific islands along the coast of Ecuador near the Peruvian border. Large-eyed bird-men, often seated in pairs facing each other, as is so common on Easter Island, are even repeated here (Pls. 180 b, 310 f, g).* Farther north, in Panama, pairs of bird-men are found with the typical Easter Island beaks and with the disk and tassel in the small of the back (Pl. 310 c). The concept of a human figure whose face is visible behind a bird’s mask is very old among the cultures of the New World, notably in Mexico (Pl. 319 a, b). Here also a bird-man with a human face carved on top of the beak, as on Easter Island, is among the sculptures preserved. The human face on top of the beak of the tall, standing bird-man carved in stone at the archaeological museum in Mexico City was unnoticeable until the writer climbed up and checked the sculpture from above because of its similarity in profile to the tangata-manu (Pl. 318). As on Easter Island, this ancient sculpture from Mexico with its human body and limbs has a head with a long beak when seen in profile. When seen from directly above, the bird’s head, as on Easter Island, is transformed into the upturned face of a man with nose and a very long beard. The similarity between this statue and the tangata-manu is too striking for coincidence. The antiquity of the concept of human beings using bird masks in Peru is borne out by its occurrence in the Mochica art of the north coast. Benson (1972, pp. 52, 53, Pls. 3–9) describes and illustrates a category of effigy vessels representing “a human being dressed as an owl, wearing an owl suit and an owl mask.”

*Moko (“reptile”), Plates 42–43

A more or less crooked, and rarely completely straight, piece of toromiro was not infrequently carved into the shape of a long, slim animal with four legs drawn up underneath or alongside its body. The animal is so conventionalized that its zoological species cannot in any way be recognized, but the modern Rapanui term for this creature is moko, the general Polynesian term for any reptile, including the tiny local lizards. Some of these wooden figures actually assume the form of a rat and are recognized as such by the modern islanders. Many have ears like a mammal. All have a rounded triangular head with a long, thin anthropomorphic nose branching into prominent curving eyebrows that sometimes continue as spirals representing eyes. More often, however, the eyes are inlaid as on the human figurines with bone or shell rings enclosing obsidian disks. The large, wide mouth runs as a groove from the front and along the sides of the snout. The lower jaw, neck, and body continue more or less

* The specimen illustrated from Puna Island is a donation to the Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo, from Mrs. Rebecca Northern, Laramie, Wyoming.
on the same level. The body is long with an evenly rounded cross-section. The hind legs are carved in relief and usually have human feet. They are either carved with the knees drawn up under the abdomen or stretched out alongside the extremely thick tail. A circumcised human penis is represented. The front limbs, with elbows drawn back along the sides of the chest, often have only four fingers on the hands, and are invariably placed side by side in a forward position under the neck and chin. A few outstanding ribs are reminiscent of the moai kavakava, and so is at first sight the serrated ridge running down the back. However, this ridge, rather than being carved like a vertebral column, as on the human figures, is here often represented as an indented, saw-shaped dorsal comb. At its base, however, it has a round disk from which a fan-shaped tassel, otherwise symbolic of a bird's tail, radiates towards the buttocks. Some rare small moko had their dorsal comb transversally perforated for a suspension string. At the distal end a long, straight, and extremely stout tail extends backwards from between the legs, forming a sort of grip or handle to the entire figure, which according to tradition served as a club. Métraux (1940, p. 169), in fact, lists the moko as a short-handled club, and cites evidence that it was stuck by its tail into the ground inside the door, and served principally to defend houses and to stop intruders from entering.

Moko figures are commonly about 12–15 ins. (30–40 cm.) long with a body diameter of about 11⁄2 ins. (4 cm.). All surfaces are polished and left unpainted. A great many moko have been carved for commercial purposes, but these are generally crude and of extra-Easter Island wood.

Possible origins: The artistic style of the moko is related to that of the figurines described above and is clearly of local Easter Island origin. The traditional regard for the moko, however, and its importance as a motif in art, has a wide Pacific distribution and can hardly be suspected to be of local origin. The only reptiles on Easter Island, and in fact the only quadrupeds present at the time of European arrival other than the rat, were two lizards, Ablepharus boutonii and Lepidodactylus lugubris, two insignificant little creatures that do not even have the slightest resemblance to the traditional wooden club, let alone in size. The very thick, short, and powerful tail of the conventionally carved animal is far more suggestive of a cayman or some other Crocodilia than of a slender and slim-tailed little lizard, an impression that is strengthened by the presence of the serrated spinal crest. This brings us back to the frequently opposed theory that the dreaded and ferocious moko of Maori-Polynesian myths is based on extra-island memories of man-eating species from Papuan or South American waters. Certainly, the anthropomorphic and unrealistic aspects of the monstrosity portrayed in Easter Island moko carving do not lend themselves to zoological identifications, and we can only suspect that the motif is not inspired by locally present species but is based on an imported tradition. This tradition happens to be widespread in both Polynesia and Peru. In fact, in ancient Tiahuanaco lizard and toad sculptures were so common that Bennett (1934, p. 474) added them in his report on the human statues.

Although stylistically different, a beautifully carved and polished crouching zoomorphic figurine with a human head, preserved in the Mexico Museum (Pl. 317 i, j) bears certain striking resemblances to the Easter Island moko, although the lack of a tail and its function as a split drum sets it clearly apart. The relief of a disk and tassel carved on the hind quarters is undistinguishable from that common on many Easter Island moko and bird-men. Near the tassel there is a relief of another object strongly reminiscent of Easter Island, a kidney-shaped cutting tool with a short stem, like the mataua as it is reproduced in Easter Island art. The Mexican specimen also has the same inlaid eyes as Easter Island wooden figurines, consisting of white shell enclosing black obsidian pupils. The custom of inserting shell-and-obsidian eyes on images of stone and wood is as common in Mexico as in Peru and constitutes another of the special parallels with Easter Island.

The evidence for the former practice of circumcision on Easter Island, as demonstrated by the human
penis on the moko, is noteworthy but not indicative of origins. The ribbed human portrait figures and the bird-men statuettes are similarly shown as circumcised (Pls. 24–27, 40), but there is sporadic evidence of pre-European circumcision both on some other islands in Polynesia and in pre-Inca Peru (Pl. 312 i, Fig. 64).

Rei-miro ("wooden-" or "boat-pectoral")
also known as rei-marama ("moon-pectoral"),
Plates 44–50

In addition to the above classes of house images, some of which were carried in the hand or worn with suspension strings during dances and ceremonial gatherings, the Easter Islanders had standardized certain other forms of wood carvings that were worn as emblems, ensignia of rank, or ceremonial paraphernalia. One of the most striking of these was a pectoral today commonly known as rei-miro, of which quite a considerable number has been collected on the island and distributed to museum collections throughout the world. The elegantly composed rei-miro was another of the artifacts that entered into commercial production side by side with the ribbed males.

As with the tangata-manu, a certain freedom is granted to the artist, and details may vary considerably from one piece to another. Therefore a general description is included here, while specific descriptions appear in the Appendix.

The main body of the rei-miro is a flat board or tablet with crescentic outlines and generally has a bearded human head or some marine mollusk represented at the two upturned extremities. One side of the board is transversally more convex than the other, and the flattest side generally has a centrally placed depression in the shape of a very narrow crescent. A projecting but rounded rim usually runs along the upper, concave curvature of the board. In most specimens each of the two upturned points of the flat board ends in a human head. The apexes of these heads are sharply pointed to stress the true crescent form of the total carving, and the faces are turned upward and inward in such a manner that the goatee-bearded chins point toward each other like barbs inside the main curve of the tablet. The faces have a very aquiline profile with heavy eyebrows, short ears, and the beard is curved slightly in underneath the chin. The general aspects are closely related to the facial features of the human figurines described above (Pls. 44–47 a). Some rei-miro have naturalistically carved marine shells rather than human heads at the extremities, and some are entirely shaped like a curved fish with head and tail at opposite ends (Pls. 47 b–49). Rare specimens occur in chicken form (Pl. 50).

Two bilaterally perforated lugs are generally placed near the upper edge of the convex side of the plate, and through these ran a suspension cord which was passed round the neck of the wearer. The size of a rei-miro could vary considerably, an average specimen usually being about 20 ins. (or some 50 cm.) long, about 5 ins. (13 cm.) wide and just over 1 in. (3 cm.) thick at its center.

Possible origins: There is disagreement as to how to translate the word rei-miro. Rei is a pan-Polynesian word for "neck ornament," or "pectoral." Miro was the original Rapanui term for "wood", but at the arrival of timbered European ships, these were also referred to as miro. The term for their own small, patched-together Polynesian canoes was vaka-ama, "outrigger boats," and the term for the large traditional craft of ancestral times was vaka-poepoe, "raft-boats" (Englert, 1948, pp. 255, 253). It would seem strange if the Easter Islanders referred to their specialized and boat-shaped breast plate as merely a "pectoral of wood," since nearly all other types of Easter Island pectorals were also of wood.

The name may, perhaps, be of secondary origin. Still, a confusion may be due to the form of the pectoral which actually recalls that of a ship. The interpretation of the rei-miro as a symbol of the large
Fig. 40: The radiating sun-god riding his moon-ship on an iconographic Mochica jar from the north coast of Peru (Amano Coll.).

Fig. 41: Deity with fishnet riding his moon-ship in the shape of a reed boat, from the north coast of Peru (from Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, p. 1).

vessels that brought the aboriginal voyagers to Easter Island goes back to the earliest period of missionary contact, as recorded by Bishop Jaussen (1893, pp. 9–10).

Métraux (1940, p. 232) was skeptical about this early interpretation because, to his knowledge, no Easter Island canoe had a sickle shape such as represented in this wooden pectoral. Recent discoveries, however, bring new support to the original interpretation since, as we have seen above, sickle-shaped boats with sails are depicted as petroglyphs, mural paintings, and cave sculptures on Easter Island. The front of two of the largest Middle Period statues were incised with boats of the same general outline as the rei-miro before one was overturned and the other buried by silt. The fact that one wooden rei-miro has a bird-man with a double-bladed paddle incised on its side, is also suggestive of a ship. Another has a transversal band reminiscent of lashings raised in low relief across one end (Pls. 47 a, 44 b).

These arguments should not prevent us from taking into account an alternative explanation of the significance of the rei-miro symbol, as originally proposed by Young (1904, p. 31) and quoted by Métraux (1940, p. 232). About some typical rei-miro in his collection Young says:

"I have been assured by old natives of Rapanui, that these are practically reproductions of similar objects which were hidden in caves after the introduction of Christianity, and which have disappeared. These objects are furnished with holes for strings to enable them to be worn as breastplates on
ceremonial occasions. Hence, the name rei (breastplate). But they were also called rei-marama (marama, moon) and the old natives declared that the shapes of the different crescents were meant to represent different phases of the luminary and were worn at feasts held at the time of the planting of the kumara [sweet potato]. I have been unable to obtain any description of the prayers or chants which were used at these ceremonies. . . I have possessed these crescents since 1888, when I obtained them from Rapanui through a reliable agent."

No parallel to the rei-miro has ever been pointed out inside Polynesia, apart from the fact that cachalot teeth were worn as neck pendants on several islands (Ibid., p. 230). Métraux (Ibid., p. 236) writes: "The wooden crescents or rei-miro are without any parallel in Polynesia. Large breast ornaments of quite different material and shape were worn in Tahiti and the Marquesas . . . The superficial resemblance to the big, crescentic shells of the Solomon Islanders does not imply a connection between Easter Island and Melanesia."

The fact that the Easter Islanders considered their crescent-shaped pectoral a symbol for the moon (rei-marama) and at the same time an ancestral form of ship (rei-miro) need not be surprising after all when we bear in mind that precisely this double significance occurs elsewhere. If we turn again to the nearest mainland shore, we find indeed that the Peruvian symbol for the moon was very commonly a crescent-shaped reed boat. Thus, mythical reproductions of the solar deity sailing across the sky on board a crescentic reed vessel are numerous in the pre-Inca art of the north coast (e. g., Figs. 40, 41). Since the Easter Islanders made reed boats of identical shape and from a reed species originally brought from Peru, and since they wore the pectorals at the time of the planting of the American sweet potato, which they referred to by its old Peruvian name, kumara, they may well, like people in Peru, have meant their traditional pectoral to symbolize both the ancestral boat and the moon. Crescent-shaped pectorals are known archaeologically from Peru. In the Amano collection of Lima is a wood carving showing a man with inlaid shell eyes and a shell pectoral, and also a complete pectoral of similar form (Pls. 317 n, o).

We have seen that the same basic form of pectoral not infrequently takes the shape of a crescent-shaped fish on Easter Island (Pls. 48 b, 49). An obvious parallel here is the crescent-shaped fish carved as a pectoral on the central deity on the ceremonial gateway at Tiahuanaco (Fig. 42).

Fig. 42: Crescent-shaped symbol carved on the chest of the sun-god on the monolithic gateway of Tiahuanaco. The fishlike pectoral has an anthropomorphic head and a tail resembling the tassel-symbol on Easter Island bird-men and anthropomorphic lizards.
Although stone specimens do occur, most tahonga are carved from toromiro, like the wood carvings described above. Great numbers have been collected, some of considerable antiquity, although commercial production was started in the late eighties of last century. Basically, the form is that of a somewhat egg-shaped ball with a central projection at its thickest end perforated for a suspension string. The resemblance to an egg is reduced by the fact that the tahonga is divided longitudinally into four equal sections by four narrow ribs or ridges radiating symmetrically from the most pointed end of the ball. At the rounded transition to the thicker end each ribbon forks into two branches as wide as the original ones, and these curve in both directions to run uninterruptedly into the meeting branches from the two neighboring ribbons. Seen from the rounder end of the ball, these interlocked branches outline a star-shaped square with concave sides and corners drawn out into points. Placed centrally in this modified square is the small rounded or cylindrical projection perforated for the suspension string. In some specimens this projection is shaped into either a single or a double human head, and sometimes also into the head of a bird with a large upturned beak. Obsidian disks with bone rings are inlaid as eyes in these heads. The surfaces are polished and left unpainted. Tahonga balls are commonly about 3–4 ins. (8–10 cm.) along the axis, although they may vary somewhat in size.

Possible origins: The tahonga was supposed to be a feminine ornament, although Métraux's (Ibid., p.233) modern informant believed this was not universally so. Specimens with a bird's head projecting from the top (Fig. 43 center) suggest a cracking egg about to fall into four equal parts as the chicken emerges. Some tahonga have a rather striking resemblance to a coconut covered with its outer husk, although a husked coconut has a rounded triangular cross section. The theory that the pendant is an imitation of coconuts which grew in the homeland of the ancestors has been both defended and rejected (loc. cit.). In either case we would have had no guide as to the origin of this purely local ornament, since coconuts grew in a restricted grove on Easter Island itself prior to missionary arrival (Heyerdahl, 1961, p. 30). As concluded by Métraux (1940, p. 236), the wooden tahonga seem to be paraphernalia entirely peculiar to Easter Island.

Fig. 43: Three varieties of the egg-shaped tahonga pendant (after Stephen-Chauvet, 1934, Figs. 90, 91, 94).
Since some *tahonga* have a twin human head emerging from the top (Fig. 43 right) it is interesting to recall the belief prevailing in some parts of the Inca Empire, that the first Inca and his sister-wife originally emerged from an egg. The association seems pertinent when we note that Hotu Matua, the traditional founder of the Easter Island dynasty, who was recalled to have come from the direction of Peru, was remembered as the son of a king named Tupa-ringa-anga (Metraux, 1940, p. 127). *Anga* means to “create” on Easter Island, and Tupa-ringa strongly suggests Tupa-inga, a name frequently given to Inca Tupac, the late Inca who sailed with a fleet into the Pacific to visit islands known to his coastal merchants. This late Tupa-inga had only taken his name from several of his own predecessors, since there were no less than 20 kings with this name in the Peruvian genealogical lines, most of them going back into pre-Inca dynasties (Montesinos, 1642).

*Ua* and *paoa* (long-handled and short-handled clubs), Plate 53

The double-headed *ua* is variously described as a ceremonial staff occasionally employed as a fighting weapon, or as a long-handled club normally carried as a badge of rank. Either interpretation is probably correct. A number of authentic pieces have been preserved and many more have been carved in post-missionary times primarily, however, from imported wood.

Whereas the slightly oval neck section of the staff is almost circular, its shorter diameter decreases and its longer diameter increases towards the lower end, giving the staff a spatular shape. Sometimes, however, according to the suitability of the wood, the staff has a uniform cross section all the way down and the representation is bilaterally symmetrical. Eyes are inlaid as on the wooden images with bone rings enclosing obsidian disks. Strongly projecting pouches hang down below the eyes on each side of a long, straight and slim nose with naturalistic alae. The flat, elliptical mouth is carved with raised lips surrounding a horizontal groove. Teeth are not indicated. Long, narrow ears with earplugs are carved as bands along the edges. The forehead slants forward to project beyond the eyes. Eyebrows are lacking, but the wide and tall forehead is traversed horizontally by a dense series of grooves arching from one side to the other. There is no chin or beard, as the narrow lower face continues uninteruptedly into the staff. Specimens vary considerably in length, recent pieces sometimes approaching 6 ft. (nearly 2 m.), whereas ancient specimens are rarely more than some 40 ins. (ca. 1.20 m.) and sometimes slightly curved due to the imperfections of the *toromiro* available. Knots or other holes in the wood are often filled with perfectly fitted plugs. *Ua* were in some instances preserved in sheaths made from *totoro* reed.

The *paoa* was artistically closely related to the *ua*. Thus, the bi-fronted human masks on top of the flattish butt end are the same, though not universally completed with inlaid eyes. The body section, rather than being a staff, is a short, flat, and wide one-hand club that represented the chief fighting weapon besides the hafted obsidian *mataa* among the historic Easter Islanders. A gabled rather than convex transversal profile gives the narrow upper and central section of the club blade a flattened rhomboidal cross section with blunt corners, while the blade widens and flattens further down to attain a lenticular cross section near its round distal end. A smooth surface polish without paint finishes off the *ua* as well as the *paoa*.

*Possible origins*: The staff-shaped *ua* club does not reappear in Oceania. Linton (1923, p. 396) has shown that the distribution of any kind of narrow-bladed staff in Polynesia is limited to the Marquesas, New Zealand, and Easter Island. The blade of the Marquesan chief’s staff is only a little narrower than the Easter Island *ua*, but its handle is not carved. The *taiaha* of New Zealand has a thin, flattened
lower end resembling somewhat the lower end of the *ua*. The upper end, however, terminates in the sharp-pointed tip of a lance carved like a long protruding tongue from a demonic upturned head which, according to Métraux (1940, p. 171), does not favor a parallel between the two. Métraux (*ibid.*, pp. 171–72) is equally negative with regard to Polynesian analogies to the second type of Easter Island club, the short-handled *paoa*. He thus opposes Skinner (MS in B. P. Bishop Museum) who suggested similarities to New Zealand and Chatham Island *mere* and *patu* clubs: “The Easter Island *paoa* certainly belongs to the same type as the Maori *patu*. However, the analogy is imperfect, as no stone clubs have been found on Easter Island and there is no tradition about their existence. The Maori *mere* of the *patu onewa* type were made of stone. Maori wooden clubs were fiddle-shaped or curved at the top like an English bill-hook, two types entirely foreign to Easter Island. The stone *patu*, which are the closest to Easter Island specimens, lack the poll decorated with a head. This peculiarity belongs to the wooden or bone *patu* which are the most different from the Easter Island types. The Easter Island *paoa* lack the suspension hole found in most Maori specimens. The ridging at the poll on some Easter Island clubs is the usual conventionalized representation of hair, characteristic also of wooden images. Hence the similarity to the transverse grooves on the poll of the Maori *patu* is purely accidental.”

Long ceremonial wooden staffs, sometimes flattened and used both as fighting weapons and badges of rank, just as on Easter Island, were widespread in ancient Peru. Archaeological specimens are preserved, and furthermore iconographic art from the Peruvian coast shows that the pre-Inca, like most Polynesians, specifically favored the long- and short-handled clubs as their main fighting weapons. General and detailed similarities between various types of Peruvian and Polynesian clubs have repeatedly been pointed out (*Moreno,* 1901, p. 576; *Krämer,* 1904, p. 127; *Wölfler,* 1925; *Imbelloni,* 1930; *Nordenskiöld,* 1931, p. 21; *Emory,* 1942, p. 131; *Rivet,* 1943, p. 120; *Heyerdahl,* 1952, pp. 696–97). The importance of the ceremonial staff in early Easter Island is emphasized by the number of bird-men and anthropomorphic figures in the *rongo-rongo* script which hold a staff in their hand. Their antiquity on the nearest mainland is equally apparent, both from archaeological specimens along the coast, and from the bird-men and anthropomorphic figures of Tiahuanaco similarly carrying ceremonial staffs. These Tiahuanaco staffs are also commonly illustrated as terminating in double heads, but in two birds’ heads rather than in two human heads as on Easter Island. However, as long as the specific style of the Easter Island club heads remains unique, no identification of outside inspiration seems possible.

* Ao and *rapa* (large and small dance paddles),
  Plates 54–57, Color Plate XIV left

The *ao* and *rapa* differ from each other mainly in size and in decoration, but are otherwise closely related. Both were double-bladed paddles twirled and shaken in the hand during ceremonial dances. The *ao* was the larger of the two types, with a total length that could exceed 6 ft. (2 m.) (*Vienna 22845* is 216.5 cm. long with a maximum width of 22.6 cm.). One blade of the paddle, usually pointing up during dances, has a conventionalized human face carved and painted on each of its sides. The blade itself is carved flat as on a functional paddle, with almost parallel edges and a rounded distal end. The nose is very long and extremely narrow, and forks into two prominent eyebrows. This curved, Y-shaped combination of nose and eyebrows is slightly raised in relief. The eyes are carved and painted much larger than the mouth, which is either reduced to a minimum or lacking. The ears, however, are invariably present and carved in a conventionalized manner as two downward-
projecting lobes with circular earplugs. One very old and worm-eaten sample (Boston 64845) has fish vertebrae inserted as earplugs. The specimen, collected by Agassiz' Albatross Expedition as late as 1904–5, has doubtless been kept hidden in a cave. Below the earlobes the width of the ao blade drops off abruptly to the neck and handle section. A large portion of the upper blade, corresponding to the broad and tall forehead, is covered by dense rows of vertically painted stripes that may indicate hair although in some specimens they definitely assume the aspects of a feather-crown of the type common in aboriginal Easter Island. Some specimens have vertical tear marks painted as parallel stripes running from the bases of the large eyes down across the chin. This “weeping-eye” motif is particularly pronounced on the ancient ao symbols preserved as mural paintings on the slabs in the ceremonial houses of Orongo (Ferdon, 1961, Figs. 65 b, f and Pl. 29 c; this vol., Pl. 183 a).

Some faces on ao paddles are painted with geometric fields suggesting tattoo. Only one twin-faced blade of the ao is painted; the rest of the paddle is left polished and plain. A slim handle with an oval cross-section that becomes almost circular at mid-length connects the painted blade with the other one which is undecorated. It has the same outline except for the lack of indentations carved below the earlobes of the decorated blade. In some specimens the second blade is slightly narrower and has a rounded rectangular outline. A fingerlike projection with a ring-shaped band in relief around its midsection is sometimes, but not always, carved at the center of the distal end of this second blade. In some specimens the ring is replaced by a steplike transition from a wider upper part to a narrower, lower part. This extension corresponds to the knob carved elsewhere on some functional paddles and serves for pushing off or staking operations.

The rapa is much smaller, generally only about 2 ft. (60–70 cm.) long and, unlike the ao, could hardly have served for anything but ceremonial uses. It has all the aspects of being a derivative, simplified, and more conventionalized version of the large and elaborate ao, the manufacture of which would require tree trunks of considerable size. The facial mask on the rapa is unpainted, and the carving itself reduced to a fine, raised, central ridge symbolizing the nose splitting into two equally fine arches representing eyebrows, although they are extended to run in a complete curve down each side of the blade into the earlobes. The bilateral indentation below the earlobes on the ao has been perfectly retained on the rapa, as has the representation of the carved, circular earplugs.

**Possible origins:** It is a remarkable fact that these ceremonial paddles are double-bladed. Not a single specimen has a blade at one end and only a handle section at the other. Nowhere else in Polynesia do double-bladed paddles exist. Polynesian canoes are without exception propelled by single-bladed paddles with an upper grip section which is either crotched, knobbed, or plain. The traditional importance of the double-bladed paddle in Easter Island ceremonies, and the painting of ao paddles with a “weeping-eye” decoration together with mural representations of reed boats in the ceremonial houses of Orongo, suggest that we are here dealing with a cult and ensignia based upon the veneration of an ancestral maritime implement.

The double-bladed paddle, absent in Oceania, is common and widespread in America. It was in sporadic use among the aboriginal population along the Pacific coast from Chile (Frezier, 1717, Pl. 16) to California (Choris, 1822, Pl. 9). In historic times the smaller reed boats of coastal Peru were paddled with a length of split bamboo which the paddler held at mid-point and whirled alternately on each side. The considerable antiquity of the true double-bladed paddle on the mainland coast nearest Easter Island is shown by its presence together with pre-Inca raft models from the early pre-ceramic fisher population on the Pacific coast of Arica below Tiahuanaco. The carved and painted paddles buried with these early raft models are all double-bladed like the ceremonial paddles of Easter Island (Bird, 1943; Heyerdahl, 1952, Pl. 76).
The use of both single- and double-bladed paddles for ceremonial performances is another characteristic feature of coastal Peru, and paddles with single blade were used ceremonially also in Polynesia, in the Tubuai group. Some of the single-bladed paddles from the north and central coast of Peru, like some of the Tubuai specimens, have their grip so exuberantly indented and perforated with decorative symbols, such as small human figures holding hands, that they can hardly ever have served as other than ensignia or ceremonial accessories (Heyerdahl, 1952, Pl. 78).

The aforesaid “weeping-eye” ornament of the ao symbols in Orongo is perhaps as indicative of origins as is the double blade of this ceremonial boat accessory. Ferdon (1961, pp. 254–55, 535) has pointed out that the “weeping-eye” motif is totally absent from Polynesia, and that it becomes a valid indicator of extra-island affiliation because it was a characteristic element in the Tiahuanaco culture. It spread from that ancient highland cult center to wide areas of the Pacific coast and is commonly considered a diagnostic feature of that culture.

Not all the double-bladed paddles of Easter Island were ceremonial. Although the historic population of the island were no longer mariners and hardly possessed any respectable watercraft, they had preserved a few utilitarian paddles. Thomson (1889, pp. 537–38) has the following note about a double-bladed type collected by his party: “Used in the ancient canoes in a similar manner to that practised by the Indians of America.”

In searching for a possible extra-island origin of the non-Polynesian ao paddle we again find what we are looking for on the mainland coast to the windward. Early iconographic art on the north coast of Peru shows chiefs or deities holding paddles as ensignia in both hands. Among them are double-bladed paddles with all the characteristics of the ao. The lower blade is plain while the upper is represented as a human head with the diagnostic features of the ao mask: an upright feather-crown and ears which do not project laterally but hang down on each side of the chin.

The former importance of the double-bladed ao paddle among the maritime cultures of Peru appears from the fact that this same motif is represented in Mochica or Early Chimu redware and repeated in Late Chimu blackware (Color Pl. XIV right, Pl. 320). It is beyond the range of coincidence that two maritime cultures not separated by an ocean but united by a marine escalator use double-bladed paddles as emblems of rank, and furthermore carve one of the blades into a human head with a feather-crown and pendent earlobes as distinguishing features. If the Peruvian ao reliefs were in wood instead of in ceramic, a possible introduction from Easter Island in either European or pre-European times might have eliminated the implications of this parallel. The fact, however, that the continental ao paddles are represented in genuine Mochica and Chimu pottery limits the parallel to a period and to a material that excludes an Easter Island origin for this specialized motif on the north coast of Peru. The feather headdress and the pose of the Peruvian navigator between two ceremonial paddles are other well-known features represented in Easter Island religious art, as is the concept of an animal with a double head, such as the one encircling the Peruvian figure. The reappearance of wooden ensignia in the shape of double-bladed ao paddles in an area known for its maritime activity on the mainland coast nearest to Easter Island is in itself a fingerprint that can be interpreted only as outside inspiration behind a basic, ceremonial art manifestation on Easter Island. Since the Moche culture is generally considered to belong to the first half millennium A.D., and the Middle Period on Easter Island has been dated to about A.D. 1100 to 1680, it is possible that the ao paddle reached Easter Island in the Early Period and survived all three periods. Since it survived in Peru into Late Chimu times, a period generally dated to A.D. 1200 to 1470, it could also be a Middle Period introduction. The possibility of a Late Period, or even historic introduction, is eliminated, however, by the fact that no ao paddle survived into historic times in Peru, nor are any known from the Inca period, which began two centuries before the Late Period on Easter Island.
*Kohau rongo-rongo* (inscribed tablets),
Plates 58–59

Apart from the Middle Period statues, no other vestiges of a formerly high cultural standing on Easter Island have been given so much public attention as the written tablets. We have seen in the historic review that only a few have been preserved for posterity, as the larger number was lost partly through hiding and partly through forced burning as soon as their existence became known to the arriving missionaries. The reason for this violent and unfortunate reaction among the clergy as well as among the local population was not that the missionaries wanted an indigenous writing system substituted by our own, but the simple fact that neither the local population nor the literate clergy were able to read the tablets, which were wholly and solely used as ritual objects in fixed pagan cults. This is a most important point to bear in mind for the understanding of the otherwise meaningless behavior of the missionaries.

It was clearly documented (*Eyraud*, 1864, pp. 71, 124–25; *Roussel*, 1869, p. 464; *Zumbohm*, 1880, p. 232) that not even the most intelligent and best informed Easter Islanders could give the meaning of a single sign among those engraved on the tablets, nor could they give the ideogram for the simplest word or concept. The historically observed natives used the tablets purely as mnemonic devices. They knew each one to represent a specific text, but they disagreed about which text belonged to which tablet. Nor did they even realize that the signs of the tablets could be separated and grouped together in a different sequence and thus form some other readable text. In other words, they did not understand the concept of script. When reciting the text they did not have to look at the tablet, and if one tablet was substituted by another in the middle of their recital, they continued the original text uninterruptedly. They became seriously insulted when charged with fraud; they did not intend to cheat since they did not know what real reading involved.

Since none of the Easter Islanders when the missionaries arrived in 1864 understood the signs engraved on their own tablets, it has often been assumed that the art of reading and writing *rongo-rongo* was lost at the time of the great slave raid in 1862. There is, however, no foundation for such a hypothesis. Written tablets were found by Eyraud in all the huts, and it is hardly likely that only the physically fit men carried away as slaves knew the secrets of writing, and that the aged men among those who remained did not include any who could give the meaning of one single sign. It seems far more probable that the art of truly understanding *rongo-rongo* was lost when the massacre of the Long-ears of about 1680 put an end to the entire Middle Period culture with all its outstanding skills.

The artistic embellishment of each *rongo-rongo* sign, with a predominance of hook-beaked bird heads and long-eared men as a finishing touch even on nondescript characters, strongly suggests Middle Period origins not necessarily of the art of writing but of the present appearance of the signs. Archaeology shows that these features as such were not present in the Early Period. A long tradition of copying *rongo-rongo* tablets is indicated by the fact that some of the tablets encountered have been so old that they crumbled upon touch, whereas one authentic specimen was carved from the blade of a European oar. Existing old tablets were piously copied by people who could not read them, and in this way some of the original signs undoubtedly became somewhat distorted and came to look like slightly different characters.

The artistic aspects of the *kohau rongo-rongo*, or inscribed boards, lies in the shape of the ideograms and hardly ever in the shape of the board or base onto which these signs are incised. Some single *rongo-rongo* ideograms are carved in relief on stone plaques hoarded in caves, and in some extremely few cases *rongo-rongo* signs are carved individually or in small groups on rei-miro or on bird-man
statuettes, but otherwise the base itself is usually just any odd flat piece of driftwood or available board, large or small. Round sticks have been used exceptionally, and a fragment of Physeter bone reportedly found in a cave (now in the possession of K. A. Dixon of the Department of Anthropology, California State College) is completely covered with *rongo-rongo* signs that have the aspect of being genuine.

The signs are incised with a sharp tool, commonly a flake of obsidian, or a shark's tooth on the smooth surface of the tablet. The "writing" begins at the lower left-hand corner, one ideogram placed next to the other in a continuous row running towards the right. When the bottom line is full, the carver, and with him the subsequent readers, turn the tablet upside down and once more proceed from left to right. At the end of each line the board is turned upside down in such a way that the writing runs in a continuous serpentine fashion, every second line upside down. Although the text cannot be read today, it is easy to verify that this system, known as reversed boustrophedon, has been used, due to the alternation of the lines, and also to the fact that the upper line, and especially the last ideograms in this line, have often been squeezed together to allow the carver space for the final part of his text. In other words, knowing where it ends, one can easily deduce that the text began at the opposite end of the continuous serpentine inscription. In fact, when the tablets were brought forth at ceremonies they were held between two hands while the "reader" chanted some text he knew by heart, and staring at the magic symbols he would turn the board upside down as indicated by the heads and feet of the figures in the signs.

After the tests carried out by the early missionaries Eyraud, Roussel, and Zumbohm on the island itself, some of the natives left to work on the Brander plantation in Tahiti. Having failed at home, two of these natives became local celebrities by claiming that they were "*rongo-rongo* men" who were able to read the now famous tablets. One of them, tested by Mr. T. Croft, an American citizen living in Papeete, was immediately caught in obvious fraud. In a letter to the Californian Academy of Sciences, Croft (1874, pp. 318–20) reported that the islander gave three different texts to the same tablet three Sundays in succession. The other, named Metoro, invited as a guest of Bishop Jaussen, kept on reading improvised and incoherent texts from five small tablets for fifteen days on end, actually doing nothing but describing what the appearance of the various symbols reminded him of. Croft, seeing the Bishop's thick manuscript book which was the result of Metoro's recitation from the five small tablets, wrote in his letter to the Californian Academy:

"I advised him [Jaussen] to subject him [Metoro] to a similar test to which I had subjected mine, when I fear he will be deceived as I was. He promised to do so when opportunity occurred."

Since Jaussen's complete records are preserved at the Congrégation des Sacrés-Cœurs in Rome it is easy to see that the Bishop did not follow Croft's advice of having Metoro repeat his fifteen days' recitation. Metoro's text ran into tens of thousands of words ("more than two hundred pages"), and it was difficult for Jaussen to have them mathematically adjusted to the very limited number of *rongo-rongo* signs on the five small tablets. The ingenious Metoro escaped this trap by stating that the bulk of the words were not written and were thus invisible. But one need only glance at the resulting "dictionary" compiled by Jaussen to realize that even this explanation does not excuse Metoro. He is so inconsistent that he sometimes gives completely different meanings to the same sign, and sometimes he gives the same meaning to a dozen or so different signs. He has, for instance, five different *rongo-rongo* signs for the word *porcelain*, a material completely unknown to the aboriginal Easter Islanders. There is also a special sign for *he opens a porcelain tureen* and one for *the three wise kings*. It is obvious that in most cases Metoro has interpreted the signs according to what they reminded him of. Thus, one sign means: *eyes of a crustacean*, another: *a crustacean cut in two*, and there is even one which means: *canoe which rolls well with man and feathers* (on board). Others, according to
whatever they happen to resemble, are: *bird with three eyes; bird with two heads; bird with two tails; fish with two tails; man with two heads; man with two projections on his head; man with no head; man in a star; a god resting on a pectoral; he falls, wounded in the right arm by a spearhead; he cures, holding a red yam;* etc.

Since the time of Jaussen, other writers have claimed to have deciphered the *rongo-rongo* script. The first of these was Dr. A. Carroll (1892, pp. 103–6, 233–53) who, obviously inspired by the texts actually sung by the Easter Islanders as they “read” the tablets for Thomson (1889, pp. 526–32), pretended to be able to read a tablet himself by repeating an already recorded story of the first Easter Island king coming from the direction of South America by steering towards the setting sun. When called upon to explain how he had managed to decipher the script, Dr. Carroll refrained from further comment. More recently, Dr. T. S. Barthel (1958a, pp. 61–68) attracted world attention by announcing that the writing of the Easter Island tablets had been deciphered by him. Barthel “read” a story completely contradictory to Carroll’s, claiming that the tablets said that the first migration to Easter Island had come from the Polynesian island of Raiatea in about the fourteenth century A.D. Although the seriousness of his efforts, published separately the same year as a large volume of tables and statistics (Barthel, 1958b) cannot be doubted, the value of his interpretation can be judged by the fact that he deciphered the script on the basis of Bishop Jaussen’s unpublished manuscript book derived from Metoro’s concocted texts. When he was challenged by the Easter Island archaeologists Mulloy, Skjöldvold and Smith (American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, pp. 148–49) to present a word-by-word translation of at least one tablet, Barthel, like Carroll before him, evaded the issue. If he had presented the translation of one tablet and not only vaguely referred to its contents, it would have been easy to check its correctness by cross-examination against corresponding signs on other tablets.*

As shown by the Russian *rongo-rongo* experts (Knorozov, 1964a, p. 4; Kondratov, 1965, p. 407), the Easter Island script is still completely undeciphered. Undoubtedly the truth is, as stated by Knorozov, that ability to read the *rongo-rongo* tablets of Easter Island was lost with the death of the last Easter Islander to know its secrets prior to missionary arrival.

Here, however, we are not so much concerned with the lost art of reading and writing *rongo-rongo* as with the well-preserved visual art embodied in the embellishment of each incised *rongo-rongo* symbol. Some examples of *rongo-rongo* tablets are illustrated in Plates 45, 46 a, 58, 59. Only the outlines of the individual figures are incised; their interiors are left smooth without any indication of eyes or other details. A mouth is only present when seen in profile and is then wide open. Ears, when present, are always large and projecting. Fingers, when indicated, are reduced to three. Two basic classes of winged bird-men are represented: those with a bird’s head and those with a human head. Human heads are always shown *en face*. Bird’s heads are always shown in profile; some have straight beaks and others have large, strongly hooked beaks like an eagle or a condor. Only birds of prey have beaks like those represented on the *rongo-rongo* ideograms, and such birds did not exist on Easter Island or in any other part of Polynesia. Human heads are generally triangular or quadrangular, and often shaped like a pyramid with two pointed lateral horns. Otherwise they take on completely abstract or monstrous forms. A human body, sometimes with arms and sometimes with wings, is also often represented with the round head of a ferocious animal shown in profile. The gaping mouth is then so large that its corners reach the center of the head, and the creature has neither nose nor chin. This open-mouthed an-

* Sixteen years after his public claim to have deciphered the *rongo-rongo*, Barthel (1974, p. 745) still speaks of his “steadily proceeding decipherment of Easter Island writing”*, although other writers have now resorted to similar unsubstantiated methods while claiming to have arrived at completely different results (e.g., José Quintela Vaz de Melo in *O Cruzeiró Internacional*, Brazil, 11.4.1973).
imal head is apparently of great importance to the designer of the script, since it figures as often as do the human and bird heads. It is borrowed from a gaping quadruped, the only mammal represented in the ideograms. The gaping animal, when shown complete, has tall flexed legs, an arched back and a drawn-up abdomen, like a snarling feline (Fig. 46). Of the marine species a few are readily identifiable, among which the fish is dominant. Double-headed representations are on the whole very common. The gaping mammal, the hook-beaked bird, and the long-eared men often have a forked neck terminating in two heads. Star-shaped sun symbols occur, and some ideograms have the sun carved as the head of a bird or a bird-man. Identifiable artifacts represented are extremely few; most important are the crescent-shaped rei-miro pectorals described above, and several figures carry staffs and characteristic Easter Island feather-strings. However, the large majority of the symbols are non-figurative, and only ornamented at their extremities with heads or limbs borrowed from the few constantly repeated creatures already enumerated. If we eliminate the Middle Period ornamentation of the ideograms and consider the crude shapes of what remains, we may very likely be a good deal nearer to the original appearance of many of the characters.

Possible origins: Since Bishop Jaussen (1893) published his list supposedly revealing the meaning of certain rongo-rongo signs, and Bishop de Harlez (1895–96; 1896) rejected the truth of the interpretations and even doubted that the signs represented script, the discussion has centered on two main topics: the problem of origin and the problem of interpretation. The theories of the origins of Easter Island rongo-rongo have been many and varied.

Jaussen’s extreme interest in the boustrophedon script of Easter Island arose from the fact that script of any nature was unknown elsewhere in Oceania. His unpublished notes show that he made considerable efforts to locate script reminiscent of rongo-rongo in the Malay Archipelago. Later, others combed the west Pacific island area with the same negative result. The most recent was G. H. R. von Kónigswald (1951) who saw an outward resemblance between a birdlike figure that appeared as part of the pattern on some of the embroidered textiles in Sumatra and some of the birdlike rongo-rongo symbols. Others, dissatisfied with chance resemblances between single motifs went as far as the Indus Valley which is directly antipodal to Easter Island. Here G. de Hevesy (1938) pointed to some outward similarities between symbols of an undeciphered script recently discovered on old seals at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro and some selected rongo-rongo signs. Many diffusionists, among them Rivet, Stephen-Chauvet, Imbelloni, Heine-Geldern, and others supported Hevesy’s theory that the Easter Island script had originated in the Indus Valley. This would imply an aboriginal contact against all prevailing winds and currents around fully 180° of the earth’s circumference. Buck, Skinner, Lavachery, and Métraux were among the many who firmly rejected these ideas. Buck (1938a, pp. 235–36) disposes of the alleged similarity between certain single signs by pointing out that the boustrophedon arrangement of the lines, characteristic of rongo-rongo, is unknown in the Indus Valley and he asks: “How could these characters survive a migration of over 13,000 miles of space and through 3,000 years in time to arrive unchanged in lonely Easter Island and leave no trace between . . .” Métraux (1938, p. 235) was equally critical and wrote: “No unbiased man who studies the tablets and the Indus script can fail to notice the enormous difference, not only in the system, but in the form and type of the signs.”

To avoid going to the antipodes, some scientists preferred to see the rongo-rongo as a local invention, placing Easter Island together with some of the extremely few centers of civilization in the world where script had been evolved independently by illiterates. Buck (1938a, pp. 237–38) suggests that the rongo-rongo chanters of Easter Island had originally carved ornamental motifs on ceremonial staffs which later developed into written tablets. Métraux (1940, pp. 403–5) held for some time a similar view, even doubting that the Easter Island symbols represented a script, but was finally con-
vinced (1957, pp. 206–7) by modern cipher experts that the rongo-rongo really represented some form of writing. Emory (1963, p. 567), feeling compelled to look for yet another solution, proposed that the Easter Islanders, when they witnessed the Spaniards of the Gonzalez expedition reading a proclamation of annexation, hit upon the idea of developing their own script. This is hardly convincing since we learn from the contemporary record of the Spaniards (Agüera, 1770, p. 104) that “some of the natives present signed or attested the official document by marking upon it certain characters in their own script.”

No one seemed to suspect the possibility of any relationship between the written tablets of Easter Island and those of the adjacent American continent until Nordenskiöld (1928) published the first systematic analysis of the picture-writing of the Cuna Indians of Panama and northwestern Colombia. The Cuna Indians live no farther from Easter Island than do the Polynesians of Tahiti. Nordenskiöld showed that Cuna script originated from the one that existed in this part of America prior to European discoveries. He points out that “these Indians practised a kind of picture-writing on wooden tablets.” The tablets, intended to be hung up in the houses during celebrations, had painted ideograms and Nordenskiöld cited earlier visitors to the effect that the ideograms were formerly carved on the wooden tablets. He refers to the American biologist, Dr. Harris, who noticed that the Cuna tablets were made use of for recording songs of various kinds. This writing, Harris says, “is read from the bottom, from right to left, and then from left to right, and so on.” Nordenskiöld considered the Cuna script a degenerated form of the picture-writing of ancient Mexico, but shortly afterward E. von Hornbostel (1930) proposed the opposite solution; that the written tablets of the Easter Islanders and the Cuna Indians represent the primitive forerunners of the highly developed Mexican writing. He proposed that Chinese ideograms had spread to Mexico by way of Easter Island and the Panama isthmus, and was supported in this hypothesis by Heine-Geldern (1938, pp. 883–92). Referring to the Cuna script, Heine-Geldern says: “... the ideograms were formerly carved on wooden tablets. This recalls the written tablets of Easter Island. The writing in boustrophedon, too, and also the succession of lines running upwards from the bottom, recalls the Easter Island script. With the Cuna, however, the signs are always arranged the same way, not directed with the heads downwards in every second line as on Easter Island.” And, “Although at first glance the written characters of the Cuna seem to differ completely in form from those of Easter Island, it appears to me that some quite important correspondences may be established.” Both Hornbostel and Heine-Geldern pointed to the magic aspect of the written tablets of both Panama and Easter Island and the fact that in neither of these places was the historic population able to “read” the script in the proper sense of the word but merely sang the traditional text which they knew the tablets represented. Heine-Geldern also stresses the importance of the Cuna tablets at burial ceremonies showing with Routledge that in 1860 the last Easter Island chief was carried to the grave on three written tablets that were buried with him. He finally states that sticks with feathers tied to the end were stuck in the ground during burial rites in both areas and that feather-sticks and feather-strings are an important element in both the Easter Island and the Cuna script. While all these theories of outside contacts and independent evolution were contradicting one another, it became increasingly common to see rongo-rongo as mnemonic, symbolic, or purely decorative designs, if not merely as native doodles and meaningless scribblings. Recent studies of the variations and repetitions of the signs by German and Russian cipher experts have now shown beyond doubt that they do represent characters of a former writing system. Although the claims to have deciphered the script have proven to be completely unfounded, there is a unanimity of opinion to the effect that the Easter Islanders have had contact with local or extra-island people who left with them rudimentary traces of a now lost writing system. Barthel (1958) has attempted to sort out and number each individual sign, and came to the conclusion that 790 different symbols existed. This figure may
be considerably exaggerated, since we have seen that illiterate imitators kept on duplicating old texts and thus might have created minor unintentional variations. Nevertheless, the figure runs into hundreds, and proves that the signs cannot represent letters but composite sounds like syllables, words, or concepts. Beyond this observation, and the fact that the ideograms were arranged in reversed boustrophedon, we know nothing about the script as such.

Turning once more to the outward appearance of the individual signs, it is apparent that a considerable number are completely non-figurative. Some very few are naturalistic effigies and the rest, probably the great majority, are non-figurative characters whose terminal ends are embellished with the addition of human, bird, and mammal heads, fish tails, or stray limbs. It does in fact not seem at all unlikely that *rongo-rongo* is originally based on some completely non-figurative characters whose outlines have been embellished according to local artistic taste or religious inclinations. We have seen that the dominant occurrence of bird-men, hook-beaked bird heads, and large-eared human figures clearly shows that the historic form of the script is a Middle Period heritage. We must thus assume that the script is either an altogether Middle Period element, or that it existed as non-figurative ideograms in the Early Period and was altered to its present outward appearance by Middle Period designers. Whatever the case may be, the artistic embellishment as such is typical of the island and should not be expected to be paralleled elsewhere.

It would certainly be surprising if the *kohau rongo-rongo* were a Late Period invention. The art of writing is not very likely to be invented on a tiny island in a period of extreme decadence when the only preoccupation of isolated families is to hide themselves and their property in caves, and to demolish the property of others. Undoubtedly then, the art of writing was either invented on Easter Island in one of its two early flourishing periods, or else inspired from some unidentified continental center of civilization and secondarily modified to local taste.

The Easter Islanders have some remarkable traditions concerning their *rongo-rongo*. Thomson (1889, p. 519), in recording *rongo-rongo* texts known by heart by the old natives, says of certain omitted sections that they "are supposed to have been written in some ancient language, the key to which has long ago been lost." An old native explained to Routledge (1919, p. 252) that when his people were reciting the *rongo-rongo* texts, "the words were new, but the letters were old." Another old native correspondingly said of the signs on the tablets that they were "the same picture, but other words." These statements seem to corroborate well the recent results of the Russian team of investigators, who claim that the texts of the *rongo-rongo* tablets have withstood all attempts to decipher them because the language behind them is not identical with modern Rapanui (Fedorova, 1964, p. 7). The Chilean expedition, on interviewing the old people, once in the presence of between sixty and seventy islanders who took an interested part in the procedure, obtained some remarkable information recorded by Knoche (1925, p. 243): "We were told that the written tablets were not brought into existence by the present inhabitants, but by an earlier population." Traditions insisting that two different peoples with distinct cultures and languages had reached the island, have survived since the first interviews with Europeans (cf. Heyeirdahl, 1961, pp. 33-43).

Métraux (1940, p. 394) says: "In the native version of the legend of Hotu Matua, the first king is said to have founded schools in which pupils were taught to make the various kinds of tablets." Engler (1948, p. 222) records that the Easter Island *rongo-rongo* schools were built according to a traditional plan, being circular stone houses with entrances through conical, thatched roofs. Since the historic population lived either in caves or in pole and thatch houses, the references to circular stone houses used for *rongo-rongo* schools was surprising until this house type was excavated and carbon dated by Skjösvold and Ferdon (this vol., p. 86), and proved to be a common type of dwelling in the Middle Period. This kind of dwelling is completely unknown elsewhere in Polynesia, but coincides with a dom
inant house form in the Tiahuanaco area, between Lake Titicaca and the Pacific coast. Engler
t(1948, p. 316) goes on to say: “An old man who attended the classes during his youth, told natives still
living today that he frequented a school near Aku Akapu. The discipline was very strict. The pupils
had to learn the texts first. They were not permitted to talk or play, but were required to pay attention,
resting on their knees, with their hands united on their chests. . . . After learning to recite, the pupils
commenced copying the signs to get accustomed to write. These exercises in copying were not yet
made on wood, but on banana leaves, with a stylus of bird bone or a little pointed stick. Only after
having acquired a certain degree of perfection, did the pupils write on wooden tablets, preferably of
toro-miro, using for this engraving very fine pieces of obsidian or sharp shark’s teeth.” The use of
banana leaves for writing rongo-rongo is also recorded by Métraux (1940, p. 390).
The natives invariably insisted that the original collection of written tablets was imported to the island
by the first immigrant king, Hotu Matua, who was also the founder of rongo-rongo schools. Until the
time of Routledge (1919, p. 279) traditions recalled that sixty-four written tablets were brought to the
island by those who came with the king and that these were the tablets that were copied by later
generations. Hinelilu, the leader of the Long-ears who took part in the first landing, “was a man of
intelligence, and wrote rongo-rongo on paper he brought with him” (Routledge, 1919, p. 279).
It may be relevant to remember the traditions about Hotu Matua’s arrival, collected for the first time
by the Polynesian-speaking settler, Salmon, and recorded by some of the late nineteenth-century
visitors. The English commander B. F. Clark (1882, pp. 144–45) wrote: “Mr. Salmon speaks the
native language thoroughly, having learned it as a boy from Easter Island natives employed by the
‘Maison Brander’ at Tahiti, and therefore all the information I got about the native names and
traditions may, I think, be relied on . . . Mr. Salmon says that, after long talks with the natives on the
subject, they all say they originally landed on the north side of the island, and came from the East in
two canoes, . . .” With Salmon as interpreter, the American Paymaster Thomson (1889, pp. 526–32)
and his companion, Cooke (1899, p. 700), spent an entire night interviewing the old chief Ure Vaeiko,
a local sage who was nearly sixty years old in 1862 when the bulk of the population was carried away to
Peru by the slave raiders. Thomson recorded the legend in detail from this last of the old men trained
in a rongo-rongo school: “The tradition here goes back before the advent of the people on the island,
and states that Hotu Matua and his followers came from a group of islands lying towards the rising sun,
and the name of the land was Marae-toe-hau, the literal meaning of which is ‘the burial place.’ In this
land, the climate was so intensely hot that the people sometimes died from the effects of the heat, and
at certain seasons plants and growing things were scorched and shriveled up by the burning sun.”
Hotu Matua, who succeeded to his father’s disrupted reign, was involved in a family feud, “and war to
the death was carried on until Hotu Matua, after being defeated in three great battles, was driven to
the last extremity. Discouraged by his misfortune, and convinced that his ultimate capture and death
were certain, he determined to flee . . .” He had learned from his brother Machaa that, “a large
uninhabited island could be found by steering towards the setting sun.” He embarked with three
hundred chosen followers in two large vessels each fifteen fathoms long and one fathom deep pro-
visioned and prepared for a long voyage. “In the night and on the eve of another battle, they sailed
away, with the understanding that the setting sun was to be their compass.” Machaa had sailed in
advance and had accomplished the crossing in two months while King Hotu Matua with his wife and
followers roamed the ocean for 120 days before they found the same island. Although Machaa’s
party was the first to land, the King himself became celebrated as the discoverer. As chanted from
the tablet, “the island was discovered by King Hotu-Matua, who came from the land in the direction
of the rising sun.” Thomson concludes: “It is difficult to account for the statement, so frequently
repeated throughout the legends, that Hotu-Matua came from the eastward and discovered the land
by steering towards the setting sun, because the chart shows no islands in that direction which would answer the description of 'Marae-toe-hau.'" Thomson is, of course, right in arguing that there is no island to the east of Easter Island answering the description in the legend. The only speck of land between South America and Easter Island is Sala-y-Gomez which, according to Englert (1948, p. 19) was well known to the Easter Islanders but under the name of Motu Motiro Hiva, which means "Islet in-front-of Fatherland," and again reflects the native belief that the ancestors came from the direction of South America. Is it necessary to assume that Marae-toe-hau was an island? The Easter Islanders had only one word, henua, for habitable land of any size. Sala-y-Gomez is a motu, a tiny uninhabitable bird islet, almost completely awash in a storm, and it is far too near Easter Island to require a two-months' voyage. Two months, however, is just about what should be estimated for a Peruvian reed ship or balsa raft to reach Easter Island, judging from our own experiences with the Kon-Tiki and Ra. Only from South America could voyagers reach Easter Island by steering for two months in the direction of the setting sun.

The description of the climatic conditions of Hotu Matua's homeland is as striking as the accurate sailing directions. The reference to the burning sun that, in certain seasons, shriveled up the vegetation describes remarkably accurately the special characteristics of the entire Pacific plains of Peru and northern Chile. Here, during the winter season, rainless clouds and mists cover the dried up desert coast and allow a sparse vegetation to begin to cover the ground. But as the summer season returns, the intensely burning sun soon arrests the incipient growth of vegetation which is shriveled up and destroyed. This annual sequence is a climatic and phytogeographic peculiarity of the South American coast facing Easter Island, and nothing like it is found elsewhere in the entire Pacific. The Marquesas Islands have partially dry grass-and-fern-covered western hills and damp eastern jungle-covered valleys due to the constant easterly trade winds, but this is a permanent condition without seasonal variation and the vegetation is not shriveled up by the burning sun. The traditional description is still less fitting if we turn to the rest of the verdant islands and atolls of Polynesia and to the jungle areas of Melanesia with New Guinea and Indonesia beyond.

Even the name by which the sacred fatherland is alluded to, "the Burial Place," could hardly be more fitting as a description of large areas of coastal Peru. The entire area from Arika on the Chilean coast below Tiahuanaco, northwards by way of Ika and Paracas, is characterized by an almost continuous chain of vast burial grounds where human bones and mummy bundles are found everywhere, as they have accumulated in the dry sand over thousands of years, in complete contrast to conditions on the Pacific islands where burials quickly decompose and disappear in the damp soil.

The credibility of the Hotu Matua tradition lies in the fact that it gives both a precise and concise description of a desert coast located in a direction and at a distance where such a land actually exists; furthermore it seems most unlikely that a story describing unique climatic conditions should have been invented by a people completely ignorant of them; and if invented, their culture hero and first king would hardly have been conceived as an unfortunate refugee, defeated in war, who sailed to the island to save his life.

In spite of the fact that the Easter Islanders themselves, in the plainest words possible, tell us that their writing system was not invented on the island but brought by voyagers who sailed from a country in the position of South America, South America has never been suspected since no writing system was known there at the time of European arrival. It would seem impossible that a writing system once known by a people could disappear. But this very nearly did happen on Easter Island: had a rongo-rongo tablet not been sent to Jaussen and alerted his interest, the few now remaining tablets would have been burned or have disintegrated in their storage caves. If this had been the case, native traditions to the effect that their ancestors had written on boards and banana leaves would hardly have
convinced many scholars. Let us therefore not be too ready to reject similar claims for ancient Peru, especially since it is known that the Peruvians at the time of European arrival had regular contacts with the peoples of the Panama isthmus and other Central American localities who practiced writing, and with whom the early Peruvians shared all other aspects of advanced high culture.

In the years immediately following the Conquest, Father Christóval de Molina (1570–84, p. 4), a priest in the hospital for the conquered Incas at Cuzco, had ample opportunity to collect traditional information. He recorded the following: “And first with regard to their idolatries, it is so that those people had no knowledge of writing. But in a house of the Sun called Poquen-Cancha, which is near Cuzco, they had the life of each of the Yncas, with the land they conquered, painted with figures on certain boards, and also their origin.” Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572, p. 200), upon consulting forty-two learned Inca amautas, or historians, recorded: “They heard their fathers and ancestors say that Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui, ninth Inga, who issued a general call to all the old historians of all the provinces he subjected, and even of many others more from all those kingdoms, and he kept them in the city of Cuzco for a long time, examining them concerning the antiquities, origin and notable facts of their ancestors of those kingdoms. And after he had well ascertained the most notable of their ancient histories he had it all painted after its order on large boards, and he placed them in a big hall in the house of the sun, where the said boards, which were garnished with gold, would be like our libraries, and he appointed learned men who could understand and explain them. And nobody could enter where those boards were, except the Inga, or the historians, without express license from the Inga.”

Father Fernando Montesinos (1642, pp. 18, 32, 58, 62) was the only chronicler to preserve contemporary traditions going back to the pre-Inca dynasties of Peru, by copying a most authoritative manuscript of the Quechua-speaking Blas Valera whose mother was with the Inca court. He writes of one of the earliest recorded pre-Inca rulers: “The amautas, who know the events of those times by very ancient traditions passed from hand to hand, say that when this prince [Sinchi Cozque Pachacuti I] was reigning there were letters, and also men very wise in them whom they call amautas, and that these men taught reading and writing. The principal science was astrology; as far as I am able to learn they wrote on the leaves of the plantain-tree which they dried and then wrote upon, . . . These letters were lost to the Peruvians through an event which befell in the time of Pachacuti Sixth, as we shall see in the proper place.”

Referring to the chasquis, or organized messengers, he says: “When they had letters and figures or hieroglyphs they wrote on the leaves of the plantain-tree, as we have said, and one chasqui would give the folded leaf to the next until it arrived in the hands of the king or of the governor. After they lost the use of letters, the chasquis passed the verbal message from one to another . . .” Finally, the old record claims that twenty-eight generations before the first Inca, in the reign of Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti V, great armies of fierce people came from the inland, and the people of Peru “had great wars in which they lost the letters, which had lasted up to that time.” And: “Thus was the government of the Peruvian monarchy lost and destroyed. It did not come to its own for four hundred years, and the knowledge of letters was lost.”

The traditional references in Peru to a former writing on both dried plantain leaves and wooden tablets concur remarkably with traditional and historic records on Easter Island rongo-rongo. Montesinos’ references to ancient Peruvian writing on banana leaves have bewildered many, however, since the banana or plantain is not a native plant of America. It was, therefore, difficult to accept the statements by the earliest chroniclers that the plantain was found by them not only in Peru but all along the upper reaches of the Amazon, as this would have involved pre-Columbian voyages to America. The plant geographer C. O. Sauer (1950, p. 527) shows that Montesinos does not stand

211
alone in his claims for the early presence of the species *Musa paradisiaca* (banana and plantain) in Peru: “Garcilasso de la Vega, Father Acosta, and Guaman Poma, all three of whom were attempting to distinguish aboriginal from introduced crops, stated that the platano (plantain) was of pre-Conquest cultivation in Peru.” W. H. Prescott (1847, p. 147) writes in his history of the conquest of Peru: "It is a mistake to suppose that this plant [banana] was not indigenous to South America. The banana-leaf has been frequently found in ancient Peruvian tombs." The ethnobotanist A. T. de Rochebrune (1879, pp. 346, 348), examining prehistoric plant remains in early tombs at Ancon on the Pacific coast of Peru, found the dried fruit of a banana without seeds and therefore belonging to the cultivated variety. H. Harms (1922, p. 166) also lists the plantain in his specific survey of the various plants identified in aboriginal Peruvian graves.

The painted boards in the house of the sun, which could be read by learned men, did not survive for posterity as they must have suffered the same fate on European arrival as the tablets of Easter Island, especially as they were “garnished with gold.” The historic population of Peru used “painted sticks as a memory supplement” (Bennett, 1949, p. 613), but were otherwise ignorant of any writing system as they had become accustomed to the use of *quipu*, an intricate system of knotted strings.

The picture writing of the South America Catia Indians of Colombia which, according to conquistadores, was sometimes painted and sometimes engraved on various materials has also been lost and no samples have survived. Recently, however, J. M. Cruxent, director of the museum in Caracas, discovered that a system of written communication was still in use among isolated Motilone tribes in the highlands near the Colombian border. The early Incas of Peru had direct contact with the Motilones (Montesinos, 1642, p. 117). Heine-Geldern (1950, p. 352) comments: “Dr. Cruxent announced the discovery, among the Motilones Indians of western Venezuela, of a system of picture-writing which in general character, as well as in details, so closely resembles the picture-writing of the Cuna Indians of eastern Panama and the script of Easter Island that the existence of some kind of connection can hardly be doubted.”

In recent years increasing interest has been shown in examples of picture writing noted since early historic times in the area around Lake Titicaca, and post-European samples have been collected. The lack of writing among the Incas made many suspect that this picture writing, found both among Aymara and Quechua tribes, was inspired by European writing, until Ibarra Grasso (1948) finally assembled all available evidence and demonstrated its extra-European origin. He, too, draws a parallel to the Cuna writing system (*Ibid.*, p. 117) and gives one example of this Andean script arranged in boustrophedon. In fact, a stone tablet from the Andes with ideograms placed in two lines shows that the second line did not merely continue in boustrophedonic relation to the first but was even placed upside down as on the Easter Island tablets. Contrary to the Cuna writing system, but precisely as on Easter Island, this Andean boustrophedon inscription also started at the left end of the lower line. We are here touching on a truly remarkable parallel between two geographically adjacent culture areas. At a round-table conference arranged in connection with the VII International Anthropologist Congress in Moscow in 1964, J. V. Knorozov (1964 b, p. 4), the noted Russian authority on *rongo-rongo*, pointed out that the system of “reversed boustrophedon” has been discovered in only two localities throughout the entire world: Peru and Easter Island.

This unique concurrence in basic writing systems calls also for a comparison of the symbols incorporated in the ideograms that survive in the religious art of these same two areas. We have found that the basic and constantly reappearing motifs in the embellishment of the *rongo-rongo* signs are: the human figure with a triangular or quadrangular head, large ears and three fingers on each hand; the bird with a sharply hooked beak like an eagle or a condor; the mammal with long legs, arched back, round head and a ferociously gaping mouth; and the fish. All other representations are clearly of
secondary importance, whereas these four motifs, or parts of them added to non-figurative symbols, completely dominate the rongo-rongo script. This is worthy of note when we recall that the four central elements in ancient Tiahuanaco religious concepts are precisely the human figure with quadrangular or triangular head, large ears and three-fingered hands, the hook-beaked condor, the feline, and the fish. In fact, in American archaeology the three-fingered hand is considered diagnostic of Tiahuanacoid influence. The symbols of the universal power of the supreme deity depicted in this manner are the puma, the condor, and the fish, representing the supreme deity's omnipotence on the earth, in the sky, and in the water.

As a characteristic sample of the religious ideograms and symbolism in the art of Tiahuanaco, we may examine the relief carvings on the monolithic "Gateway of the Sun" at the main cult center of that pre-Inca civilization (Fig. 44).

1) Three rows of bird-men carved in profile dominate the gateway. As on the wooden tablets of Easter Island, two types are represented: those with human heads and wings and those with bird's heads and wings. The latter have strongly hooked beaks exactly as on the bird-men dominating the
characters in the rongo-rongo script. While there were no birds with an eaglelike beak in the whole of Polynesia, the heads of the Tiahuanaco bird-men are that of the sacred condor of the Andes.

2) Each bird-man carries a vertical staff in his hand that is frequently seen among the bird-men in the rongo-rongo signs.

3) The bird-men on the Tiahuanaco gateway all have only three fingers and a thumb. This is precisely repeated on the bird-men among the Easter Island glyphs whenever fingers are indicated.

4) Placed centrally among the bird-men, all of which are carved in profile, is a human figure with a square head carved en face and recognized as the solar deity of the local cult. Correspondingly, the square- or triangular-headed human figures among the rongo-rongo signs are always shown en face in contrast to the bird and the mammal figures.

5) The human figure on the gateway also has three fingers, and carries a ceremonial staff in each hand. The human figures among the rongo-rongo signs are similarly often shown with a staff in the right or left hand, and the fingers, whenever represented, are restricted to three as on the bird-men.

6) Feather ornaments are worn by the central figure as well as by the surrounding bird-men on the Tiahuanaco gateway, and similar ornaments, worn by Easter Island chiefs, are reflected in the feather-strings frequently held by the figures in the rongo-rongo script (Fig. 45).

7) Double-headed creatures play an important part in the symbolism on the Tiahuanaco gateway. The upper end of one staff carried by the central deity is carved in the form of a double-headed bird. Another double-headed bird is centrally placed on the deity's body, and his girdle is carved as a double-headed feline. The staffs carried by most of the surrounding bird-men are also split on top and terminate as double heads, but these are carved as the double heads of fishes. As stated, double-headed creatures are among the most characteristic features in the Easter Island rongo-rongo.

8) The fish is an important ideogram on the gateway at Tiahuanaco. The deity carries a fish on his chest, and heads and tails of fishes are incorporated in the feather-crowns and plumed wings of the bird-men. We have seen that complete fishes, and fish heads and tails added to non-figurative symbols, are important elements in the Easter Island script.

9) The fish on the chest of the central deity (Fig. 42) is strongly curved to suggest a moon-shaped pectoral. Moon-shaped pectorals, worn as badges of rank on Easter Island, and sometimes shaped like a curved fish, continually recur as a symbol among the rongo-rongo glyphs.
10) The only mammal reproduced on the Tiahuanaco gateway is the puma. Six of the plumes radiating from the central deity’s feather-crown terminate in such feline heads, others are carved in pairs on his arms and on his girdle. The arch-backed, gaping mammal with a feline aspect is similarly the only quadruped among the Easter Island glyphs (Fig. 46). In Tiahuanaco, as in wide areas of the Americas, it symbolized the supreme deity’s power over land and earth. We do not know the meaning of this symbol in the Easter Island script, but an earlier quoted observation by Thomson (1889, pp. 481–82; this vol., Fig. 16 a, b) is relevant. Referring to the only mammal represented among the bird-men and marine creatures on the rocks of the ceremonial center of Orongo, which are now hardly recognizable, he wrote: “... the most common figure is a mythical animal, half human in form, with bowed back and long claw-like legs and arms. According to the natives, this symbol was intended to represent the god ‘Meke-Meke,’ the great spirit of the sea. The general outline of this figure rudely carved upon the rocks, bore a striking resemblance to the decoration on a piece of pottery I once dug up in Peru, while making excavations among the graves of the Incas.” Meke-Meke, or rather Makemake, was Easter Island’s main god, not only of the sea, but of the entire universe. Accordingly, the symbols of the supreme deity in Tiahuanaco and in Easter Island coincide by having the specific aspects of a feline, an animal non-existent in Oceania.

11) Across the loins of the central deity in Tiahuanaco runs a horizontal row composed of six conventionalized, square human masks without ears. The characteristic features of these masks, other than the square outline discussed above, are the perfectly circular eyes and a nose split at its upper end to branch into two curving eyebrows. The same Y-shaped nose with curving eyebrows, circular eyes and no ears are the typical features by which the Easter Island Makemake mask, as carved among the bird-men of Orongo, is identified although it is not incorporated as a symbol in the script.

12) The central figure on the Tiahuanaco gateway carries a ceremonial girdle carved in relief. The importance of a ceremonial girdle on Easter Island is indicated by so many of the otherwise completely naked stone statues having a rainbow-shaped girdle in relief across their backs. Barthel (1958 b, pp. 298–300), sees this traditional girdle as an important element also represented in some rongo-rongo signs.

13) The central Tiahuanaco deity carries two human heads as trophies suspended below his bent
elbows. Their ears are extremely long and pendent, with the extended lobes terminating in bird's heads hanging below the rest of the human head. These long-eared human heads reflect the statements in the old local traditions, that the Tiahuanaco stone monuments were carved by a "long-eared" people working under the direction of the personified sun god (Bandelier, 1910, pp. 304-5). We have seen that the Easter Islanders believe that their first written tablets reached their island with "long-eared" people coming from the east, and that long ears are carved on all Middle Period statues and all human figures among the rongo-rongo symbols.

14) The central, solar deity of Tiahuanaco and all the masks across his loins are represented without ears in marked contrast to the trophy heads he is carrying. This may possibly be interpreted to mean that the personified sun and solar symbols were not supposed to have ears, in contrast to mankind. On Easter Island all the hundreds of Middle Period ahu images representing individual human beings have notably prolonged ears; the basalt statue at Orongo, however, venerated by all tribes as the supreme god, had small ears and, as stated, the Makemake sun masks have no ears at all.

15) Twelve more naturalistic sun symbols, carved as double concentric circles and representing the sun as a celestial body and not as a god, are placed at the tip of as many plumes in the sun god's feather-crown at Tiahuanaco, and five more are suspended in a row below his chin. Various images of the sun are otherwise repeated throughout the composition. A corresponding type of non-personified sun symbol is also very common among the Easter Island glyphs.

16) The final ideogram recognized on the gateway at Tiahuanaco is vertical rows of small circles below the eyes of the central deity as well as below the eyes of all the surrounding bird-men. Symbolizing drops of rain, this "weeping-eye" motif is diagnostic of Tiahuanaco and Tiahuanacoïd influence over vast areas of Pacific South America (Fig. 47). A vertical row of small circles is present and common among the Easter Island rongo-rongo signs. Yet, only when the tear marks are painted down the chin of a human mask, as on the murals at the cult site of Orongo, can we say with certainty that the "weeping-eye" symbol is present among all the other Tiahuanacoïd ideograms on Easter Island.

17) As an additional analogy it should be stressed that the seemingly surrealistic practice of adding heads and limbs of birds, mammals, and fishes to the terminal ends of objects where they obviously do not at all belong is the most striking characteristic of Tiahuanaco and Tiahuanaco-influenced art. At the same time it is the very basic characteristic of the artistically embellished Easter Island rongo-rongo signs.

Fig. 47: Stone head from Tiahuanaco with tear drops incised on vertical bands below the eyes, with a chin beard, and a headgear resembling the Easter Island topknots (from Lehmann and Doering, 1924, Pl. 19).
Aberrant Sculptures in Wood and Stone

General description

There have been many misconceptions about Easter Island, but none has had such a firm grip on scholars and laymen alike as the belief that the art of Easter Island is stereotyped and without variety. A glance through the plates of the present volume suffices to show that, in fact, there is more variety and imagination in the art of this island than in that of any other island or island group in all of Polynesia with the possible exception of New Zealand. It is natural to ask, then, how such a wrong impression could have reached world-wide acceptance through statements in published literature, in view of the fact that there is museum evidence to the contrary.

There seem to be two basic reasons why we have been led astray. Firstly, the series of civil wars that continued right up to and even after the time of European discovery, caused the removal of all portable objects, leaving only the giant statues, all of one general type, scattered throughout the naked landscape. The lack of variety among these funerary monuments tells us no more about the degree of imagination of the Easter Islanders than the ever-present crosses in a Christian cemetery tell us about the imagination of the Christian artists. All these statues were intentionally made to resemble the supreme island deity represented by the Early Period image worshipped in the ceremonial center of Orongo (Pl. 5). Not until the first excavations were attempted on the island was it possible to learn that there was a clear heterogeneity in the statuary art of the earliest period (Pls. 2–4).

There is a second reason why the great variety of Easter Island motifs remained obscure. As soon as the missionaries landed they found the islanders in possession of masses of private figurines and written tablets. Wooden specimens were openly brought forth at pagan ceremonies. The missionaries ordered all pagan art to be destroyed. What was not immediately destroyed went quickly back into effective hiding. In fact, since all sculptures were of a religious nature the missionaries managed to repeat what had happened during the period of civil war: they had the surface of the island successfully cleared of any portable art objects. However, before this happened a variety of sculptures had been obtained by Captain Cook’s party and other early voyagers, and even in the decade when the missionaries reported that no more images or tablets existed on the island, remarkable specimens emerged behind their backs to reach private collections and public museums through lay visitors. Cook, Forster and other early travelers, like the missionaries themselves, emphasized the wide variety of, and great imagination behind, these Easter Island carvings. Mass production for commercial purposes started only when the early settler Salmon had seen the great interest in local figurines shown by the German Hyäne Expedition with Geiseler and Weisser in 1882 and the American Mohican Expedition with Thomson and Cooke in 1886. It soon became evident that certain wood figurines had a specific appeal to collectors, particularly the ribbed moai kavakava, the flat moai papa, the realistic moai tangata, and the written tablets, as well as some of the emblems of rank.
As mass production of these choice specimens flooded the world market from about 1886 onward, the student of ethnographica was left with the same impression as any visitor scanning the local landscape: there was a constant repetition and very little variety in Easter Island art.

How common were the now standard forms of Easter Island wood carving before the initiation of commercial sculpture? A survey of available material has convinced the writer that aberrant wood carvings of unique design are numerically far more common than the combined quantity of all standard sculptures datable to pre-commercial times. We have seen earlier that the vast number of bird-men figures of the type seen in Plate 38 that flooded the curios and ethnographica market are copies of a prototype of which only a single specimen of definite antiquity can be traced. Certainly the ribbed male figure in Plate 24 existed in considerable quantity before commercialization, but this is not due to a lack of imagination; it is merely due to the fact that the figure is meant to perpetuate the memory of a certain physical type. We have seen that the Easter Islanders themselves were very definite on this point, stating that the first of these figures was carved by their own immigrant ancestor Tuu-ko-ihu because he wanted to preserve the memory of the last survivors of the vanquished, adult Long-ears. The unrealistically flat female figure was also repeated by several artists. However, if we can assume that this again was due to the fact that the flat female always depicted the same deity, it is not a valid indication of lack of imagination any more than the constant repetition of the Virgin Mary in Christian art or the continued appearance of the flat earth-mother among tribes with an otherwise rich artistic output in the adjacent territories from Mexico to Peru. The beautiful and realistic moai tangata is similarly a clear attempt to sculpture a portrait figure of the divine progenitor of man. If we add to these figures certain standard emblems of rank for men and women with high positions in the community which, like royal paraphernalia and military insignia for us, are meant to identify the wearer by their recognized forms, we are left with a vast number of sculptures exhibiting a maximum variety in concept and detail. It is tempting to suspect that there is as large a number and variety of these aberrant figures as there are individual aku-aku or guardian genii on the island. In other words, the very few standard wood carvings depict matters of common importance to the entire island community while the great bulk of the carvings were of a strictly private nature. Since these untypical wood carvings met less response from collectors and scientists than standard types which could easily be identified as Easter Island products, they disappeared into obscurity wherever they ended up and, in the majority of cases, were not even put on exhibition in museums but kept in storage for those who had a special study of Easter Island in mind.

When it comes to small, portable stone sculptures, this is even more pronounced. No insignia of stone were worn by either men or women and the few previously mentioned portrait figures could be executed with finer detail and smoother polish in the excellent toromiro hardwood than in any of the generally coarse-grained or vesicular volcanic tuff and lava on the island. For this reason stone was reserved for the larger outdoor monuments and for the small, individual moai maeu or house effigies of the aku-aku class that were kept in the huts or hidden in the caves to give the owner mana and other magical advantages over the rest of the population.

When the belief in these crude house images began to slacken its firm grip on the population at the time of their conversion to Christianity, or when stray specimens came into the hands of individuals with a commercial mind, a considerable number of these small stone carvings began to leave the island with casual visitors. Since none of them was readily identified as of Easter Island style and workmanship, they, too, were treated as unimportant and at the best tucked away in museum storage rooms with few exceptions beyond the easily recognizable bird-man reliefs of Orongo style (Pls. 179–81). Individual moai maeu never came to be mass produced or commercialized, first because there was no demand, and second because those that were still in the possession of the islanders were associated with
religious superstition, to a much greater degree than the portrait figures and insignia. Stone sculptures able to stimulate the curio and souvenir market were only the large statues and the outdoor bird-man reliefs at Orongo both of which motifs inspired a mass production of small models. Combined with the few standard wood carvings, these small, blind busts and bird-man reliefs entered the minds of the general public and scholars alike as the only admissible art manifestations of Easter Island.

Although the aberrant sculptures in wood and stone are of such a heterogeneous nature that for practical purposes it has been found advisable to describe them individually in the Appendix, certain features are either fairly consistent or recur sufficiently often to merit special mention:

- **1) Individualistic figurines** in wood and stone dominate the aberrant sculptures on Easter Island. The most striking result of the art survey is the observation that each artist has felt free to, or compelled to, create an art object with a personal touch, and that only occasionally has one such sculpture been repeated more than once, either by the artist or by somebody else with access to his carving, probably a relative.

- **2) The head** is usually, but not always, disproportionately large since some of the aberrant wood carvings occasionally have heads with the same fairly realistic proportions as those we have termed portrait figures (*moai kavakava, moai tangata* and *moai papa*). In the bulk of carvings, however, represented by the wide variety of aberrant forms, the main efforts of the artists seem to have been concentrated on the head which often dwarfs the body, *e.g.*, Plate 107. This is even more noticeable in the stone carvings than in the wooden figures. As with the big monuments, the head usually accounts for \( \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{2} \) of the entire sculpture. In fact, very often a stone head is carved alone, either with or without a neck (Pls. 148–56, 185–94).

- **3) The eyes** are universally treated as the most important facial feature and are generally disproportionately large. They are invariably carved even if mouth, ears, or other features are absent. The petroglyphs representing the supreme god Makemake are often composed of eyes and eyebrows only. The erroneous and widespread idea that the Easter Islanders carved eyeless images derives from the fame of the standing, half-buried Rano Raraku statues whose eyes were never completed until after transport to an *ahu*. The eyes of figurines are generally either almond-shaped or carved as large, raised or incised concentric rings. Generally the eyes are bulging and in many cases the pupils are represented by an inlay.

- **4) Inlaid eyes** are common, particularly on wood figurines. Bone or shell rings with a central disk of obsidian are pasted into cylindrical sockets carved in the eye area. More rarely the obsidian inlay is inserted without the bone or shell ring. In many instances the inlay is present in only one eye while the center of the other eye is merely a deep cylindrical depression (*e.g.*, PIs. 79, 156 i) and in other cases both eyes consist of two such empty sockets (*e.g.*, PIs. 61 b, 153 b). In the former case it is obvious that the inlay of one eye has fallen out and the same is probably true of the examples where both eyes have deep, empty sockets, since remains of a paste is sometimes present in the cavity. The fact that inlays were formerly present in some of the Easter Island stone sculptures (Pls. 150, 151, 153 b, 155 a, 156 i, 157 d, 160, 161) has generally been ignored. An added reason for suspecting that some of the stone figurines, and in fact even the large Middle Period statues, formerly had eye inlays where today there are only two deep cavities, lies in the very shape of these cavities. When the island artists wanted to represent a skull they would carve the empty sockets as large bowl-shaped depressions obviously not meant for inlay (Pls. 198–200, 289, 296, 297). Where eye concavities occur in facial features, however, they are not bowl-shaped, but have vertical walls adapted to the retention of an inlay. There is no reason to believe that the Easter Islanders should carve realistically
convex eyes on all their other wood and stone images and suddenly diverge from this practice by carving deep sockets on some sculptures, unless they were intended for an inlay.

5) **Eyebrows** are very often strongly emphasized, perhaps to draw added attention to the eyes, which are themselves so important. Eyes and eyebrows with no other accompanying features occasionally occur incised on boulders and slabs. Such a composition, well known to the contemporary islanders, is referred to as Makemake eyes. Makemake was the supreme god of the Easter Islanders which in the Early Period of solar worship was identifiable with the sun god. A common and characteristic feature in both wood and stone sculpture is that the eyebrows continue around the outer corners of the eyes to become sagging pouches under them, giving a gogglelike impression (e.g., Pls. 2 b, 71). The gradual transformation from eyebrow to sagging pouch can be more or less distinct but is very often present even on *moai kavakava*. Another characteristic feature, particularly among stone carvings, is that the nose is often split at the top and branches into two curving eyebrows (e.g., Pls. 60, 150, 167).

6) **The nose** assumes a wide variety of forms. It is carved with or without flaring nostrils, and nasal openings are as often present as not. Very frequently the nasal ridge is surprisingly high and narrow in the wood carvings although it is seldom as aquiline in the heterogeneous images as on the standard portrait types. Aquiline noses are, however, sometimes present on these figures (e.g., Pl. 79).

7) **Nasal orniments** are occasionally carved, notably on stone heads. They take the form of curled mustachios extending from the alae of the nose (Fig. 35, Pls. 55 b, 185, 187 d, 216 a, b).

8) **Beards** are very important in Easter Island sculpture. Goatee beards, always present on the *moai kavakava*, are often repeated on heterogeneous sculptures in both stone and wood (e.g., Pls. 86, 161). Sometimes the goatee is reduced to a chin beard indicated by a relief band or vertical incisions (e.g., Pls. 67, 150). What is more remarkable is that a long, flowing beard also appears in Easter Island art (Pls. 114 c, d, 189, Fig. 33). As opposed to the goatee and chin beards, this impressive, full beard does not play such an important part among the aberrant figurines as on the reliefs which so often appear on the heads of the standard portrait figures (Pls. 35–36). In one case the beak of a trick figure bird-man becomes a split, full beard of a human being when seen from a different angle (Pl. 139).

9) **The ears** show as much variation as does the nose. To some artists they are so unimportant that they are hardly indicated, or may even be absent (e.g., Pls. 118, 148), whereas other artists strive to show large ears, sometimes even with plugs inserted (e.g., Pls. 88, 188). In some very few cases the ears are given a peculiar treatment. Plates 216 a, b and 217 show human heads with ears carved in the shape of frogs or lizards. Plates 79, 165 c (right) show the ears carved in the shape of a reversed S, and in Plates 83 a, 142, and 143 they are carved as spirals. The treatment of the ear in Plate 83 a is particularly strange since it is actually the eyebrows that curl into a spiral at the side of the head to form the ears. The wooden head in Plate 98 a (left) and, as described in the Appendix, the stone head in Plate 154 a have a peculiar band in relief connecting the ear with the eyebrows near the outer corner of the eye.

10) **The mouth** is represented in a large variety of shapes and sizes. The lips very often appear as a band in low relief surrounding a narrow, horizontal groove (Pls. 82, 156 c). Sometimes, however, only the groove is carved (Pls. 118 a, 153 b). In other cases the lips are parted and the teeth exposed (Pls. 85, 189). In some cases the lips are closer together at the center than at the corners (Pls. 79, 156 b), as on the *moai kavakava*. More rarely, the lips are carved as a raised ring, a rounded rectangle, or an oval (Pls. 68, 69, 270 b, 279). In some cases the chin beard is carved as a direct extension from the lower lip (Pls. 150, 154 a). The tongue is rarely represented (Pls. 107, 155 a). Exceptionally, the corners of the mouth are drawn out and curve upward or downward resembling mustachios (Pls. 187 a, 215 a [top mask]). This motif also appeared on a mask drawn for Lavachery in 1934, as shown on the
The masked person to the right in Figure 18. In some rare cases, the lips are cut by parallel rows of transversal incision lines resembling the stitched mouth of a mummy (Pl. 154 a), a feature still seen on some of the large monuments. Generally speaking, the lips of the more realistic carvings are thin (Pls. 89, 165 b) as on the portrait figures.

- 11) A heart-shaped head is not uncommon among stone statues as exemplified by Plates 190, 194. Heart-shaped facial outlines are also found in stone sculptures (Pls. 166, 167) and more commonly in petroglyphs (Ferdon, 1961, Fig. 63). An excellent relief of a heart-shaped mask is seen in Plate 274 a. It is hard to explain this abnormal shape that occurs on the feline heads of the tapa figures in Plates 22, 23, in the wood carving in Plate 143, and in the stone sculpture in Plate 230 a.

- 12) The neck of some stone heads is carved in the shape of a peg as if intended to be fitted into a socket or set in the ground (e.g., Pls. 155 c, 164 a). In some other cases, the neck extends horizontally backwards, as if it had been intended to be mortised into a wall like a gargoyle (Pls. 193 a, 230 a).

- 13) Suspension strings were used on wooden figurines only, with very few exceptions such as the small stone pendants in Plates 165 c, 171 a. Their presence is indicated by perforations usually at the back of the neck of a figure (e.g., Pls. 109, 138), but in some animal carvings these are even placed on the ventral side (Pls. 125 a, 131).

- 14) The body is usually unimportant and may have any form. Very often it is too small in proportion to the head (Pls. 107, 157), particularly in the stone sculptures, where it is even frequently omitted (Pls. 95 a, 96 b, 97, 148–56).

- 15) Ribs are sometimes shown in wooden figurines, even among those that are not variations of the moai kavakava (Pl. 113), and they are also present in exceptional cases in stone carving (Pl. 160).

- 16) Arms are more important than legs and are rarely omitted. In the heterogeneous forms of aberrant sculpture they can be carved in any position, but as a rule they are extremely slim and non-muscular. The conventional position with the arms flexed at right angles at the elbows is seen both in the stone and the wood carvings, although, while not universal as on the large stone statues, it is more common among the stone figurines. The arms are often partly separated from the body by a slot, particularly among the wooden sculptures (e.g. Pl. 62).

- 17) The hands, when present, are universally carved in relief against the body. In the aberrant figurines they may be held in front, on the back, or against the throat. More often they hang straight down the thigh, or the fingers are pointed towards each other on the abdomen (e.g., Pls. 72, 74, 78, 84–86). The latter is the most common position found among the stone figurines. In a few instances, the fingers are extremely long and slender as on the large stone statues (e.g., Pl. 72). As in the rongo-rongo signs, hands with three fingers and a thumb are occasionally present (e.g., Pls. 120, 172–73). Hands are in some cases carved as separate art objects (Pls. 94, 202–3). One of these rare specimens in wood, collected by Knoche, is illustrated by Macmillan Brown (1924, facing p. 164) but the writer has not been able to locate its present whereabouts.

- 18) Legs and feet are undoubtedly less important than the arms, as they are usually stunted, completely out of proportion and, in the case of stone carvings, often entirely absent. A slot sometimes separates the two legs. The feet are so short and hooflike that toes, when represented, are usually carved as a row of vertical incisions. In some instances this characteristic is so exaggerated that the heel projects as much or even more than the toes (e.g., Pl. 81 b). The sole is often convex and figurines with feet, whether of wood or stone, are unable to stand upright. In exceptional cases, feet are carved as independent art objects both in wood and stone (Pls. 95, 159, 201, 202).

- 19) Skulls are important in Easter Island stone sculpture (Pls. 195–200, 297 a–c), but of the two known wooden examples one is modern, or has at least been modified in modern times (Pl. 147 f), and the other appears to be a cranium although it has a nose and other facial features (Pl. 96 b).
20) Magic depressions remained unnoticed in Easter Island art until their function connected with mana was pointed out by cave owners in 1955. Whatever was inserted in these depressions still remains unclear, but their presence even on some of the earliest pre-missionary sculptures can be verified (e. g., Pls. 36, 89 b, 162, 172). In some instances where these magic cups occur on stone crania they have a remarkable resemblance to trepanation openings (Pls. 196, 198 a).

21) Bird-men are extremely important in Easter Island art. Although the standard forms usually seen today are all imitations of one pre-commercial prototype, the aboriginal art includes a considerable number of heterogeneous forms both in wood and stone. The great majority of these bird-men are represented as a male human figure with a long-beaked bird’s head (e. g., Pls. 38–41, 136–37). The arms are either substituted by wings or the figure is carved in such a way that it appears to have long fingers, resembling ribs, on the chest as well as wings folded down the sides or on the back. A short bird’s tail is nearly always carved like a fan or a tassel above the human buttocks. Only in rare cases is this composition reversed, and it then consists of a bird’s body and limbs with a human head (e. g., Pls. 116, 261 b, Fig. 65). A variety of the same long-beaked bird-man is extremely common in stone reliefs and is then invariably represented without wings, with an arched back and with the eyes carved as large circles or sometimes as a dot and circle (e. g., Pls. 179, 265). There is a marked difference between the long beak, sometimes curved at the tip on the sculptured bird-man, and the short, hooked beak like that of a bird of prey occurring among the rongo-rongo signs.

22) Birds of various kinds are the most commonly represented animals in Easter Island art, which is otherwise dominated by human figurines. They are carved in wood as well as in stone and can sometimes be fairly realistic (Pls. 132–35 c, 257–60). As with human figurines, the head is sometimes carved alone as a separate sculpture (Pls. 135 a, 175 b, 256, 261 a).

23) Reptiles are very common among Easter Island carvings. Although wooden specimens are restricted to the standard and somewhat anthropomorphic moko, heterogeneous forms of reptiles in stone are common (e. g., Pls. 241 d–43). The sculpture in Plate 218 is the first ever to combine the mythological moko with a human figure and thereby reveal its great dimensions. Turtles are discussed under marine animals.

24) Frogs and toads are completely absent from the island fauna and yet froglike animals have survived in some of the motifs behind Easter Island art. They were first pointed out by the Spaniards in 1770 (see p. 36) who recognized among the tattoo figures “a small animal resembling a toad, or frog which they call cogé.” Most probably it is the same animal, strongly reminiscent of a frog, which occurs on a number of the sculptures in storage caves (Pls. 216–17, 238–41).

25) Mammals of a more or less realistic appearance are not uncommon. The rat, which was the only mammal found among the Easter Islanders on European arrival, is rare among the wood carvings where it almost loses its identity as a variant of the standard moko (Pis. 140 a, 141 a). Among the aberrant stone sculptures, however, it is more common either in composite carvings or carved independently in relief, and sometimes in the round on slabs (e. g., Pls. 226–29). Felines reappear in various forms in Easter Island art. As shown above, eroded reliefs of felines with claws and arched backs were observed by early visitors. They occur with the same arched backs and gaping mouths among the rongo-rongo signs, and are reflected in the snouted animal heads of the tapu headwear (Pis. 22, 23, Fig. 32). Stylized in wood the feline appears in Plates 142, 143, possibly even in the animal figure incorporated in the phallic fire-rubbing instrument (Pl. 144). It is clearly recognizable among the more realistic stone specimens from the caves (Pis. 230–31 a). It is probably also the inspiration behind the sphinx which is one of the most beautiful Easter Island carvings (Pl. 237). The realistic feline in Plate 231 a might represent the now common, wild island cat which, according to native traditions, was originally introduced by their own ancestors. This cannot explain the stylized sculpture in
Plate 230 a, however, which clearly reflects an artistic tradition. The canine species are present and are sometimes very realistic (Pl. 231 b, c), but although the islanders insist that dogs were known to their earliest ancestors, the sculpture, found only in historic storage caves, could well represent the introduced European dogs. Rabbits are found in a few sculptures (Pl. 235) coming from historic storage caves and definitely date these sculptures to the only period when such animals were present on the island, from 1866 to about 1877. Although the horse is well known by all Easter Islanders as a European introduction, a number of obvious horse reliefs and sculptures of horses' heads were stored in the caves, thus testifying to their own post-European origin (Pl. 234). While horses are still common, the donkey, which the missionaries attempted to introduce in 1866, for some reason did not survive, although it is also apparently represented in the cave sculptures. It is noteworthy that cattle, and particularly sheep which are extremely plentiful on the island, do not appear among the cave sculptures although they were introduced by Europeans at the same time. A mammal resembling a llama more than a horse, because of its long neck and short tail, is also present (Pl. 234 f) and is possibly identifiable with a mythical creature termed kekepu shown in Plate 232 c, d. Métraux (1940, pp. 64–65), inquiring about the animals known to the first immigrant ancestors, recorded: “Tepano tried to convince me that cats and dogs were among the animals which came at that remote period. He alluded also to the kekepu, a rather strange beast which was very like a ‘pig or a cow’ but is probably a large turtle which has disappeared from the island. On the other hand, pigs, cattle, horses, and sheep were admittedly of very recent introduction.” When the islanders described the kekepu to us, they stressed that it had a very long neck and exposed front teeth. The long neck must also have been particularly emphasized in their description of the same animal to Father Sebastian Englert (1948, p. 460) since he lists it in his dictionary as follows: “Kekepu (= kepukepu), an animal which, according to the description of it given by our interpreters could be an ostrich.” Traditions clearly make the kekepu a long-necked mammal and neither a turtle nor a bird. A number of mammals are too stylized to be identifiable, among them the remaining images in Plates 232–33 and 236. Whales are discussed in the following section.

26) Marine animals are common in both wood and stone, and in addition to turtles and whales, they comprise a considerable number of fishes and fish heads, including eels, sailfish, moonfish, and flying fish, as well as langostas, crabs, various molluscs, octopuses, and the chiton (Pls. 125–29, 176, 177, 248–55). The turtle is very important in Easter Island art and is carved in both wood and stone. It is sometimes incised and sometimes carved in the round (Pls. 52 d, 131, 174, 246 c).

27) Mating figurines are not uncommon but appear only among the moai maea or mana stones brought forth from caves. They sometime represent mating turtles or mating eels (Pls. 247 a, 252 b, c), but mating is also shown between heterogeneous species, and in such cases one of the partners appears to be a monster (Pls. 220, 221, 247 b). A single instance of copulating human beings has been collected (Pl. 222).

28) Monsters are extremely frequent both in wood and in stone. They may sometimes be strictly anthropomorphic representations made to appear intentionally grotesque (e. g., Pls. 104, 190), or they may be carved as a mixture of man and beast (e. g., Pls. 110, 173, 237).

29) Double-headed figurines are among the most consistently recurring monsters in the art of Easter Island. As in numerous signs in the rongo-rongo script, they also appear among the carvings in wood and stone. Both animal and human figures are included in this category. Sometimes both heads are facing forwards, sometimes one to each side, and sometimes one forwards and one backwards like a Janus head. Variations in these double-headed figures are carved as opposing busts joined at the waist, or even in the form of a Janus head as an individual sculpture (Pls. 97–103, 164 a, 165, 213, 214 a, b, 270 a, 273 c–i).
30) Plants apparently never occur in Easter Island wood carving unless we consider the tahonga in Plate 51 a as representing a coconut, distinguishing it from all other pendants of this category. It could be disputed whether the containers with stoppers in Plate 52 c, d represent ceramic jars or gourd containers. Some stone sculptures might illustrate food plants. A few stone carvings identified by their owners as representing sprouting sweet potatoes emerged from the caves (e.g., Pl. 272 c) and it seems likely that the peculiar sculptures in Plates 166, 167 represent some knobby, tropical fruit given a human face. The idea of decorating art objects with flowers or leaves never occurred to the Easter Islanders.

31) Artifacts in wood and stone are very common on Easter Island, but sculptures of any of them for magical or ceremonial purposes are entirely restricted to stone with the exception of the wooden jar pendants in Plate 52 c, d. It could be argued, however, that the small, ceremonial dance paddles, as exemplified in Plate 57 a–c, are models of the long utilitarian paddle in Plate 57 d, yet they are in themselves proper dance paraphernalia. The cave sculptures do, however, depict in fragile lava such artifacts as clubs, paddles, ceramic jars, bowls, cups, wooden ornaments like tahonga and rei-miro, mataa spear points, reed boats, etc. (Pls. 270–89). The purpose of these lava sculptures is obscure apart from the fact that they are too fragile or too porous to be used as the implement they represent, and thus obviously serve some magic and/or mnemonic purpose.

32) Stone jugs and vases with obvious ceramic prototypes were among some of the specially interesting sculptures found in Easter Island storage caves. Samples are illustrated in Plates 276 and 277.

33) Relief plaques are extremely common on Easter Island and are invariably carved in stone. They frequently depict bird-men, human figures, and various types of animals, but also rongo-rongo signs and artifacts (e.g., Pls. 162, 163, 179–181, 209–211, 242, 250, 264–270).

34) Masks were formerly used on Easter Island, as testified by local tradition (Métraux, 1940, pp. 139–40). Authentic specimens are not preserved, but mask motifs were drawn for the members of the Franco-Belgian Expedition in November 1934 and subsequently presented by Dr. Lavachery to the Kon-Tiki Museum, together with a collection of his original drawings from the island. These mask designs are reproduced here in Figure 18, and a paper mask imitating those reportedly worn by a birdman dancer is shown in Plate 184 f. It is possible that these masks, like the historically recorded paina figures and the stuffed figurines in Plates 16–23 were made from tapa since wood of adequate dimensions was not present on the island at least in the Late Period. This possibility is strengthened by the information recorded by Métraux (Ibid) from Easter Island, stating that “masks are termed manu uru, the term used for tapa kites and tapa images.” Conclusive evidence of the fact that masks were used on Easter Island in former times is shown by the bird-man depicted in Plates 40–41 which clearly shows a human being wearing a long-beaked, bird’s mask. Some of the stone faces in Plates 190, 191, 194 might well be masks since they are completely flat and some slightly concave behind.

35) Reed boats, as earlier shown (Figs. 21–23, 26, 27), are often illustrated in Easter Island art, in petroglyphs and in mural paintings, and they also occur in considerable numbers among the cave sculptures (Pls. 278–89). We have seen with Bishop Jausen, who received his information from the first missionaries able to communicate with the population, that the rei-miro pectoral represented the large, moon-shaped vessels that brought their ancestors to the island (Pls. 44–47). This traditional claim is strengthened by cave stone sculptures like those in Plates 270, 278, which form a clear link between the realistic representations of the reed boat (e.g., Pls. 280–87) and the rei-miro. Remarkable details to be noted on various lava models of these ancestral vessels are the small sails with masts mortised into the deck, the peculiar occurrence of anthropomorphic heads at one or both ends of the vessel, and the thick cord running around the deck.
- 36) **Composite sculptures**, of which there are no standard types, are common in both wood and stone. Some of the most remarkable examples of wooden specimens are shown in Plates 120–24, while examples in stone, which are far more common, appear, for instance, in Plates 212–27, including the mating figures discussed above. Some of the composite figures are so remarkable that they will be listed separately, although most of them are unique examples of their kind.

- 37) **The boat and beast composition** (Pls. 288–89) is unique and is undoubtedly meant to relate a tradition of which no living memory survives.

- 38) **The woman with burden** is a motif repeated more than once yet never in an identical form. In Plates 224–25 she is shown carrying a fish strapped to her back, in Plate 218 she carries a reptile the size of a continental iguana, and in Plate 212 b (Fig. 48) she carries a child. This motif, like most others, occurs only in stone, since the wooden female figure in Plate 120 has a small male joined upside down to her neck and is not carrying it.

- 39) **Heterogeneous animal combinations** are restricted to stone, although man and animal compositions do exist in wood (Pls. 122, 124). Examples of strange combinations are given in Plates 244, 299 c. Mating specimens are discussed earlier.

- 40) **The hand with a cutting tool** in the form of a short-handled mataa was found in two instances. One example is illustrated in Plate 203 a. Mataa are otherwise occasionally represented as symbolic decorations on figures of wood and tapa. An example of the latter is shown in Plate 21.

- 41) **The tassel symbol** is common in sculptures whenever meant to represent a mythical hybrid of bird and man (e.g., Pls. 38, 41) or bird and beast (e.g., Pls. 42, 43, 143). With the exception of the stone bird-man in Plate 262 c, which seems to be intended to represent a wooden tangata manu, the tassel symbol is entirely restricted to wood carving.

- 42) **The turtle- or bird-rider** is a peculiar motif that is repeated several times (Pls. 292, 293). Although the animal in the most realistic specimens collected clearly appears to be a turtle (Pl. 292), many of the others resemble a bird more than a turtle. It is probable that bird prototypes do occur since a recently carved bird with a human head emerging from its back was observed in Pedro Atan’s false cave where no specimens were collected. Furthermore, the modern wood carving in Plate 147 g had entered the collection of the Übersee Museum in Bremen in 1954, a year before our Norwegian Expedition reached the island. The feather-cloaked person carved on the back of the turtle in Plate 291 is probably another variety of the same tradition.

- 43) **The masked bird-man** is known from a single wood carving on Easter Island, differing from the standard tangata manu mainly in having the long-beaked bird mask lifted up sufficiently to reveal a human face beneath (Pls. 40–41). This remarkable sculpture may indicate that the other wooden tangata manu also illustrate masked men disguised as birds.

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Fig. 48: Female bust carrying child on eroded basalt boulder shown in Plate 212 b.
Interlocking faces and trick figures are among the most remarkable concepts in Easter Island art. Interlocking faces are invariably carved in stone. They range from triple heads, which seem to be a further evolution from the Janus head as demonstrated by comparing Plate 215 c with Plate 164 a, to stones with three masks where the beard of one merges with that of another on the opposite side (Pl. 215 b). In the most perfect form (Pl. 215 a, Fig. 29) they consist of a face at the top, whose beard and curved mustache coincide with the nose and curving eyebrows of a second, central face with a similar beard and mustache forming the nose and eyebrows of a third face below. Trick figures is a term we have chosen for sculptures with motifs that change according to the angle from which they are viewed. The above mentioned sculpture with three superimposed and interlocking human masks is in a sense a variety of the trick figures since the motif changes according to where the observer focuses his attention. The most striking trick figures are the bird-men whose heads are those of long-beaked birds when seen in profile, and of bearded men when seen from certain other angles, especially from directly above. Although this is a concept which seems to belong to the wood carvings, there is at least one version in stone (Pls. 38–39, 113, 114 c, d, 138–39, 262 c–63). Analogous but less obvious specimens are Plates 134 a, 136 b–37.

To sum up, the most striking characteristic of the aberrant sculptures on Easter Island is the seemingly unrestricted variety. Only a few motifs seem to be part of an art tradition, if not in detail or execution, at least in idea.

Possible inspirations

The importance of aberrant art forms on Easter Island has never been properly understood. However, a survey of all the sculptures formerly as well as recently collected on the island now makes it obvious that, although the large funerary statues follow one model, heterogeneity rather than homogeneity is typical of the local art.

With such a great variety in styles and motifs, it might appear difficult to find indications of extra-island inspiration. Yet, having tentatively separated out forty-four elements, we may look to adjacent geographical territories for comparisons. By adjacent territories is meant western South America with Mexico beyond, and eastern Polynesia with the other islands as far as Melanesia behind. This wide background area is included although it is fully realized that meso-American concepts could hardly have reached Easter Island without coastal Peru as a stepping stone, and still less could ideas from Hawaii, New Zealand, or distant Melanesia have reached this lonely island in the teeth of contrary winds and currents unless the Marquesas group or the dense chain of atolls in the Tuamotu archipelago had served as stepping stones. The area on the American side that has been most frequently suspected in this and earlier publications as a possible source for Easter Island culture is that dominated by the Tiahuanaco culture from the Titicaca region to the Pacific coast of ancient Peru. Similarly, the area on the island side generally suspected as a point of origin for the settlers of Easter Island is the Marquesas group. The Tiahuanaco-influenced area of ancient Peru and the Marquesas group of Eastern Polynesia should therefore naturally be the two areas warranting special attention, while sporadic parallels restricted to more remote background areas in both America and Oceania should be valued in proportion to their geographical distance. Obviously, certain important elements looming in the background areas might formerly have existed even in the intervening region, their presence on these stepping stones subsequently having been lost. For this reason, a wider area than that comprising the suspected regions of Peru and the Marquesas Islands has been included in the discussion.
Features that, as may be judged from the detailed description and illustrations, are specific to Easter Island only are not discussed. At the same time others are omitted because they are common both to the American mainland and the Polynesian islands. However, to the knowledge of the writer, nothing has been omitted that could indicate influence from one direction only. In judging this material, which is sometimes produced by unrelated peoples, we have looked beyond the obvious and often marked stylistic differences to basic concepts behind the carvings. As far as possible, sculptures are compared with counterparts of the same material, but here again the concept itself is given priority. Since Easter Island is rich in lava and very poor in clay, its inhabitants would not be able to produce, for instance, ceramic effigy jars like their neighbors on the desert coast of Peru who, in turn, were almost entirely deprived of workable stone.

For convenience in discussing the forty-four points we shall refer to the restricted high-culture area from Mexico to ancient Peru, including the Tiahuanaco-influenced regions, as "the American side," and to the vast area west of Easter Island from Hawaii to the north and New Zealand to the south as "the Island side."

1) Individualistic figurines, as opposed to conventionalized figurines, have a very restricted distribution in the area surrounding Easter Island. However, they are common on what we have termed "the American side," where, as on Easter Island, they are carved both in wood and in stone, and because of the universal presence of excellent clay they are also produced in ceramic all the way from Mexico to Peru. In highland Peru including Tiahuanaco, where excellent stone is plentiful, all three materials are utilized in the production of figurines. However, due to the scarcity or absence of workable stone, pottery figurines and effigy jars dominate the entire coastal desert area all the way from the borders of present Ecuador well down into present Chile. This is the coastal region concurring with the Pacific shoreline occupied by the highland Inca and which was even earlier under the religious and artistic influence of the highland Tiahuanaco culture. As on Easter Island, although the flat earth-mother was constantly repeated, and although the heterogenous statuary art froze into conventionalized forms in the Late or Classic Tiahuanaco Period, individualistic figurines in all available material continued to dominate the aboriginal art of ancient Peru throughout all periods. On the Island side, conventionalized figurines in both stone and wood were present, but not universally. As Emory (1928, p. 118) states, "It should be noted that no stone human images are recorded from central Polynesia or Micronesia, and extremely few from Melanesia." Individualistic carvings were conspicuously absent throughout aboriginal Polynesia. In fact, throughout this area, artists strove to follow the conventions in both style and motif characteristic of individual island groups. Linton (1923, pp. 344–46, 441) shows: "Stone figures appear to be entirely lacking in Samoa and Tonga, but small figures are found throughout most of marginal Polynesia. They are numerous only in the Marquesas. Fish figures are found in Hawaii, the Marquesas and Society Islands, although there is little information as to their use and significance in Hawaii. Small human figures occur in Hawaii* and the Society Islands**, but are rare in these localities. The little kuruma gods of New Zealand are well known and appear to

* To this statement of Linton can be added that stone statues and, according to Emory, stone figurines are not a real part of the aboriginal Hawaiian culture. As an exception Emory points out the small stone statuettes archaeologically found on the isolated and uninhabited Necker Island, that he suggests resemble Tiahuanaco stone sculpture. In the same connection he writes (1928, pp. 111–12): "Few genuine Hawaiian stone figures are known and these are the roughest crudities, lacking in uniformity. The body is slightly shaped, the limbs barely, if at all indicated. The arms, when shown, rest on the abdomen. Sex is not indicated. . . . obviously they were very rarely made."

** The small stone statuettes from the Society Islands, notably Tahiti and Moorea, are crude and primitive busts lacking in variety and artistic skill (e. g., Heyerdahl, 1965, Pl. 56 j, k).
be fairly common*. The figures from the different localities seem to conform in every case to the local convention and have little in common.” He goes on to say, “Small wooden figures were probably made by the Marquesans in ancient times, although the few examples known seem to be post European.” Linton further shows that the small stone human figures in the Marquesas were of only two types, single and double, the latter merely consisting of two of the former placed back to back. All the single figures are of one standard type, with such an extreme lack of variation between them that any distinction is purely arbitrary. Distant Melanesia shows far more imagination in the wood-shaping art, but stone figurines in human form are extremely rare and portrait figures are lacking.

If outside inspiration is sought for the individualistic, non-conventionalized figurines dominating the portable sculptures of Easter Island, the American side, and notably nearby Peru, is a likely source as opposed to the Island side including the Marquesas Islands.

2) **The head**, as stated, is generally disproportionately large in statuary art both on the American side, including Tiahuanaco, and on the Island side, including the Marquesas. In smaller carvings from Peru, the head can have more realistic proportions as is the case on Easter Island where even some of the aberrant figurines follow the portrait figures in having a less exaggerated size of head. On the Island side, half a dozen wooden statues from Mangareva are unusual in having realistic proportions between head and legs, but there the eyes and stunted arms show a strange abstraction (Dodd, 1967, pp. 260–61). Whereas extremely realistic representations of the human head are present in the art of both Peru and Easter Island (e. g., Pls. 312 i–m, 36), they are absent in the art of the Island side and most notably in that of the Marquesas group.

The combination of realistic and conventionalized heads in the art of Easter Island shows more affinity to Peru than to any area on the Island side.

3) **The eyes** are treated with the same importance as on Easter Island in the statuary art of both sides. In the stone carvings of both Tiahuanaco and the Marquesas, the eyes are given prodigious proportions. In the Marquesas, however, they are invariably enormous, covering most of the face, irrespective of the size of the sculpture. The eye can often be realistically represented both in size and shape on Easter Island as in Peru (e. g., Pls. 89, 313 i–m, 317 e), whereas this is rarely the case on the Island side, and certainly not in the Marquesas group.

In the treatment of the eyes, the same conclusion is valid as for the head in general.

4) **Inlaid eyes** of shell with obsidian pupils are very common in Mexico, where they occur in both larger stone statues and figurines of both stone and wood. A series of excellent specimens including life-sized statues, stone heads, and figurines of both materials are preserved in the National Museum of Mexico City. Shell inlaid eyes are very common also in ancient Peru, notably in the wood carving and on mummy masks (Pls. 317, e, f, n), and date back to very early times on the coast. A realistic wooden head with almond-shaped eyes inlaid with shell surrounding an obsidian disk is known from Pachacamac on the central Peruvian coast, datable to the early Coast Tiahuanaco culture (Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, pp. 30, 96). On the Island side, shell inlaid eyes are common in the wood carvings of Hawaii and New Zealand as well as Melanesia. In Maori art, shell inlays occasionally also occur in the greenstone hei tiki pectorals, but otherwise inlaid eyes are not present on stone images in either

* In spite of the common occurrence of posts and pinnacle images in Maori art, free-standing wooden figurines are extremely rare in New Zealand, as shown in a special study by T. T. Barrow (1959, pp. 111–20). Barrow shows that they all have six special features in common, which are: a) regularity in size, 39–48 cm.; b) free-standing and ered stance with hands on abdomen; c) feet adzed below for standing upright; d) tie holes on the head for attachment of human hair; e) absence of surface decoration other than that representing facial tattoo, and large spirals on the buttocks; f) all of male sex. None of these points conforms with Easter Island art. He summarizes (Ibid., p. 117), “Indeed the most remarkable feature of these images is their consistency, that is their conformity to a traditional pattern.”
Polynesia or Melanesia. In the Marquesas inlaid eyes are altogether unknown, both in stone and wooden images. Since shell inlaid eyes in Polynesia are not present on stone sculptures, except for the Maori hei tiki, and are found only on wooden images on islands far from Easter Island, their distribution on a direct oversea voyage from Peru seems more feasible than an introduction by island voyagers bypassing the Marquesas Islands, the very area assumed to be the starting point for the Polynesian settlers of Easter Island.

5) **Eyebrows** carved as the curving branches of a split nose are a specific peculiarity of a large number of stone statuettes on the American side all the way from meso-America down to ancient Peru. They are considered a characteristic feature in Tiahuanaco stone heads, and samples are shown in Plates 302, 309. Another specific feature of Tiahuanaco heads, as opposed to those of other American regions, is that the eyebrows often continue around the outer corner of the eyes, to transform the upper cheeks into sagging pouches below the eyes. This feature is a very common one on Easter Island. The facial design formed by the nose splitting into two curving eyebrows is occasionally found in Melanesia, but is in Polynesia a feature belonging only to Marquesan art. Although a raised ridge is usually carved around the huge Marquesan eye, it does not form sagging pouches on the upper cheeks, however, nor is this ridge connected with the eyebrows.

Thus, although the peculiar goggle-eyed faces of the Marquesas are somewhat reminiscent of those of Tiahuanaco and Easter Island, the greatest similarities are between the two latter areas.

6) **The nose** is represented with as much variety in the shape among the cultures on the American side as it is in the art of Easter Island. Thus, in Peruvian art, both in Tiahuanaco and on the Pacific coast, sharp, thin, and aquiline noses are as frequently reproduced as flat noses with flaring nostrils merely carved in relief. On some of the islands of Polynesia, such as Hawaii and New Zealand, there is a variety of nose form, and particularly in New Zealand the nose may be narrow and aquiline. But in the Marquesas group, from which the Polynesian inspiration is supposed to have reached Easter Island, the nose is uniformly and without exception carved so flat that it is merely shown in low relief, and has nostrils so flaring that the width equals the length.

The wide range of nose forms on Easter Island therefore certainly does not argue any inspiration from the Marquesas group.

7) **Nasal ornaments** are known both from the American and the Island side. On the American side they were particularly common on the Pacific coast of Peru where golden nose ornaments in the shape of curling mustaches are very common. Both anthropomorphic and feline faces wearing such mustaches attached to the nostrils are frequently painted in Peruvian art (Heyerdahl, 1952, pp. 311–14). To find nose ornaments depicted in the art on the Island side, it is necessary to go as far as to Papua-Melanesia where nose ornaments shaped like curling mustaches do actually occur (e. g., Guiart, 1963, Pl. 19). In the Marquesas group, nose ornaments were not worn, and although nostrils are very flaring in the art, they retain the shape of alae and are never extended as curling horns.

While admittedly a rare and unimportant element in Easter Island art, this feature finds its nearest parallel on the adjacent mainland coast.

8) **Beards** are of remarkable importance in the early art on the American side when we take into account the fact that the historically encountered population of that area was as unable to grow beards as were the aboriginal people of southeast Asia including Indonesia. Nevertheless, on the American side all the way from Mexico to Tiahuanaco, traditional culture-bringers, including the main culture hero, were recorded and depicted as bearded men (Heyerdahl, 1952, pp. 229–304, Pls. 17–25). The central Con-Tici Viracocha statue in the sunken temple court at Tiahuanaco is carved with a full beard, and the large Con-Tici Viracocha statue found by the Spaniards was, with his
long beard and gown, so unlike a local Indian, that the Spaniards mistook him for Saint Bartholomew (Garcilasso de la Vega, 1609, pp. 70–71). Both molded jars and painted vessels depicting goatee-bearded men are common on the Peruvian south coast, and one of the most frequently recurring effigy jars in early Mochica art on the Peruvian north coast represents the supreme god with a long beard (Pl. 312 a–g, Fig. 49). On the Island side many individuals in several island groups were found to have full beards when the Europeans arrived, notably on Easter Island. This is in itself remarkable in view of the fact that beards could not be grown either by the Indonesians or by the South American Indians at the time of European discovery. Nevertheless, beards are never represented in Polynesian art with the most pronounced exception of Easter Island. The Marquesan images have no beards; in fact, they have hardly any chin at all, the large mouth filling the face below the nose. The marked importance of the goatee beard in Easter Island sculptures in wood and stone as well as the faces with enormous, flowing beards decorating the heads of many of the ancestral portrait figures, thus links this particular feature with the mainland of Peru.

9) The ears are carved in various shapes in the art of the American side. Extended earlobes, often filled with enormous, circular plugs, are extremely common in the aboriginal art throughout the American side from Mexico to Peru. As recorded by Bandelier (1910, pp. 304–5), the traditions among local Indians about the white and bearded people who left behind them the ruins of Tiwanaku referred to them as Ringrim, signifying ear, because their ears were enlarged. The lobes were perforated and had heavy nuggets inserted to expand the aperture as subsequently done by the ruling Incas. The royal Incas were termed orejones, or "long-ears," by the Spaniards because they had adopted this early custom of enlarging the ears. Large earplugs are invariably represented on the bearded effigy jars of the Peruvian coast (Pl. 312, Fig. 49). When, on some Peruvian figurines, extended ears are occasionally depicted without the plugs, the earlobes are shown as open loops hanging down almost to the shoulders (Kosok, 1965, p. 196, Fig. 4), as on Easter Island. Although ear extension was practiced in some parts of Melanesia, it was not a Polynesian custom outside Easter Island, and extended earlobes are not represented in Polynesian art.

Since the Easter Islanders claim that ear extension was a particular custom introduced by one branch of their ancestral stock coming from the direction of the rising sun, and since it is a standard detail on Middle Period monumental art as well as certain Late Period portrait figures, an introduction from the nearest continent to the east seems most probable.

The peculiar carving of the ear in the shape of a reversed S, and the practice of linking it to the eye with a ridge, details that are occasionally found in Easter Island art, are features present both in Tiwanaku art and on sculptures from the Marquesas group. They are therefore not of indicative value in
the present discussion. The same can be said about the strange idea of representing the ear as a single spiral connected by a band to the eye or eyebrow (Pl. 83 a), which reappears both in Peru (Pl. 3171, Fig. 50) and the Marquesas (Dodd, 1967, p. 266).

The bizarre idea of carving the ears in the shape of frogs or lizards (Pls. 216–17) is fully in line with early Peruvian art (e.g., Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, Pls. 310–15), but again completely without counterpart on any island in Polynesia.

![Fig. 50: A peculiar custom of carving a conventionalized ear as a spiral connected with the eyebrow occurs in ancient Peru, particularly on pottery frogs (after Lehmann and Doering, 1924, p. 62).](image)

■ 10) The mouth is represented in as many varieties on the American side as in the art of Easter Island. Thus, in the Tiahuanaco-influenced art of ancient Peru all the common forms on Easter Island are represented, from the band in low relief surrounding a narrow horizontal groove, or a horizontal groove only, to the circular mouth (Heyerdahl, 1965, Pls. 51–54) and the pouting mouth with realistic and very thin lips (Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, Pls. 109–13). The peculiar mouth of the moai kavakava type with lips closer together at the center than at the corners, while present in Mexico, is well known from ancient Peru (e.g., Pl. 309b) where it is a typical feature in the highland art of Chavin and repeatedly occurs on the Pacific coast below. Thus, the human figures painted in the Early Chimu or Mochica iconographic art (e.g., Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, Pls. 308–14), although invariably showing the faces of men and deities in profile, usually represent them with lips almost meeting in front while they are wide open towards the corners. This feature also occasionally occurs on molded pottery vessels representing a full view of the goatee-bearded deity of the same early coast culture (e.g., Heyerdahl, 1952, Pl. 23 e). On ceremonial staffs from Mochica and Coast Tiahuanaco tombs, heads representing the sun god repeatedly have a mouth of this very type, combined with large eyes inlaid with obsidian disks surrounded by shell rings (e.g., Kelemen, 1956, Vol. 2, Pl. 196 c; Pomar, 1949, Pl. between pp. 80 and 81). On the Island side, the mouth is represented in different forms in different areas. The conventionalized form with the lips closer together at the center than at the corners, is characteristic of, although not universal, in Maori art. This is a form also common in Hawaiian art. In the Marquesas, however, the mouth is always carved in a standard fashion. It is of enormous size, oval and open, completely filling the face below the nose, from one side to the other, and surrounded by broad, flat lips open in such a way that they leave room for a central ridge which Linton (1923, p. 455) interprets as a tongue.

Although the mouth with lips closer at the center reappears in New Zealand and Hawaii, it is thus completely unknown in the Marquesas group. On the other hand, neither Hawaii nor New Zealand has the variety of other forms of mouth treatment which Easter Island shares with the art of ancient Peru.

The Marquesas group, as opposed to Peru, could certainly not be considered as a possible source of inspiration for the heterogeneous mouth treatment on Easter Island.

The rare Easter Island case where the corners of the mouth are drawn out to curve up the cheeks like mustachios is occasionally repeated both in the art of coastal Peru (e.g., Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, Pls. 288, 394) and in Melanesia (Tischner, 1955, Pl. 20).

■ 11) The heart-shaped head is occasionally present on the American side both in Mexico and Peru. In Peru it is very common in a modified, triangular shape occurring both in tapestry and petroglyphs,
and it also occurs in the true heart-shaped form as shown in Plate 314 f and Figures 51 and 52. On the Island side, both the heart-shaped and the modified triangular-shaped head are absent with the exception of Moriori figures carved in the bark of trees on the Chatham Islands (Skinner, 1923, p. 67; Skinner and Baucke, 1928, p. 345). The geographical distribution of the heart-shaped head would make an introduction from the coast of Peru more likely than one from the lonely Chatham Islands.

12) The neck, as an extension of an independent head, is a common feature on the American side where it is well known especially from Chavin and Tiahuanaco stone sculptures. Examples from this region, both with vertical peg-shaped necks, intended to be set in the ground, and horizontal necks, intended for insertion in walls, like gargoyles, are shown in Plates 308, 309 i–k. On the Island side stone heads as complete sculptures occur only in the Marquesas group, and here the neck is never represented. In fact, it is not even represented when the full figure is carved. This feature thus has parallels only on the American side.

13) Suspension strings for wooden figurines are well known on the American side where a considerable number have been recovered from pre-Inca tombs on the Pacific coast of Peru (e.g., Pl. 316). On the Island side, unless we go all the way to Indonesia, strings on figurines have never been observed if we exclude the greenstone hei tiki of New Zealand, which was a pectoral. Some of the small Marquesan stone figurines or tiki have a perforation in the atlas region but suspension strings have never been observed. Since the idea of suspending wooden images on strings is absent on the Island side, an inspiration from Peru, where this custom prevailed, seems more likely than one from the Island side.

14) The body is generally as unimportant on the American side as on Easter Island and is often omitted. When present, it can have any form and can be emaciated or extremely stout. On the Island side, the body is also of secondary importance and again is sometimes omitted on stone sculptures in the Marquesas group. Whenever represented in this group, however, it is invariably shown in accordance with the local concept of beauty: extremely fat and bulky, usually with a bulging abdomen, in direct contrast to the withdrawn abdomen so common on Easter Island.
The freedom of treatment of the body thus links Easter Island with Peru rather than with any part of the Island area.

■ 15) **Ribs**, so important in the art of Easter Island, are not uncommon in the art of the American side, notably ancient Peru where they even appear on certain stone sculptures (e.g., Pls. 303, 305 b). On the Island side they are so unusual that their presence among a few of the very scarce carvings of the Moriori in the Chatham Islands sufficed to make Skinner (1923, pp. 66–67, Pl. 4) see an affiliation with Easter Island art. Ribs are otherwise present only on some of the *hei tiki* pectorals and cave drawings of New Zealand. Since ribs are unknown on the Island side except for the marginal area on the opposite side of Polynesia, but are present on both wood and stone carvings in Peru including Tiahuanaco, this feature too, if not locally developed, could easily have reached Easter Island from the South American mainland.

■ 16) **The arms** show the same tendency towards freedom of treatment on the American side as on Easter Island, with a similarly high percentage of images represented in the unnatural pose as on the Middle Period Easter Island monuments, with hands on the belly. This same conventional or ceremonial pose has a continuous distribution from Mexico to Tiahuanaco. On the Island side the same pose recurs with undiminishing importance and is so common on the images of the Marquesas Islands that it is an almost unvarying motif in human representations. While this conventional pose is present and even common among a wide variety of arm treatments both in Peru and Easter Island, it is the only one present in the Marquesas with the rare exception of statuettes having one or both arms bent up to the chin. Yet the importance of this ceremonial pose both on the American and the Island side argues a common tradition rather than any specific diffusion route.

■ 17) **The hands**, in the art on the American side, include the various forms found on Easter Island. Thus, in Peru, hands carved in wood or molded in pottery as separate art objects are well-known features (e.g., Pl. 314 c, m). The three-fingered hand is so common in Peru that it is often considered a diagnostic feature of the Tiahuanaco culture. On the Island side, hands as separate art objects are known only from the Marquesas group, where a specimen preserved in the Salem Museum is entirely covered with a tattoo pattern exactly as some of the Peruvian specimens found, for instance, in the Lima Museum. Three-fingered hands are also present in Polynesia where they are particularly common in Maori art. They also occasionally occur in Marquesan sculpture, notably on the conventionalized hair ornaments of human bone, shaped like human busts (e.g., *Linton*, 1923, Pl. 83). Although this feature is sufficiently striking to be considered diagnostic of Tiahuanaco art, its presence in Polynesia as well excludes it as an indicator of Easter Island inspiration. The Easter Island idea of carving hands as separate art objects, since present both in Peru and the Marquesas Islands, is similarly invalid as a geographical indicator.

■ 18) **Legs and feet** on the American side all the way from Mexico to Tiahuanaco are treated with the same lack of respect for dimensions as on Easter Island. In Peruvian sculptures of wood and stone, the legs are usually no longer than the head (Pls. 302 d, 305, 316). Feet are hoof like, and on wooden specimens carved as on Easter Island with toes as vertical grooves and heels projecting. As with the hands, however, more realistic feet are often represented as separate art objects (Pls. 95 c, 201, 314 d). In those restricted areas of Polynesia where human figures of any kind are carved, the stunted, disproportionate legs with short feet are as common as in America, but feet as separate art objects are not found in Polynesia outside Easter Island, which is thus another artistic idea pointing towards Peru.

■ 19) **Skulls** are very common in the art of the American side, notably in Mexico, where stone skulls are well-known art objects (Pl. 317 a–d). In Peru, skulls are quite frequently represented in ceramic art and one example from the north coast has two cup-shaped depressions in the head, bring-
ing the analogy to Easter Island art still closer (Pl. 314 a, b). On the Island side skulls, other than modified real crania, are not represented in the art. It has sometimes been suggested that the heads of Marquesan images are reminiscent of skulls because of their large eyes, but that they represent skulls cannot possibly be true since the eyes, rather than being hollow sockets, are carved in relief, are slightly convex, and have a transversal ridge across the center. Furthermore, eyebrows, nose, lips, and ears are all present.

Because of the complete lack of skulls in the art of the rest of Polynesia, their importance in the art of Easter Island strongly points to the American side.

- 20) Magic depressions are well known on the American side where they are common on Mexican stone sculptures and are assumed to have served magic purposes (Pl. 317 a, b). Empty sockets in the chest of stone statues as seen on several specimens in the national museum of Mexico City recall the deep socket in the chest of the Early Period rectangular pillar statue on Easter Island. Another striking analogy with that island is in the previously mentioned ceramic head from the coast of Peru with two cup-shaped depressions, shown in Plate 314 a, b. On the Island side magic depressions on the heads or bodies of images have never been reported or illustrated.

This peculiar feature is thus an element that strongly indicates an American inspiration behind the art of Easter Island.

- 21) Bird-men, so extremely important on Easter Island, are well known on the American side (Pls. 310, 311). Present in the art of ancient Mexico, they assume importance only in ancient Peru where they are characteristic features both in the art of Tiahuanaco and in that of the Mo-chica culture of the coast. Two main classes of bird-men occur in ancient Peru, the human being with a condor's short hook-beaked head and another with a very long beak hooked only at the end, like that of a frigate bird (Figs. 37–39). These are precisely the two types of bird-men recurring in the art of Easter Island. Nothing corresponding is found on the Island side. In Maori decorative carvings there is a conventionalized creature, the manaia, the head of which looks more like that of a bird than that of a man, but its significance is unknown and it forms no part in any cult. Even its appearance has no resemblance to Easter Island bird-men.

In view of the paramount significance of the proper bird-man in the ritual and carvings of Easter Island, and its absence elsewhere in Oceania, an introduction from the American side seems probable.

- 22) Birds, so very often depicted in Easter Island art, are no less important on the American side. Bird reliefs, bird sculptures in wood and stone, and occasionally even monolithic bird statues, are known from Mexico to South America. and in ancient Peru birds are as commonly represented as the bird-men. On the Island side, bird representations are extremely rare except in Melanesia and on the Chatham Islands. Bird heads occur on the end of a certain type of Maori club, but in most of Polynesia, including the Marquesas Islands, birds are not represented in the art.

The frequency of bird motifs on Easter Island thus favors Peru rather than the Marquesas Islands as a possible source of inspiration.

- 23) Reptiles are important in the art from Mexico to Peru. The larger quadruped reptiles are sometimes sculptured as individual horizontal monuments as, for instance, in San Agustin of the northern Andes (Heyerdahl, 1965, Pl. 49). In the art of Tiahuanaco, large lizards carved in relief are so common that Bennett (1934, p. 474) includes carved lizards and toads together with boulder heads and flat stone heads in his group III of Tiahuanaco statues. On the Island side also large reptiles, locally non-existent, frequently reappear in oral tradition and art motifs. On the Marquesas Islands lizards occur among the extremely few relief representations of other than human figures. Since reptiles appear both in the art of Peru and, in rare cases, of the Marquesas group, we are left with no hint as to the possible source of inspiration.
24) *Frogs and toads*, although inconspicuous in the impressive fauna on the American continent, are nevertheless extremely important in the art from Mexico to Peru. We have seen with Bennett that their presence is a characteristic element in Tiwanacu sculpture, and frog motifs are perhaps even still more common in the art of the Peruvian coast. A characteristic element in the ceramic art of both the Chimu and early Moche culture is frog appliqués to effigy vessels and figures where their presence seems highly incongruous. Such frog appliqués from Chimu blackware have been excavated in the Galapagos islands, nearly 1,000 miles distant from the Chimu coast (*Heyerdahl* and *Skjölsvold*, 1956, pp. 37–39, 41). On the Island side, frogs and toads are completely unknown in the fauna and these animals are never represented in the local art.

The frog- or toadlike animals in Easter Island tattoo and sculpture strongly argue an influence from the South American mainland.

25) *Mammals* are naturally common in the art on the American side where the fauna is rich and varied, yet the one mammal, which above all dominates the religious concepts and art motifs in a continuous area from Mexico to Tiwanacu, is the feline, generally represented by the puma. The puma, together with the serpent and the hook-beaked bird, symbolizes the supreme creator, identifiable with the sun god, throughout this area, and figures with arched backs, snarling mouths, and claws dominate the art from the highlands to the Pacific coast of Peru. Felines are not present in the fauna of Oceania and, with a single possible exception, do not occur in aboriginal local art. The possible exception is the *Puamau* site on the east coast of Hivavao Island in the Marquesas group. Here, mammals with claws and long erect tails, which do not resemble the Polynesian dog, pig, or rat, the only mammals living on the island in pre-European times, are found as reliefs on each side of the pedestal of a prone, monumental statue, and on each side of a large, monumental stone head (*Heyerdahl*, 1965, pp. 129–34, Pl. 44 a, b).

Although a safe identification of these Marquesan relief animals is impossible, they do represent mammals of a species locally unknown at the time of European discoveries. Their presence in pairs, together with the claws and erect tail, might suggest a repetition of the felines sometimes found in pairs in ancient South American sculptures, such as those at the base of the bearded Con-Tici Viracocha statue in Tiwanacu. Since the exceptional reliefs in the Marquesas, if representing felines unknown in Oceania, must have been inspired from the American side, it is most unlikely that they in turn have inspired the art of Easter Island. Dogs do very commonly occur in the art from Mexico to Peru, and very exceptionally in Polynesia, but never in the Marquesas. If the long-necked *kekepu* with exposed front teeth that is so important in Easter Island tradition really is a llama, Peru can be the only possible source. Long-necked mammals strongly reminiscent of llamas are occasionally present among petroglyphs of the Marquesas Islands although no such animals ever existed there (*Heyerdahl*, 1965, p. 134).

26) *Marine animals* are common in the art of the American side and most notably on the Pacific coast of Peru where a wide range of species, whales, turtles, fish, and crustaceans, abound in the local art. On the Island side, marine species are surprisingly rare in artistic reproductions considering the paramount importance they have in the local diet. Small fish sculptures in stone, strikingly similar to the Easter Island specimen in Plate 177 a, are among the rare animal sculptures in the Marquesas group, Hawaii, and the Society Islands, however, where they were placed on stone platforms as charms to lure fish towards the coast. Fish, whale, and turtle petroglyphs have also been observed by the writer on Fatuhiva island in the Marquesas group, but these are exceptional cases in the local art. Although the great importance and wide variety in the carving of marine animals on Easter Island places this aspect of local art closer to that of the nearest mainland than to that of Polynesia in general, the presence of this element also in the Marquesan group reduces its value as an indicator of extra-island influence.
27) Mating figurines are present in the art on the American side, notably in the ceramic representations of the Mochica culture on the north coast of Peru. They include animals of the same kind, as well as of different species mating, and even human beings in pairs or with animal partners (e.g., Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, Pls. 208, 486–98). The large private art collection of the late Larco Hoyle, while still complete in the valley of Chiclim, was noted for having a whole room devoted to pornographic specimens of this category. On the Island side, mating figurines seem to be completely absent. The nearest similarities are the seated human representations, sometimes carved in relief on Maori planks and lintels (e.g., Dodd, 1967, p. 250), that might be considered to belong to the present category, but these are not figurines.

This concept in Easter Island art is thus another which points to Peru rather than to the Island area as a source of inspiration.

28) Monsters are very common in the art on the American side, and particularly so in ancient Peru. Intentionally diabolical features are frequent on stone statues from San Agustin in Colombia, and from Chavin in northern Peru which is renowned for its grotesque stone heads and reliefs with large-eyed supernaturals exposing their feline teeth. Human beings with feline heads and other mixtures of man and beast are common in the art all along the Peruvian coast, displaying the same unlimited range of religious and artistic imagination as revealed in the aku-aku sculptures of Easter Island. Intentionally grotesque and diabolical human representations are well known from Hawaii, but they were restricted to giving the human face repulsive features with large eyes and a ferocious-looking mouth with inlaid teeth. Similarly, the Maori human figure, often with crooked limbs and an outstretched tongue, seems to be inspired by the desire to create fear rather than beauty or realistic portraiture. But with the possible exception of the unidentifiable manaia, these sculptures always retain human features and human limbs. In the Marquesas group, mixtures of man and animal are unknown, and instead of a variety of monsters the same stereotyped human representation is adhered to with an almost unbelievable lack of artistic freedom and variation. The great variety of monsters present in Easter Island art thus indicates a link with Peru rather than with the other islands.

29) Double-headed figurines have a continuous distribution from Mexico to Peru including Ti-ahuana-co. Double-headed animals, particularly birds, are common throughout Peru and occur even among the paraphernalia of the supreme deity on the Gateway of the Sun. Double-headed human figurines are also known from Peru and, as on Easter Island, the heads may be facing either the same way (e.g., Savoy, 1971, p. 57) or in opposite directions (e.g., Pomar, 1949, Pl. between pp. 128 and 129). The double-headed bird occurring in Chimú art of the Peruvian coast has been directly compared to the double-headed bird in the art of Easter Island (Hooper and Burland, 1953, p. 96). On the Island side double-headed human figures are scarce although they are present in the Marquesas group, Hawaii, and Tahiti (e.g., Dodd, 1967, p. 242). Double-headed animal representations do not exist on the Island side, with the possible exception of the Marquesas group. Here, Janus heads with conventional human features and in some cases with zoomorphic features do occur on the top of poi pounders on different islands in this group (Heyerdahl, 1965, Fig. 42 j, 1). One stone statue has two eroded neckless heads which seem to be facing left and right (Ibid., Pl. 37).

Although double-headed figures occur both in Peru and in the Marquesas Islands their dominant appearance on long-necked birds on Easter Island link them more closely to the nearby continent than to the Island area.

30) Plants are common in the art of the American side, notably in the effigy vessels of the Peruvian coast. However, as on Easter Island, leaf and flower decorations do not feature in the art, and plants in general, as opposed to animals, are conspicuously rare. When plants are represented they occur
frequently as very realistic models of the edible parts. Thus, a variety of tropical fruits and roots, including the sweet potato, are familiar motifs particularly on the Peruvian coast. The black knobbed fruit with an anthropomorphic head, represented in two Easter Island sculptures (Pls. 166, 167), bears considerable resemblance to a black knobbed fruit also furnished with an anthropomorphic head which in the Peruvian sample is that of an owl whose beak is a human nose which has a separate mouth below it (Pl. 314 h). Also ceramic sweet potatoes and other edible tubers sometimes have human heads, and even double-headed tubers occur (Kosok, 1965, Fig. 39). On the Island side, plants including fruits and roots are entirely absent in Polynesia, but occasionally present in Melanesia as in the ceramic effigy vessels of Fiji which are very reminiscent of their counterparts in Peru. Although plants appear to be of scant importance even in Easter Island art, the local idea of carving sprouting sweet potatoes, knobbed tropical fruits, and possibly even gourds and a coconut, points to the continent for a most logical inspiration.

31) Artifacts are well represented in the art on the American side, ranging in ancient Peru from models of complete temple platforms of the ahu type (Pl. 313 a, b) to tiny beads incised with one or more ideograms commonly thought to be vestiges of pictographic script (Hoyle, 1946, p. 175). Thus clubs, paddles, pounders, cutting tools, pectorals, feather-crowns, pictograms, stone bowls, jars, jugs, vases, and reed boats, that is, all the artifacts represented in mural painting and sculpture on Easter Island, are common in the American iconographic art, and most particularly in that of the entire coastal region of Peru. On the Island side, artifacts are strangely absent from the art with the exception of some Maori figures holding a short club or wearing a hei tiki pendant, and occasionally some figures, notably in Hawaii, are carved supporting wooden bowls. In the Marquesas group, the art of pre-European origin depicts no artifact other than a headband and a belt shown in relief on some of the statues.

The large number of artifacts carved and painted on Easter Island, as opposed to the rest of Polynesia, compares most favorably with Peru.

32) The stone jug with loop handle obviously has a ceramic prototype, and since clay is abundant on the American side, as opposed to Easter Island, it is not likely that such artifacts would have been copied in stone. Nevertheless, stone jugs with loop handles do occur on the Pacific coast of South America below Tiahuanaco, and two specimens of this specific type are preserved in the ethnographic museum in Hamburg. On the Island side some stone bowls, which might have ceramic prototypes, are found in Tahiti and preserved in the Papeete Museum, but the stone jug with the loop handle does not exist anywhere in Oceania apart from Easter Island. The copies of ceramic jugs carved in porous stone on Easter Island must obviously have a continental prototype.

33) Relief plaques occur on the American side, although larger slabs and stele with human figures, animals, and bird-men are more common than small portable plaques. The portable stone plaque in Plate 317 k from the National Museum in Mexico is very similar to its Easter Island counterparts, e.g. Plate 210 a. Small stone plaques with reliefs of human figures, lizards, felines, and other motifs do occur sporadically in the Andean area down as far as to the Titicaca region and Tiahuanaco, although they never seem to accumulate to the same extent as on Easter Island. On the Island side, relief carvings in stone of any dimensions are extremely rare and portable plaques are not part of the local culture. Crude, straddling, human figures, with the arms raised and all limbs bent at right angles, such as in Plate 211 b, are occasionally carved on rectangular slabs set on edge as facing blocks of stone platforms in the Marquesas group. These blocks, however, are not portable. Relief plaques, so important on Easter Island, thus have their closest counterparts on the South American mainland.
34) Masks carved in both stone and wood are extremely common on the American side. Stone masks of exquisite workmanship are famous from early Mexico, while carved Peruvian masks usually found on mummies were generally of wood, sometimes with shell inlaid eyes. On the Island side, masks are equally common in Melanesia where they are universally made of wood or tapa. They are extremely rare in Polynesia but they are not totally absent, as is frequently claimed in the literature. A wooden dance mask from Mangareva Island is preserved in the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo, and another from Hikueru in the Tuamotu archipelago is preserved in the Papeete Museum on Tahiti (Heyerdahl, 1965, pp. 157–59, Pl. 55 a–f). Two fine wooden Maori masks are also preserved, one in the Otago Museum and the other in the Dominion Museum in Wellington (Dodd, 1967, pp. 294, 295). No masks have ever been found in the Marquesas group.

The former use of masks on Easter Island thus favors an inspiration from the continent.

35) Reed boats are extremely frequent in the art of the American side, but apparently restricted to ancient Peru, although the reed boat itself had a continuous distribution along the Pacific coast from southern California to Chile. Realistic reed boats are especially common in the Mochica art on the north coast of Peru where specimens with a limited number of crew are molded in effigy vessels (e.g., Pl. 313 c, d, h). Larger reed ships with crew and/or stores on the main deck, and bird-men and solar deities standing on an upper deck, are painted on jars from the same area (e.g., Figs. 38, 55–57). Although recurring in the art all the way down to the Nazca coast below Tiahuanaco, the reed boat representations in this area are generally more conventionalized. On the Island side reed boats as such were seen by the early voyagers both on the Chatham Islands (Shand, 1871, p. 354) and in New Zealand, where they were reported to have measured “nearly sixty feet in length, capable of holding as many persons” (Polack, 1838, Vol. II, p. 221). They are also referred to in Hawaiian traditions (Knudsen, 1963, pp. 43–44), but they are never represented in local art. With the possible exception of some unidentifiable boat petroglyphs (Fig. 58), reed boats are not found in the art on the Island side. Such petroglyphs in the Society Islands show a radiating sun on top of a sickle-shaped vessel which may be a play on the words ra and raa which mean both “sail” and “sun” in Polynesian dialects, and it is reminiscent of the circular sail in Easter Island petroglyphs and mural painting. A circular sail is not represented on Easter Island boat carvings, although concentric circles, undoubtedly representing the sun, are incised on some sails (Pl. 281). Models of reed boats worn as headgear are known from both Easter Island and Peru (Figs. 53, 54), and the round sails of the Peruvian specimen recall those occurring in the island art.

Fig. 53: Easter Island headwear of totora reed fashioned in the shape of a reed boat (from Englert, 1948, p. 228). Such hats were already seen and illustrated by Captain Cook’s party (Fig. 2).

Fig. 54: Peruvian headwear shaped like a reed boat (after Pomar, 1949, Pl. 4). The circular sails represented by the Chanka artist recall those on some mural paintings and petroglyphs of Easter Island reed boats (Figs. 22, 23, 27).
Figs. 55–57: Reed boats in the art of ancient Peru (from Wassermann-San Blas, 1938; Schmidt, 1929; and Leicht, 1944). The Mochica artists symbolize the movements through the waves with guara shaped like human legs. The sun-god often rides on an upper deck with a human crew as well as cargo including water jars below.
Although reed boats of prodigious sizes have been seen in New Zealand, their absence in the art of the Pacific area outside Peru and Easter Island indicates an inspiration from the continent.

36) Composite figures are extremely common on the American side both in Mexico and in ancient Peru. In fact, hardly any other culture area has an art so prolific in such incongruous and seemingly absurd combinations as that of ancient Peru. Although composite figures are common in both stone and wood from highland Tiahuanaco to the Pacific coast, some of the most striking resemblances to the cave stones of Easter Island are to be found in the molded pottery vessels of the north Peruvian coast, where the heads of animals and human beings emerge from each other, or from each other's bodies, in precisely the same surrealistic manner as on Easter Island (e. g., Pl. 315 a; Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, Pls. 311–20). On the Island side, nothing similar can be found until as far away as Melanesia. Such motifs as the ornamental rows of small human figures holding hands in a wave pattern on paddle handles in the Cook Islands (Heyerdahl, 1952, Pl. 78) have no bearing upon the present discussion of free-standing composite figurines that are in themselves complete artifacts. The wooden images with small human figures carved attached to their bodies such as found in the same group and in the Tubuai Islands (e. g., Tischner, 1955, Pls. 80–82), are simply supposed to represent deities with human children created by, or descended from them, and have little resemblance to the bizarre compositions on Easter Island. In the Marquesas group, nothing corresponding is found, the closest approximation being the grouping together of identical human heads and human figures all of which have the same standard mask except when miniature sizes exclude the details. Such homogeneous compositions can be seen in the local turtle-shell crowns, the bone ear ornaments, handles of ceremonial fans or conventionalized clubs, but never as separate figurines. These compositions, however, are invariably symmetrical and ornamental and thus, in a sense, contrast the asymmetrical and purely magical objects of Easter Island.
It is evident that the great variety of composite figures among Easter Island carvings corresponds more closely to the artistic concepts of ancient Peru than to those of any of the adjacent islands.

- 37) *The boat and beast composition* is represented by a unique Easter Island specimen. It is a most extraordinary concept, and yet it is a very familiar motif in the art of the Peruvian coast where it frequently recurs in ceramic art. The examples in Plate 313 e–g show remarkable affinities to the Easter Island specimen (Pls. 288–89) in having an animal head at each end, the larger of which is of a sea monster. Also worth noting are the flat circular disks or bags hanging down the side of the zoomorphic vessel, that could be deflated examples of the unidentified spheres attached to the Easter Island specimen. It is well known that inflated seal-skin bags were used independently as floats along the Pacific coast of ancient Peru and they could well have been inflated to serve as stabilizers on reed boats while fishing or while anchored off an open coast like that of Peru or Easter Island where there are few sheltered harbors. It is well known that balsa logs were sometimes tied alongside canoes as stabilizers on the Pacific coast of adjacent Ecuador. Another possible analogy is seen in the disks or spheres attached to the reed boats in Figure 57 by means of what appear to be either rods or rope. Other examples of animal-headed reed boats are shown in Figures 38, 39, 59, and Plate 310 e. The association with bird-men makes the analogy with Easter Island still more emphatic. It is worth noting that while the toiling bird-men sometimes (e.g., Fig. 39) have a long beak hooked only at the end, like that of an albatross, the solar deities riding on the upper deck have a short, hooked beak like that of an eagle. This distinction between an eagle- or condor-headed bird-man associated with the sun, and an albatross-headed bird-man associated with the sea, might be significant and may even have a bearing on the clear distinction between the same two types of bird-man in the art of Easter Island. Since reed boats are not even illustrated separately in the art of the Island side, a composition of such a specialized type is naturally absent.

![Fig. 59: Reed boat with animal features associated with maritime bird-men in Mochica art. coastal Peru (from Kosok, 1965, p.191). A similar scene is represented on the bowl in Plate 310 e.](image)

This motif, although known only from one Easter Island example, points to an inspiration from the American mainland.

- 38) *The woman with burden motif* is common in the ceramic art of Mexico and Peru (Pl. 314 k, l). Women carrying various burdens on their backs are thus molded in Mochica pottery, and Bennett (1934, p. 46) shows that before their destruction by the arriving Spaniards, the stone statues of Tiahuanaco included the motif of a woman carrying a child on her back. Similar motifs are unknown in the art of Polynesia outside Easter Island.
The stone images of women carrying a child, a fish, and a giant reptile on their backs, thus strongly argues an inspiration from the Peruvian coast.

39) **Heterogeneous animal combinations**, in addition to mating pairs, frequently occur on the American side. The motif of bird and fish carved together is among the more common on the Peruvian coast although a great number of other combinations of mixed species does occur. On the Island side nothing of a comparative nature can be found until Melanesia, with the possible exception of Maori carvings where man and fish, and man and the unidentified *manatai* figure, may occur together on wooden lintels and other decorative carvings, yet never as figurines. Heterogeneous animal combinations are thus additional motifs in which Easter Island conforms more to the art of the American side than to the rest of Polynesia.

40) *The hand with a cutting tool* could not easily be expected to be repeated as an independent art object, yet it is a well-known motif in the ceramic art of the coast of Peru. An example from the archaeological museum in Lima is shown in Plate 314 m, and another is published by Wassermann-San Blas (1938, Pl. 171).

Since nothing remotely like it is found anywhere on the Island side it is fair to suspect an inspiration from Peru.

41) *The tassel symbol*, known from both the aberrant figurines and the standard bird-man and *moko* on Easter Island, is also present on the American side. In Plate 317 i, j is shown a crouching zoomorphic creature with a human head and eyes inlaid with obsidian disks in shell rings. The tassel carved in relief on this Mexican image is indistinguishable from the tassel symbol of Easter Island wooden figurines. An ancient replica in stone of the very same carving is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Room I a, No. 96). Moving farther south we find in the Panama region the tassel tied by its ring onto the small of the back of bird-men of Easter Island type (Pl. 310 c). In Tiahuanaco it turns up again as a pictogram in the symbolic art which spread from this powerful culture area down to the Pacific coast. In a slightly more stylized version it is added to reptiles, fish, and men in the same manner as it is added as a symbol to bird-men and reptiles on Easter Island. In fact, the crescent-shaped pectoral worn by the sun god of the Tiahuanaco monolithic gateway is shaped like a fish with an anthropomorphomorphic head and the tassel symbol as its tail (Fig. 42). Wassermann-San Blas (1938, p. 341) illustrates a stylized reptile with a tassel symbol for a tail, that occurs in Tiahuanaco-influenced Nazca art on the Peruvian south coast (Fig. 60).

Since nothing similar is found on the Island side, it is reasonable to suspect diffusion from the continent of this important symbol in Easter Island art.

![Fig. 60: The tassel-symbol on a composite creature in Peru (after Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, p. 341). Representing a bird's tail, this ideogram, symbolizing divinity, is here added to a reptile's body with a puma's head in a composition denoting the supreme deity or his representative on earth.](image-url)
42) The turtle- or bird-rider is another specialized motif that has obviously multiplied through artistic tradition on the island, and even this motif is present on the American side, notably from the north coast of Peru. Mochica specimens range from a zoomorphic human rider clinging to the back of a bird to a mere human head on a long neck emerging from the back of a reptile (Pl. 314 i, j). The analogy to the Easter Island specimens is striking (Pl. 293). Since nothing similar occurs anywhere on the Island side, an inspiration from the American side seems highly likely.

43) The masked bird-man is familiar in the art of the American side, notably in ancient Mexico, where the human face emerging from the inside of the mask is sometimes bearded (e.g., Pl. 319 a). The antiquity of this art motif on the Pacific coast of Peru is shown by Benson (1972, pp. 52, 53, Pls. 3–9), who describes and illustrates a category of Mochica effigy vessels representing “a human being dressed as an owl, wearing an owl suit and an owl mask.” The Aymara Indians in the Tiahuanaco area still dress up for bird dances, as do the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (Laxalt, 1970, pp. 314–15; this vol., Pl. 311 a).

Since no art object illustrates a human being wearing a bird mask at least in the Polynesian area of the Island side, it is reasonable to suspect diffusion from the continental side also in the present case.

44) Interlocking faces and what we have chosen to term trick figures are present on the American side from Mexico to Peru. In Peru they are occasionally found in the effigy jars on the north coast where heads of animals and/or human faces may interlock at right angles at the same level in such a way that adjacent heads share the same eye, while other features are independent (e.g., Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, Pl. 173; Lehmann and Doering, 1924, p. 64). The most famous example of interlocking heads from ancient Peru is undoubtedly the more than 6 ft. tall (ca. 2 m.) “Raymondi monolith”, from the archaeological site at Chavin, now in Lima (Fig. 61). This monolith, carved from granite, shows the sun god with his large head extended upwards into a series of interlocking heads assumed to have a genealogical symbolism. Apart from being an excellent although highly conventionalized representative of a stone sculpture with interlock-
ing faces, it is also an example of what we have termed a trick figure to the extent that the faces are designed in such a way that a different series of anthropomorphic masks catch the eye when the carving is viewed upside down. This detail, which is not noticeable if the slab is standing upright, would seem to indicate that it was designed for horizontal exhibition, perhaps as a lid for a sarcophagus (examples of which are known from the neighboring culture area of San Agustin) or some other tomb or shrine. A number of other features disclose parallels to concepts in the art of Easter Island: the position of the deity between two ceremonial staffs as in the pictogram of the rongo-rongo script; his three-fingered hands; extremely long, curved, and pointed fingernails such as on the large Easter Island monuments; ears carved in the shape of reptiles, in this case curved serpents (cf. Pls. 216–17); the mouth carved with lips closer together at the center; the face of the trick figure turned backwards and up in such a way that the apex rather than the chin is turned towards the body (cf. Pl. 122); and the striking idea of making the eyebrows of the masks appear as curved mustachios of other masks according to how the carving is viewed. In spite of a complete contrast in style and artistic embellishment, it is clear that this spectacular carving reflects elements that reappear in a cruder form in the more primitive art of Easter Island.

A very special type of trick figure is the bird-man whose long-beaked bird head becomes a long-bearded human head when seen from a different angle (Pls. 38, 39, 113, 263). This peculiar combination, easy to overlook, may have a wider distribution on the American side, although only a single example has been discovered by the writer, in the Mexico Museum. A beautifully sculptured and polished stone bird-man about 2 ft. (61 cm.) tall, carrying a serpent, was popularly referred to as a "monkey". However, the figure had excrescences on top of the more than 9 ins. (23 cm.) long beak which, when examined from above, proved to be the nose of a bearded human face (Pl. 318). It is perhaps no coincidence that the bird in the Easter Island trick figure of Plate 113 has a most striking similarity to the turkey (Meleagris gallopavo) which was a native of aboriginal America. The turkey was domesticated by the culture people of ancient Peru.

On the Island side, superimposed human figures are present in Hawaii, New Zealand, the Society Islands, and the Marquesas. They occur particularly in the form of large carved posts resembling the American "totem poles", which are also known from the coast of South America where archaeological specimens are preserved in the Guayaquil Museum. However, these figures, although juxtaposed, are not interlocking, since adjacent figures do not share eyes, beards, or other features. Furthermore, what we have termed trick figures are not found in Oceania outside Easter Island.

The ingenious composition of overlapping and interlocking faces as well as trick figures is another artistic tradition on Easter Island that follows the pattern of early American art.

To sum up, we have found forty-four characteristic or peculiar elements in Easter Island art that are not restricted to this island only but are found also in the art of surrounding territories. Of these forty-four elements, all were found on the American side, whereas only twenty were found on the combined Island side with an addition of six more elements, which are included with reservations since they are not obvious parallels. If we break this geographical distribution down further, we find that Peru can match every one of the forty-four aberrant elements; Mexico, thirty-five, and an additional two with reservations; Melanesia, thirteen, and an additional five with reservations; the Polynesian island area (excluding the Marquesas and Easter Island), nine, and an additional ten with reservations; while the Marquesas group can muster only six, and an additional three with reservations. This distribution is shown graphically in Figure 62. The compact occurrence of corresponding elements in Peru, with an extremely strong background in the art of Mexico, greatly contrasts the sporadic and inconsistent occurrence on the Island side, where only some of the most basic elements are present in the Marquesas group so frequently proposed as a gateway to Easter Island.
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Fig. 62: Table showing conformities of aberrant art elements on Easter Island in relation to the surrounding areas. By “Polynesia” in this table is meant Polynesia other than Easter Island and the Marquesas group which are listed separately.
Summary and Reconstruction

It is possible today to perceive certain sequences in the art manifestations of Easter Island as a result of recent excavations combined with a survey both of the records of early visitors and of artifacts preserved in collections scattered throughout the world.

At a period when the island was still wooded, settlers arrived who, unlike the people on any other Pacific island, were accustomed to building not only their religious structures, but even their dwellings, of stone. They immediately began to clear the forest in search of suitable quarries and open landscape for megalithic structures and agriculture. Pollen borings show that simultaneously with this early destruction of the indigenous flora by fire, two newly introduced plants, both of South American origin, arrived and survived all subsequent fires as a result of being planted as rootstocks in the formerly empty crater lakes. The Early Period settlers were sun worshippers as can be judged from their solar observatory and sun-oriented temple platforms. Their art manifestations included megalithic facing slabs, beautifully cut and fitted together with a technique that, in the Pacific hemisphere, was otherwise known only in the Inca and pre-Inca domain of the nearest mainland on the island’s windward side. Four types of monolithic stone statues in human form were associated with these sun-oriented temple platforms, none of which has parallels on any other Pacific island, whereas they coincide with the four earliest monument types of the pre-Inca artists who left behind the same kind of stepped and sun-oriented temple platforms as on Easter Island. The completely non-Polynesian stone-shaping tools and masonry dwellings of these Early Period settlers also find their only counterparts among the remains of the same pre-Inca people. The complete mastery of statuary art and the perfect shaping of the hardest basalt had its apogee in this Early Period of the island’s prehistory, and in this respect subsequent periods show a marked regression.

We do not yet know when these earliest settlers arrived since there is little reason to suppose that the small pile of charcoal covered with human refuse from a defensive ditch, collected by our expedition and carbon dated to about A. D. 380, should happen to be evidence of the very first human activity on the island. The historically recorded fact that strong coastal erosion has carried an entire stone-house village, assumed to be the oldest on the island, into the sea, a fate recorded also for the finest Early Period temple structure on the north coast and the ahu with the record number of statues on the southwest coast, indicates the loss of valuable archaeological data.

A sudden stratigraphic change in the architecture of the stone temples appears to have taken place at some time around A. D. 1100, a date coinciding with the rise of the Inca Empire in Peru. Since both Early and Middle Period parallels with architectural and monumental vestiges in ancient Peru are apparent, it is important to stress that the beginning of the Middle Period culture on Easter Island corresponds with the coming to power of the first Inca with all the conquests and belligerence that this in-
olved. It should not be forgotten that in Easter Island tradition the culture hero is soberly described as an anti-hero who reached the island because he was defeated in war and fled with his followers in the direction of the setting sun. While the culture of the newcomers does not seem to have differed basically from that of their predecessors, they did at least introduce a new religion and were obviously under the influence of a different dynasty. This can be judged by their lack of respect for existing religious monuments in spite of the fact that their own religion was distinctly an ancestor cult. They desecrated the Early Period images by using them as fill and building blocks for their own religious structures, the Middle Period ahu. These were not solar oriented but were built merely as solid step-shaped foundations for raising their own giant ancestral monuments high above the inland temple courts. While the Early Period art included large-eyed masks of the sun god and a variety of images carved in different kinds of stone, the Middle Period image makers carved all their monuments from the yellowish-gray tuff of the Rano Raraku quarries, and although perhaps close to a thousand ancestor statues were carved, more than six hundred of which are still complete, they are all basically copies of one single prototype. This prototype was a basalt bust of Early Period origin, moved by the Middle Period settlers into their ceremonial stone-house village at Orongo where it continued to be venerated as the only pan-Easter Island image right up to the time of missionary arrival. Representing the solar deity and creator, Makemake, this statue survived all three epochs on Easter Island and was the object of celebrations including first-fruit offerings and ceremonial fires. In marked contrast, the numerous Middle Period ahu images were funerary monuments to royalty and other individually named ancestors. They were strictly the property of single or extended families and were highly vulnerable in tribal wars.

An examination of incomplete specimens of ahu statues in the Rano Raraku quarries, those abandoned during transportation, and those once erected on the Middle Period ahu, reveals that all represent different working stages of a single, homogeneous type. Except for the back, which was the last to be cut loose from the bedrock, these giant images were finished to the last polished detail before they started the descent of the crater wall, to be temporarily erected at the foot of the quarries. Here the keel-shaped back was sculptured and polished before the finished, and necessarily well-padded, monument was transported to and erected on an ahu, usually somewhere near the coast and always facing an inland temple court. Only at this point did the statue receive deep eye sockets which, through analogy with smaller local images and some of the stone statues on the American mainland, probably once contained an inlay. As generations of monument makers gained more and more experience, the statues increased in size, as witnessed by the largest having been found incomplete in the quarries; and towards the end of the Middle Period huge red pukao, or topknots, were added as a new feature which further increased the height of these enormous ahu monuments. Except in the impressive size of the statues, the Middle Period artists did not surpass, or even equal, the Early Period artists in stone-shaping technique.

Another fundamental change in the transition from the Early to the Middle Period was the introduction of the bird-man cult in place of the former sun cult. Human figures with bird's heads were incised or carved in relief on rock faces, often on top of Early Period Makemake masks, and even added to the solar symbols of the Early Period sun-god image now moved into one of the Orongo stone houses. The ceremonial center at Orongo was basically devoted to the bird-man cult. In its historic phase it involved annual competitions in which the participants swam on small tusk-shaped reed floats to the off-shore bird islets in search of the first eggs of the sooty tern. These reed floats were of the same type as those dominating the adjacent coast of South America. The totora reeds of which the floats were composed had actually been brought from South America in Early Period times. The Middle Period artists had painted frescoes of large sickle-shaped reed boats on the slabs of the local ceremonial
houses. These vessels, too, together with the double-bladed paddles and the weeping eye ornament that appeared among the same frescoes, were non-Polynesian features diagnostic of the pre-Inca cultures in South America. This is particularly so with regard to the ao paddle so important in Easter Island religious motifs and ceremonial rites. The ao paddle clearly demonstrates contact since it reappears with all its specialized features in the Mochica and Chimú cultures of pre-Inca Peru. There is evidence that the Early and Middle Period settlers followed each other at a great interval, probably in two successive waves from South America. However, sometime during the Middle Period a number of Polynesians must also have reached the island and gradually become an important fraction of the population. Several features connected with their arrival are so peculiar that it is reasonable to deduce that they either came in too small numbers to start hostilities or that they were deliberately brought by the Middle Period settlers to augment the manpower which was in increasing demand for the spectacular engineering tasks on Easter Island. Whatever the case might be, these Polynesians caused little or no change in the local non-Polynesian culture, and left no archaeological traces of their own arrival. In fact, they adapted themselves so perfectly to the beliefs and customs of the already existing Easter Island population that they abandoned every single one of the supreme pan-Polynesian deities, Tu, Tane, Tangaroa, Tiki, and Maui. Hiro, Rongo, Tangaroa, and Tiki survived only as traditional names but were neither worshipped nor venerated. The local Polynesians were entirely converted to the worship of the non-Polynesian gods, Makemake and Haoa, and the equally non-Polynesian bird-man cult. They even abandoned any form of the pan-Polynesian ceremonial beverage, kava, considered diagnostic of Polynesian culture throughout Oceania, and although they brought several Polynesian plants, including the taro, they stopped pounding it into the pan-Polynesian staple, poi, and changed entirely to the cultivation of American sweet potatoes, by far the dominant vegetable food on the island. The beautiful, bell-shaped stone poi pounders, characteristic in all archaeological and historic settlements throughout Polynesia proper, are completely absent in the archaeology of Easter Island, and the grooved wooden or whalebone tapa beater, the most important domestic tool throughout Polynesia besides the poi pounder, was equally unknown until introduced in missionary times. The local Polynesian settlers adopted the non-Polynesian custom of the people preceding them on the island, using polished beach stones for beating their māhūte bast into strips which were fastened together with a needle and thread. Easter Island is the only place in Polynesia where bark cloth is made by sewing, and non-Polynesian bone needles are as common in local excavations as are grooved mallets and polished poi pounders in Polynesia proper. Even the ornaments and paraphernalia of Polynesia were abandoned in favor of the peculiar wood carvings typical of the island. On reaching Easter Island the Polynesian contingent even abandoned the rectangular and oval pole-and-thatch houses typical of the other islands and settled in the non-Polynesian hare paenga, shaped like overturned reed boats, as well as in the equally non-Polynesian masonry villages of South American prototype. This strangely non-Polynesian aspect of Easter Island culture continued right into historic times, and is particularly noteworthy since it was the Polynesian immigrants who survived the ultimate civil wars to dominate numerically the island population at the time of European arrival. The civil wars began with an inter-tribal clash that suddenly put an end to the flourishing Middle Period culture. This cultural catastrophe took place about A.D. 1680, a date resulting independently both from our carbon samples and from Englert’s earlier computation of genealogical lines. As stated, the decadent Late Period that followed was represented by a predominantly Polynesian population with a predominantly non-Polynesian culture, and lasted well into historic times. The whole island is littered with evidence of these disastrous hostilities. Nothing was spared as sacrosanct except the pan-island ceremonial village at Orongo with its basalt image of the solar creator god. Work in
the quarries was abruptly interrupted and numerous statues left in various stages of completion, while others were abandoned nose down during transport along the ancient island roads. During these hostilities the funerary monuments on the familyahu were overthrown, although many of them remained erect until well into the historic period. Masonry villages were razed to the ground, leaving only part of their contiguous foundations and pentagonal, non-Polynesian stone ovens. The boat-shaped reed houses were burned and their beautifully carved and drilled foundation stones cracked in the heat. In this period of turmoil and revenge, termed the Huri-moai or overthrow-of-statues period by the historic islanders, community life in the formerly contiguous village dwellings was impossible and caves were resorted to by individual families for shelter and security. While weapons of any sort are conspicuously absent in the excavations of Early and Middle Period sites, a non-Polynesian obsidian spear point or cutting implement, the mataa, suddenly appears at the outbreak of the civil war and dominates all Late Period sites. This weapon was left scattered in great quantities all over the island surface.

To get any hint of the cause of this sudden outburst of warfare followed by decadence, we might well consider the consistent oral traditions of the historic islanders who descended directly from the survivors. Since the arrival of the first visitors able to gain information through interviews, the islanders have consistently reported that, with few exceptions, they all descend from the one stock of the aboriginal population termed Short-ears, the victors in the disastrous civil war. A few islanders, however, among them the ancestors of the present Atan family, claimed descent from the only adult male among the defeated and decimated group termed Long-ears. This name was due to their custom of once artificially extending their earlobes as on theahu images and the wooden moai kavakava figures. The Long-ears and the Short-ears were said to have spoken different languages and to have had different customs. According to tradition the Long-ears had originally arrived on a two-months’ voyage from the east (the direction of South America) under the leadership of Hotu Matua, while the Short-ears had been brought to the island by Tuu-ko-ihu, who came later from the west (from the direction of Polynesia). Tuu-ko-ihu’s companions found stone statues already erected when they arrived, and they adopted the religion of the country. Tradition is very specific in stating that the Long-ears and the Short-ears lived peacefully together for a period of karau-karau, or two hundred years, the Short-ears toiling on the large stone structures and monuments of the Long-ears. Asked to clean the eastern headland of lava boulders, the Short-ears, tired of complying with every whim of the Long-ears, finally made open revolt. Detailed legends describe how the Long-ears lighted a pyre in a defensive ditch dug across the eastern headland, but were overcome through the treachery of a Short-eared woman who helped her own kin to fall upon the Long-ears from behind and push them into their own pyre. Excavations with carbon dating show that an extremely long period passed between the original construction of the ditch, with an associated rampart on its upper side, and the date when the pyre was constructed and burned. In fact, the ditch was already half filled with wind-blown dust at this time.

From the very time of the collapse of the Middle Period the geography of Easter Island assumed major importance for the forming of the Late Period culture. Any remaining forests were burned, and enemy marauders could reach every part of the island in a very few hours and see most of the naked landscape from any hilltop. Escape was impossible since the nearest speck of habitable land was nearly two thousand miles distant, and the disrupted community life would not permit the peaceful construction of reed boats large enough for a voyage of such a distance. However, the island was honeycombed by innumerable tunnels and caves caused by volcanic activity. Although some of the caves formed large galleries inside the rock, capable of housing a great number of people, they usually began in the cliffside, or on the surface of the lava-strewn terrain, merely as narrow openings
which could be further constricted by boulders and blocks. During most of the Late Period individual families resorted to living in these hideouts, providing them with stone-lined, chimneylike, and usually angular entrance tubes so extremely narrow that they permitted only one person to wriggle through at a time and thus made open attack impossible. While the ahu statues were too large to be carried to safety, all portable property, both art and utensils, was carried underground during this period of civil wars. Anything left on the surface was sure to be destroyed or stolen. Even the present population has vivid traditional memories of the savage feuds and cannibalistic ceremonies during which their starving ancestors only dared to venture out from hiding at night to fish among the rocks or cultivate a few sweet potatoes that were frequently stolen by the enemy.

When the early Dutch and Spanish visitors came to the island, they found a mixed population with an equally mixed vocabulary of Polynesian and completely non-Polynesian words. At that time the Easter Islanders seemed to be enjoying a brief period of peace, but the visitors did not observe a single art object apart from the large ahu statues, many of which had been overthrown. Later, when Captain Cook arrived, however, the island had been ravaged by another of the many Late Period wars, and he found a decimated and starving population, apparently all of Polynesian stock. Like the previous visitors, the Englishmen realized that part of the population, and nearly all the women, were hiding below the surface. On this occasion, the poverty-stricken islanders were driven by want to bring forth for the first time a large and heterogeneous collection of wood carvings for trade with the visitors. All the early records stress the islanders' great dexterity and aptitude for theft. They stole from each other as readily as from their visitors, and hid their booty underground.

After a large proportion of the islanders had been carried away by Peruvian slave raiders in the second half of the nineteenth century a new period of comparative peace reigned on the island when the first missionary, Eyraud, arrived in 1864 and attempted to settle ashore as the first foreigner. He found the natives once more living on the island surface in reed huts that were full of written tablets and figurines of both wood and stone, representing a wide variety of human, animal, and monstrous forms. Horrified by these pagan objects, he ordered them destroyed, and many were actually burned. Although he was subsequently driven from the island by natives who carried all his possessions into their own secret caves, he succeeded in scaring the islanders to the extent that when he returned a couple of years later, followed by three other missionaries, the island surface was as completely cleared of portable art objects as in the earlier period of tribal wars. In fact, his missionary companions did not even realize that written tablets had ever existed on the island, until one of them saw an eroded example that a child had just found on a cliff. As a result of the profound interest shown by a bishop in Tahiti, the four missionaries managed to have a handful of tablets and small images brought forth from hiding and sent to him. Because of the islanders' fear of the destruction of their sacred heirlooms by their new religious teachers, the carvings brought forth were extremely few compared to the vast quantities seen earlier by Eyraud. Only profane visitors managed in the following couple of decades to obtain a large number of further examples both in wood and stone and often very eroded. These spread to various parts of the world, finally reaching museums and private collections together with other carvings brought from the island in pre-missionary times by various early voyagers. The arriving missionaries managed to wipe out the aboriginal language of the small, mixed island population just as fast and effectively as they managed to remove all visible traces of small sculptures from the island surface. They achieved this by introducing to the few surviving islanders the Tahitian dialect in their own oral and written teachings. Only two years after the establishment of the mission ashore, Palmer, a French surgeon visiting the island, recorded that the Easter Island language had altered so greatly that it was impossible to say what it was originally. Therefore, any attempt at using modern dictionaries to reconstruct the island's prehistory through glotto-chronology is quite mean-
ingless. Palmer recorded that he had been shown odd and grotesque wooden figures in a large variety of forms, some of which bore evidence of great age, and added that small stone figures also existed, but he was not permitted to see them. We are thus indebted to Geiseler, the commander of the ethnographical expedition of the Hyâne, for further clarifying the reason for the islanders’ reluctance to expose their stone images. Geiseler recorded that the supreme Easter Island god, Makemake, was not directly worshipped but received attention through a series of small wooden images carried about in his honor during dances and feasts. They were jointly termed moai toromiro, or images of toromiro wood. There was another class of small images carved from stone, but they were never brought forth in public. They were termed moai maea, or stone images. This second type was a kind of tutelary image, and each family possessed one or more. The Germans were actually able to bring back to Europe a sample collection of these small stone sculptures which the islanders had been most reluctant to part with in contrast with their wooden figurines and dance paraphernalia. Corroborative evidence was supplied by the American scientists arriving with the U.S. Mohican four years after the German visit. Thomson recorded that all the large ahu statues were effigies of distinguished persons intended as monuments to perpetuate their memory. They were never regarded as idols and were not worshipped, but the islanders had small household gods of both stone and wood that were considered some sort of tutelary genii and bore no relation to the large images ornamenting the ahu. These household images represented certain spirits and belonged to a different order from the gods although accredited with many of the same attributes. They occupied a prominent place in every dwelling and were regarded as the medium through which communications might be made with the spirits, but they were never worshipped. The early visitors were able to record that small, household stone images were sometimes carved from red scoria, sometimes from white volcanic tuff or even hard basalt. Some were carved as full figures, some were busts, some were merely heads, and some were crude masks incised on the surfaces of stones. Some were intended only for women, some to ensure a good harvest, some to increase the fertility of chickens or useful marine species, and some to prevent intruders from trespassing. The main difference between the small stone figurines, moai maea, and the wooden figurines, moai toromiro, is that the former were accredited with various magical powers benefiting only the owner, whereas the latter were portrait figures, emblems of rank, and dance paraphernalia, and thus something openly shared by the whole island community.

Of great importance to the subsequent evaluation of Easter Island art was the arrival in 1877 of a half Tahitian, Alexander P. Salmon. By this time the missionaries had again been driven away by native hostilities and the only profane foreign settler had been murdered. Salmon, who spoke the newly introduced Tahitian dialect now in common use naturally became the guide and interpreter first for the German Hyâne Expedition and subsequently for the American Mohican Expedition. He helped them obtain quantities of wood carvings including written tablets that were once more brought forth from their secret hiding places. He noticed that the foreigners were particularly keen on obtaining the beautifully polished wooden figurines realistically portraying long-eared, emaciated men and some of the other portrait figures and paraphernalia known to the outside world ever since the time of Captain Cook’s brief call. Salmon now encouraged the poverty-stricken islanders to start a commercial production of such wooden artifacts as were most in demand. When the island was annexed by Chile in 1888 and a more regular contact with the outside world began, this commercial production gradually gained momentum. Since the same people who had formerly carved such figures for their own use now simply continued to carve them in larger numbers for commerce, there is often little or no difference between utilitarian and purely commercial art in this transition period which began in about 1888. However, the missionary influence generally caused the commercial artist to omit the detailed carving of genitalia, the lack of personal interest usually made the carving cruder and less perfectly
polished, and imported wood was often resorted to because of the shortage of the local *toromiro* which was rapidly approaching extinction. Generally, therefore, but not always, it is possible to distinguish between art carved before and after this important transition period.

The mass production of only a few well-known standard types of wood carving, combined with the general knowledge that the island was littered with only one type of large stone statue, created the completely erroneous belief that Easter Island art was monotonous, conventional, and completely devoid of individualistic imagination. The considerable number of old wooden and stone figurines of a heterogeneous character that had left the island before the period of mass production became considered as atypical of the island and was overlooked in favor of the increasing amount of standard forms which became favorite ethnographica in curio shops and were given the place of honor in museum exhibits. The aberrant sculptures were less in demand, and were often tucked away in museum storage rooms, overlooked even by students of Polynesian art.

The carving of wooden figurines for functional purposes ended as commercialization began, since emblems of rank and paraphernalia for public dances had gone out of use. However, the sculpture of small stonem figurines, strictly serving the individual islander and his nearest family. continued in secrecy as in pre-missionary times. Before they were driven away the missionaries had succeeded in giving Christian names to all the natives and had recorded them as baptized in their church register. They had succeeded in altering their language and had driven their pagan heirlooms underground. Yet in the short period of their visit they had not managed to remove the islanders' faith and respect for the deeds of their ancestors constantly evident in the gigantic stone figures dominating the barren landscape and admitted by the missionaries themselves to be the work of the devil. Not even the foreign visitors had been able to understand how these giant images had been transported and erected. The magic power of their own kin was therefore as realistic to the islanders as any teachings about what to them was a hitherto unheard-of crucified foreigner and his virgin mother. Even when Christianity got a firmer grip on the Easter Islanders than on most continental communities, the magic heirlooms still haunted the island from their underground hiding places. In the long period following the missionary departure in 1871 until the re-establishment of a permanent mission with the arrival of Father Sebastian Englert in 1934, only a Polynesian catechist was responsible for the church services.

The double life of the islanders, split between the Church and their own secret family caves, was a logical consequence, and even the catechist once had to write to the Bishop in Tahiti to ascertain whether a certain Easter Island supernatural was to be considered God or Devil. Visitors throughout this period, including the British Routledge Expedition in 1914 and the Franco-Belgian Expedition with Lavachery and Métraux in 1934, stressed the extreme superstition among the local islanders. Every islander believed that a class of spirits termed *aku-aku* resided in every cave and cranny on the island, and interfered with all human activities, openly communicating with those who possessed any degree of *mana*.

Every single visitor to the island was told of secret family caves containing ancient heirlooms stored away and protected by guardian spirits. The promise of great rewards tempted many natives to take visitors into their secret caves, but invariably the fear of supernatural punishment made them lose courage at the last moment, and the secret entrances remained hidden. With the twentieth-century rise of prices the temptation for the cave owners increased, and on rare occasions more *moai maea* came to light and left the island. In most cases, however, the natives were so afraid of their own ancestral *aku-aku* that they preferred to steal from the caves of others, particularly from caches whose owners' lineage had died out. The main pastime of the Easter Islanders was thus recorded by several visitors as an indefatigable search in the rock faces and the lava-strewn fields for concealed cave entrances.
At the arrival of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition in 1955, the islanders appeared to be completely acculturated and the Church held a central place in community life. Father Sebastian Englert, who had spent twenty years on the island and knew it better than any other foreigner, was much absorbed in the problem of what had happened to the vast quantities of small sculptures and written tablets seen by Lay Brother Eyraud when he landed on the island some ninety years before. Since all of it had disappeared at a moment’s notice, Englert was convinced that nearly everything had been quickly hidden away in secret family caves whose entrances had still been known to certain families until very recent years. Father Englert had spoken to islanders who had been into their ancestors’ caves, and he had recorded how they made a ceremonial earth oven, termed umu takapu, baking chicken and sweet potatoes as an offering to the aku-aku guarding the cave, before they dared remove the stones concealing the entrance. He had even recorded how the bodies of twentieth-century natives had been removed from the Christian cemetery at night to disappear forever in some occult family cave. Old people had even offered relatives still alive on the island today sculptures from their secret caves in return for help to get inside and die there among the pagan objects, with the entrance sealed behind them. Englert was firmly convinced, however, that the last person to know the entrance to a secret cave was now dead and that the present population was so thoroughly converted to Christianity that it would have sold the pagan contents with no qualms whatsoever, had it known where to find them.

The time was ripe and conditions favorable for a change of attitude when our expedition anchored off Anakena bay in 1955. The fact that the expedition leader was already known to the population after he passed north of the island on the Kon-Tiki raft, the success of the archaeological team in bringing forth hidden ancestral monuments from the ground, the dwindling fear of aku-aku among the younger generation, and the hitherto unmatched merchandise available for trade on the expedition ship that was the first ever to be anchored off the shore for months on end, all combined to give our expedition an unusual advantage. This combination of factors led to the first cave disclosures any foreigner had witnessed.

Many of the caves with contracted entrances used for refuge and residence in the period of civil wars were still known to the entire island population. Our experiences revealed, however, that a quite considerable number of caves with concealed and completely invisible entrances are still the property of individual islanders, and there is probably not a single family on the island that does not have such a hiding place either for heirlooms or recently accumulated wealth. The storage caves visited by us contained nothing but moai maea and in a few cases burials, some of which seemed to be of post-missionary date. The stone sculptures clearly varied in age, ranging from those representing large sail-carrying reed boats and sophisticated motifs clearly antedating the decadent Late Period, to those representing horses, rabbit heads, or even the Virgin and Child, motifs of recent introduction but hardly intended for commercial purposes since every islander would recognize them as of European introduction.

No sooner had the cave secrecy been broken and the gossip begun to spread in the village than motifs of the hitherto unrevealed moai maea type began to be manufactured. Motifs previously considered too sacred or too secret for commercialization were now in some cases duplicated, while in other cases they inspired a new production, all utterly different from the replicas and tourist fakes offered for sale as “antiques” and souvenirs. In a matter of a very few weeks about a thousand stone sculptures of a heterogeneous character and previously unknown types were encountered in secret storage caves or brought to the expedition camp by a small number of Easter Islanders. The majority bore clear evidence of antiquity and sometimes quite considerable age, while others, which appeared towards the end of our stay, were clearly carved for our benefit. In between these two identifiable categories falls
another category of sculptures not identifiable either as being authentic or carved during our stay, since patina is lacking. Patina is not easily acquired on a worked stone surface in a dark and dry storage cave where erosion is minimal. Lack of patina is therefore not conclusive evidence of fresh work. In fact, eighteen years of subsequent museum storage in conditions similar to those in a dark and dry cave have not altered the appearance of these sculptures in the least. Sculptures carved for mnemonic or magic purposes in the years immediately preceding the re-establishment of the Catholic mission on the island in 1933 would hardly look much older than those carved at the time of our visit. The degree of patina would naturally vary according to the conditions of the cave in which the sculptures have been stored. Moss and lichen grew on some of the specimens obtained by our expedition, and there were frequent reports about caves so damp that the sculptures had to be cleaned and dried in the sun at intervals to prevent the porous lava from being damaged by biological growth. The surprise of the unexpected discovery of *moai maea* hoarded in caves, together with the skeptical attitude of certain scholars who had not seen the sculptures and yet lost no time in judging the material to be a collection of tourist fakes, led the writer to undertake a world-wide survey of art objects previously brought from Easter Island. The purpose of the survey was to get an understandable background to the seemingly unprecedented ethnographic discoveries of our expedition that had come to Easter Island solely for the purpose of archaeological research. A detailed description of Easter Island art objects from sixty-four public and private collections is included in the Appendix, with sample illustrations in Plates 16–183. Plates 184–299 are selected examples of sculptures collected by our expedition, where an attempt has been made to omit carvings probably made during our visit to the island, with the exception of Plates 300–1, which show typical examples of the latter category.

An analysis of Easter Island motifs and styles, undertaken after the general museum survey, shows that the art of this island stands out in marked contrast to the art of all the other Polynesian islands. For the lack of a better alternative, the Marquesas group is the area we all suspect as the source of the Polynesian contingent on Easter Island. However, the stereotyped and conventionalized art of the Marquesas group has even less in common with the art of Easter Island than that of the rest of Polynesia. Irrespective of whatever part of Polynesia we chose as a possible source area for the Polynesians on Easter Island, we are left with the fact that, as with their dwellings, household implements, customs, and religious beliefs, their homeland art was also abandoned in favor of that already present among the earlier settlers of the island. In judging the non-Polynesian origins of Easter Island art, a comparison has also been made with the aboriginal art of the nearest mainland to the east. The results verify what the noted Easter Island archaeologist and art historian, Dr. H. Lavachery, first suspected in his publication of 1965 (*Lavachery*, 1965, p. 159) and repeats in his foreword to this volume: while differing markedly in style and concept from the art of the other Pacific islands, Easter Island art, with its boundless imagination, its individualistic variety of motifs, its use of both realism and conventionalism, closely follows the art in stone, wood, and pottery of ancient Peru, and most notably that of the maritime Mochica culture of the Pacific coast.
Fig. 63: Stone sculpture from Peru (from Kosok, 1965, p.198).
The general resemblance to Plates 149-156, 166, 190-194 should be noted.
Photographic credits

Photographs taken on Easter Island are by Erling J. Schjerven, photographer to the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition. Photographs of sculptures in the Kon-Tiki Museum are by Per G. Maurtwedt, photographer of the Norwegian Museum of Antiquities. Credits for photographs from other museums and private collections are due to the respective institutions and owners, and while in each case a cue word only is given in the captions, the full reference is listed on pp. 259–60. The photographs in Plate 318 are by Ramón Enríquez; Color Plate XIV top and bottom right. Plates 311 b, d, 313 j, 314 f, 315 f, 317 m–o, and 320 are by Derek Furlong; Plates 311 c, 313 a, b, g, 314 f, m, and 315 o by Abraham Guillen; Plates 317 g–k, p, and 319 b by Antonio Halik; Plates 302 a–d, 304 b, 305 a–e, g, 306 d–f, 307 b, d, f, 308 c, e, 309 a–k, and 310 a, b by the author; Plate 312 h by L. T. Laffen; Plate 310 f, g by Mrs. Rebecca Northern; Plate 10 b by Fred Picker; Plate 309 l by Thorleif Schjelderup; and Plate 311 a by Adam Woolfitt. Acknowledgments to the many scholars who have generously assisted in the museum research are given in the introduction to the catalogue section where individual artifacts are described.
EASTER ISLAND. a Rano Raraku with quarries and coastal cliffs seen from the south; b lava fields west of Anakena Bay; c cultivated area northeast of Hangaroa village; d Puna Pau topknot quarries; e Rano Kao crater lake and bird islands; f Rano Raraku crater lake and interior quarries.
PLATE 2

MONUMENT TYPE 1: a from Early Period solar observatory on summit of Rano Kao; b from plains west of Rano Raraku; c from Ahu Hangamai-hiku; d MONUMENT TYPE 2: headless pillar statue from Vinapu.
MONUMENT TYPE 3: a Early Period kneeling statue during excavation in refuse from oldest section of Rano Raraku quarries; b-d same after erection.
PLATE 4

MONUMENT TYPE 4 EARLY PERIOD carved from hard basalt and with convex base

a in Otago Museum, Dunedin;
b in Musées Royaux d'Art et Histoire, Brussels.
MONUMENT TYPE 4 EARLY PERIOD carved from hard basalt and with convex base. This Early Period image remained a supreme deity when Middle Period people began erecting ahu images to commemorate specific ancestors. It was the only statue actually venerated by the entire population and throughout all three cultural periods. Moved from the ceremonial center of Orongo to the British Museum, it had probably been the prototype for all Middle Period ahu monuments. a front and b rear view showing an ao paddle and some vulva symbols carved at the back of the ears, and two more ao. Two more vulva, a bird, and two bird-men added during the Middle Period.
Plate 6 MONUMENT TYPE 4 MIDDLE PERIOD carved from Rano Raraku tuff with flattened base for balancing on masonry ahu. a complete bust with superimposed topknot; b and c red scoria topknots abandoned near quarries; d topknots lost in channel near their destination at Ahu Hanga-tee.
EARLY PERIOD MASONRY. a in ruins of stepped pyramid of Ahu Hanga Poukura; b and c surviving in astronomically oriented seaward wall of reshaped Middle Period ahu at Vinapu.
MIDDLE PERIOD AHU built from Early Period remains. a and b facing slabs overturned and reused as statue bases on Ahu Vinapu; c house-foundation stones replacing upper tier on Ahu Hanga Tepe; d Early Period basalt statue set face into Middle Period masonry of Ahu Mai-taki-te-moa; e Early Period image head and human relief reused as building blocks in Ahu Naunau.
WORKING PROCEDURE IN CARVING AND ERECTING STATUES: a carving with pointed basalt picks and water splashed from gourd containers; b pulling on skids; c-e erection with underbuilding; f final result upon removal of stone pile.
PLATE 10 MIDDLE PERIOD ANCESTOR MONUMENTS: a overturned and left face down on Ahu Akahanga as on all other ahu since the Late Period civil war from *ca.* 1680 to 1862; b re-erected without topknots on Ahu Akivi by W. Mulloy and G. Fiqueroa.
ABANDONED RANO RARAKU QUARRIES disclose sculptors' technique: a cutting first into the rock; b then down behind; c until the work with hand picks leaves statue on a keel; d and e then completely undercut and freed for downhill transport; f to foot of quarries where it is temporarily raised by underbuilding; g to give access to the as yet unworked back. Descending silt from the quarries has later buried most of these temporarily erected statues standing with unfinished backs.
PLATE 12 BURIED STATUES. a when work was interrupted by the Poike war in about 1680, the nearly completed statues below the quarries were soon buried to their necks in descending debris; b and c excavations show them resting on temporary stone pavements awaiting transport to various alta.
READY FOR TRANSPORT. *a* Before removal to some *ahu* the image's back was finished to the last detail and some statues carried a dorsal relief claimed by islanders to be symbols of the sun, rainbow, and rain; *b* the body, usually male, was always truncated below the genitals.
PLATE 14  EXCAVATION AT RANO RARAKU. a the tallest statue temporarily raised at the foot of the quarries, known as Piropiror, was a bust 11.40 m. high; b sections buried and protected from erosion show the beautiful finish on all surfaces including the back; c excavation revealed a crescent-shaped reed boat with three masts and crew on deck fishing a large turtle incised on the chest and stomach of Statue 263 which was buried in silt well before European arrival.
NON-POLYNESIAN FEATURES: a corbel-vaulted stone houses of completely non-Polynesian type in the ceremonial village of Orongo; b circular masonry houses, also of non-Polynesian type, with interior hearths that contained carbon dated to the Middle Period; c and d paenga stones carved in the Early Period as house foundations were reused for Easter Island reed houses until historic times; e shell ornaments for extended earlobes; f stone fishhook; g stone bowls for unknown use.
PLATE 16  TAPA IMAGE (Boston 53542). An interior framework of twigs tied together and stuffed with totora reeds is covered with a tight skin of separate pieces of bark-cloth neatly sewn together and painted in a polychrome pattern imitating tattoo.
TAPA IMAGE (Boston 53542). a front and b rear view of 46 cm. tall seated image covered with traditional Easter Island tattoo motifs including representations of *matua*, or obsidian spear points. Larger *tapa* figures, known as *pumā*, could be at least the size of a man.
PLATE 18  TAPA IMAGE (Boston 53542) detail showing head with applied tapa-covered eyes and teeth, and hands with long wooden nails. Body paint in black and yellowish brown.
TAPA IMAGE (Boston 53543). a front and b rear view of 41 cm. tall seated image with applied eyes, teeth, and nails. PLATE 19
The painted designs on chin and neck concur with the ornamental pattern found on some of the ahu statues.
TAPA IMAGE (Belfast 1910–41). The tattoo-like body painting represents *matua*, dance paddles, a vulva symbol, and designs common on stone statues. This remarkable aspect of Easter Island art would have been unknown today if three specimens had not been carried away with their owners during the earliest American slave raids before 1838. (See also Pl. IX.)
PLATE 22 TAPA HEADWEAR (Boston 53541). a front and b side view of tapa-covered fillet stuffed with totora reeds. In addition to the eyes a round snout is applied giving the zoomorphic head a feline aspect, painted with red and black dots and stripes.
TAPA HEADWEAR (Boston 53540). a front and b side view of ceremonial cap manufactured from totora reeds covered with bark-cloth. A zoomorphic creature with a round snout and a striped and spotted black, white, and orange-red body crouches in conventionalized Easter Island fashion with four limbs represented by applied ridges of reeds. (See also Fig. 32.)
MOAI KAVAKAVA or "figure with ribs" (Ratton Coll. n.n.) carved from toromiro wood. Profile and front view of the most common of all standardized figures in Late Period Easter Island art, basically unchanged during centuries of uninterrupted carving.
MOAI KAVAKAVA (London +3286) detail showing characteristic facial features of this traditional portrait figure: aquiline nose, goatee beard, thin lips, prolonged earlobes, and eyes inlaid with bone rings and obsidian disks.
MOAI KAVAKAVA. a (London +3286) and b (London E.P. 21) front, profile, and rear view of standardized portrait figure which tradition claims was first carved to memorize the appearance of last refugees from an earlier island population hiding in the Puna Pau quarries.
HEAD DESIGNS ON MOAI KAVAKAVA. a (London 4835) a common motif incised on the heads of moai kavakava since pre-European times is three human faces with long flowing beards and long hair, often terminating like the tail of a whale; b (London +2595) another common motif is a striped quadruped with a short tail, three-fingered hands and a bearded, anthropomorphic head. The complete statuette is shown in f and h. Similar motifs occur in d and e (Dublin 154–1886 and 1604–1880). c, g occasionally fish constitute another motif incised on the heads (London 1933. 10–14.1).
MOAI PAPA or “flat figure” (Vander Stuete Coll. n.n.) carved from toromiro wood. a right side and b front view of standardized female figure with broad but extremely flat body, presumably representing the earth-mother.
MOAI PAPA (Vander Struete Coll., n.n.). a rear and b left view of same figure as in Pl. 28 showing perforation for suspension string. The flatness is not meant to represent emaciation since neither ribs nor spine are shown.
MOAI PAPA (Edinburgh 1895.373), detail of flat female figurine showing fine facial features with narrow aquiline nose, thin lips, and extended earlobes containing inlaid plugs.
MOAI PAPA (Edinburgh 1895.373). a realistic portrait shows European-like physiognomy with inlaid eyes and earplugs; b (London +2897) female; and c (Leningrad N 402-1) hermaphrodite varieties of the same type of flat figure.
MOAI TANGATA or “human figure” (Leningrad N 402-2) carved from toromiro wood, with inlaid bone and obsidian eyes. Front, profile, and rear view of realistic male image possibly representing the first progenitor of mankind, the child of the flat papa-figure, whose facial features he preserves with the usual addition of a goatee beard and an infant’s body.
MOAI TANGATA (London E.P. 204) with inlaid eyes lost. As on the figure in Pl. 32, three human faces with long, flowing beards and extended earlobes are incised on top of the head.
PLATE 34  MOAI TANGATA, a (Edinburgh 1954.100) with three bearded faces as head ornament; b (London E.P. 25); c (Hooper Coll. n.n.); d (Washington 17538); and e (Washington 17537) variations of same type of male figure.
MOAI TANGATA: a (London E.P. 204), and b (Leningrad N 402-2) details showing head decoration consisting of three marine monsters with bearded and long-eared human heads; c (Paris 87.31.06) front and side view of rare specimen with attached human hair, *tapa* perineal band, and remains of suspension string.
MOAI TANGATA (Edinburgh 1954, 100) detail showing European-like physiognomy and bearded Long-ears incised on head. The circular depression carved into the skull is an important feature reappearing in certain island rituals.
MOAI TANGATA (Leningrad N 402–2) detail showing European-like physiognomy resembling that of the papa and kava-kava images.
MOAI TANGATA MANU or "bird-man" (Leningrad N 736–204) carved from toromiro wood. This specimen was brought from the island in 1804. A photographic reproduction has subsequently provided the islanders with a prototype for mass production. The body is basically that of *moai kavakava* with the addition of wings and the conventional tassel in the small of the back. The head changes from that of a long-beaked bird to that of a man with a long beard, according to the angle of view.
MOAI TANGA MANU detail of the same figure as in Pl. 38, seen from above. See also Pl. 114 c. A human face, unnoticeable in profile, is carved on top of the bird's beak in such a way that when the carving is seen from above, the bird's head is transformed into a human head. What was formerly the beak now becomes a flowing beard.
This important variation of the bird-man motif clearly shows that the bird’s head is a mask only. When lifted up as on the present figure, the human face is visible beneath. A ceremonial dance with one performer wearing a paper bird mask was demonstrated for the Norwegian Expedition in 1956 (PL.184 f).
MOAI TANGATA MANU, front and rear view of the same figure. The wings join at the tassel symbolizing the bird's tail, and from that area a similar pair of groove patterns curves forward to appear either as ribs or feathery fingers meeting at the sternum.
MOKO, a monstrous reptile (Dublin 1603.1880). This important mythical creature in Easter Island art has strong anthropomorphic aspects and yet clearly represents a large reptile with a bird's tassel in front of the buttocks. In some instances the moko might have served as a club judging from the handlelike appearance of the legs and tail.
MOKO a (Brussels ET.45.51). The monstrous reptile is frequently carved from a naturally curved piece of toromiro wood. The present specimen has a design of two cockerels on the forehead and a vulva symbol under the chin. The forelimbs, stretched as is customary toward the throat, are in the present case carved with human hands. b detail of moko in Pl.42.
PLATE 44  REI MIRO, or "boat pectoral," also known as REI MARAMA, or "moon pectoral" (Cologne 32601), of toromiro wood. a front and b rear view. This emblem of high rank is most commonly decorated with a goatee-bearded human face at each end. According to tradition it symbolizes the crescent-shaped boats in which the island was first reached.
REI MIRO (London 9295) detail of specimen shown in Pl. 46 a. The specimen, incised with symbols from the rongo-rongo, reached a Maori chief in New Zealand before the first missionaries discovered that written tablets existed on Easter Island.
**PLATE 46**  REI MIRO a complete view of specimen in Pl.45; b (London +2601 A.W.F. 18. IX.85); c (Sydney A 18853); d (London 6847 A.W.F. 2.VIII.70 Comrie Coll.) rear view (for front view see Pl.47 a). Prominent features on most specimens are the goatee-bearded and pointed heads.
REI MIRO a front view of specimen illustrated in PL. 46 d; b rear view of Oslo 2437 (for front view see PL. 48 a). Decorations on both specimens emphasize their maritime connections as claimed by tradition. The center of a is incised with a hook-beaked bird-man holding a double-bladed paddle, an accessory to American reed boats unknown elsewhere in Polynesia (see Ph. 54-57); b terminates at both ends with a marine shell.
REI MIRO a front view of Pl. 47 b: Hooper Coll. fish-shaped version. The crescent-shaped depression is consistently retained on the rear of this emblem of rank.
REI MIRO a front view of Göttingen Oz 1546; b rear view of Berlin VI 24947. The front of a rei miro is always convex while the rear with the crescent-shaped depression is flat.
Pl. 50 REI MIRO a front and rear view of Honolulu B. 3642; b rear view of Ratton Coll. n.n. Most exceptionally the rei miro is shaped like a chicken or ornamented with a chicken’s head at each end.
TAHONGA, an egg-shaped pendant, a (Honolulu B. 3571 c) an exceptional coconut-shaped variety; b–d (Oslo 2441) three views of the standard variety divided by branching ridges into four equal segments. The tahonga, like the ret mira, was worn as an emblem of rank.
WOODEN PENDANTS

a (Leningrad 402–201) a, c) common tahonga attached to wooden fish head; b (Stockholm 1885.5.5) tahonga with inlaid eyes; c (Edinburgh 1950 232) carved as a ceramic jar with a stopper; d (Oslo 2442) similar specimen with turtle incision.
UA, a long-handled club (Oslo 2435) full view and detail showing the standard form of conventionalized human heads symmetrically carved on each side of the butt end: the eyes are inlaid with bone and obsidian. This type of baton also served as a ceremonial staff. The *paau* club is identical except for its shorter blade.
A long-handled, double-bladed paddle (Oslo 2436), detail of blades. A complete view is shown in Pl. 55 a. The double-bladed paddle, unknown elsewhere in Polynesia, survived on Easter Island as a South American element together with the Peruvian mōra reed boat.
AO a full view of sample specimen illustrated in Pl. 54; b (Vienna 22845) detail of elaborate specimen with inlaid eyes showing the human features inspiring the shape of the utilitarian specimens.
PLATE 56  AO (Washington 129,947) painted version of a utilitarian paddle. The vertical bands on top are meant to represent a feather-crown as seen in the mural painting in Pl.183 a.
DOUBLE-BLADED PADDLES a–c (London +2598, n.n., and n.n.) rupa, short-bladed, ceremonial dance paddles; d dao, long-handled, utilitarian paddle reduced to the same size for comparison. The ceremonial paddles, like the utilitarian type, have retained the simplified human mask on one blade, reduced to a nasal ridge which branches into two curving eyebrows, and the circular plugs of extended earlobes. The blunt spike on the opposite blade was originally used for pushing off in shallow water.
KOHAI RONGO-RONGO, inscribed wooden tablets. Unique among all Pacific peoples, the Easter Islanders possessed wooden boards and sticks covered with incised rows of ideograms. The islanders, piously copying older prototypes for ritual use, were unable to read and write the forgotten script, chanting only texts they had learned by heart. a (London 1903-150); b (Washington 129773); c (Washington 129774).
KOHAU RONGO-RONGO, opposite sides of tablets in Pl. 58. In spite of false claims to the contrary, the Easter Island script still remains undeciphered. The signs, placed in boustrophedon, with every second line upside down, include bird-men, an arch-backed feline, a long-eared human being, etc., although most symbols are nondescript.
Emaciated human figures deviating from the norm are very uncommon. The present specimen varies in representing a Short-ear since it lacks the extended lobes; the head is made intentionally grotesque and larger in proportion to the body than on the standard figures. A quadruped with a human head, three-fingered hands, and a tail split like that of a whale is incised on top of the head.
ABERRANT RIBBED FIGURES a (Paris 94.27.1) is beardless and has its head turned to one side; b (Washington 3823) front and rear view of aberrant moai kavakava with short ears and exceptionally large eye cavities from which the inlays have been lost.
Although certain concepts of the moai kavakava are preserved, the style and execution are highly aberrant, notably in the turban, the smooth back, and the flat body shape.
ABERRANT MALE FIGURES. a (Leningrad 736–203) little is left of the moni kavakava concept except the front of the body and the limbs;  b (Dresden 18361) small stooping male with inlaid eyes, the right inlay having been lost.
PLATE 64. **FAT, GOATEE-BEARDED DWARF (Buenos Aires 20741).** As opposed to the *mosi kava kava* and *mosi fangata,* which are intended as realistic portraits of specific types of man, this carving is obviously meant to depict some grotesque demon or *akua akua.*
CURVED, STICK-SHAPED FIGURE in *toromuo* wood (*Leningrad 736–205*). This fine carving is highly aberrant with its flattened crest-shaped head and its large, protruding wide mouth. These exceptional specimens which follow no norm probably all represent family *aku-aku*. A detail of this figure is shown in Pl. 66.
Like many other aberrant wood carvings, this specimen left Easter Island long before missionary arrival and nothing was recorded about its origin in the island community.
HERMAPHRODITE FIGURE of *toromiro* wood with trumpet mouth and goatee beard (*Auckland 128/30 4793*), detail of figurine shown in PL 68. The bulging eyes are asymmetrically carved and the inlays are lost except for the bone ring in the right eye.
HERMAPHRODITE FIGURE of *toromiro* wood with trumpet mouth and goatee beard, full view of figure shown in Pl. 67. Hermaphrodite images with both a vulva and a beard are not uncommon in Easter Island art, particularly among the flat *moui papa*. 
MALE FIGURE WITH TRUMPET MOUTH (London 1957 Oc. 1-1). The similarity in style and concept between this figure and Pl.68 may indicate that both are products of the same carver.
PLATE 70  STRADDLING MALE of toromiro wood, rear and front view (Boston 53599). The natural fork of a branch is sometimes used to give certain postures to the carving which might otherwise not have been thought of. The figure has a very realistic hair design with curls at the forehead, a detail also seen on some of the red scoria topknots of the large images.
STOOPING FEMALE of *toromiro* wood (Washington 129745); rear, front and side views. The natural curvature of the wood is not infrequently exploited to give aberrant postures.
MALE WITH RIGHT ARM PLACED BEHIND, carved in hibiscus wood (Christchurch E 150.1129), front and rear view. Like many of these figures, the neck is perforated at the back for a suspension string and the figure is unable to stand without support.
MALE WITH RIGHT ARM PLACED BEHIND, same figure as Pl. 72, right and left side views. A quadruped with three-fingered hands and a human head wearing a feather-crown is carved on top of the head.
PLATE 74  CURVED FIGURE WITH LEFT ARM AND PENIS BEHIND (*Hamburg* 3778b), front and rear views. The spine projects strongly although the front shows no sign of emaciation. A detail of this figure is shown in Pl. 75.
DETAIL OF IMAGE in PL. 74. The narrow face with its wedge-shaped, upturned chin recalls the faces at each end of the rei miro.
The lack of sexual parts on this figure could indicate post-missionary carving, but the fact that the surface is polished from handling and subsequently worm-eaten, notably on the left arm, suggests that it is an old carving brought from a cave.
MEN WITH HATS. a (London H. Cumming 6) has caused much speculation and would have been rejected as a tourist fake if not for the fact that it is a pre-missionary carving brought from the island half a century before commercialization began. The hat suggests an image of some early European visitor, but the fact that the image is otherwise naked does not support that theory. b (Berkeley 11-1156) wears a reed hat. Reed hats were worn on the island in pre-European times, as illustrated by Captain Cook's artist.
PLATE 78  BACKWARD-BENT FIGURES. a (Leningrad 1432–11) wears a feather-crown, an ornament which played an important part in the ceremonial attire of the Easter Islanders, as is shown by the many actual specimens preserved, and frequent representations in art. The general posture of b (Edinburgh 1954, 101) and the position of the ears suggest a common inspiration behind this and the figure above.
KNEELING MALE (Boston 53596). Although the body is stout, the head, which has lost the inlay in the right eye, has many aspects of the moai kavakava, but the goatee beard is lacking and the ears are carved as reversed S's. A double-headed bird is carved in relief on the skull.
MALE FIGURES. a (Washington 315748), with its head turned to the left, was purchased in Hawaii prior to missionary arrival on Easter Island and had probably been brought to this northern group by the early slave raiders; b (Auckland 13807 Ex); c (Brooklyn 03.215); d (Boston 535 98) reached Boston with the early whalers and still has its suspension string attached.
FIGURINES FROM WRECKED SPANISH SLAVING VESSEL. a (New York S-5316) female, and b (New York S-5315) male, were found together in the wreck of the slaving schooner *Esperanza* stranded in the West Indies in 1841 or 1842. They were exhibited as African until properly identified by their style as being of Easter Island origin.
Whereas a (London 1920, 5-6.240) was obtained by the Routledge Expedition in 1914 and was probably fairly freshly carved at the time, b (Boston 53597), which is unfinished between the legs due to a fault in the wood, is undoubtedly ancient since it formed part of the old Boston Collection until 1899.
MALE FIGURES. a (Christchurch E-150.1130) is a side view of the figure in Pl. 84. The image has a sun disk with star-like points radiating from the apex. The large eyebrows curve like ram's horns to form the ears. b (Christchurch E-150.1131) is a side view of the figure in Pl. 85.
REAR AND FRONT VIEWS of figure in Pl. 83 a. The image is covered with recent varnish and the eyes are inlaid with large metal nail heads, probably replacing the original bone and obsidian inlays.
FRONT AND REAR VIEWS of figure in PI. 83 b. The facial features of this figure, except for the eyes and eyebrows, are aberrant in Easter Island art.
SQUATTING MALE (London E-P. 31), side and front view of figure in Pl. 87. The facial proportions with the undistended but large and projecting ears are unusual. Although nothing is recorded as to its history, its early museum catalogue entry directly precedes that of the wooden hand collected during Cook's visit in 1774 (Pl. 94).
SQUATTING MALE, front and rear view of figure in Pl.86. The unusual position of this male image, squatting with the hands pressed above the rectum, might suggest defecation.
PLATE 88  SQUATTING FEMALE (Hamburg n.n.), rear and front views of figure in Pl.89 a. This stout woman with bone disks inlaid in her extended earlobes seems to be a counterpart to the squatting male figure in Pls. 86 and 87, although her hands are placed on the lower abdomen instead of at the rectum.
SQUATTING FEMALES. a side view of figure in Pl. 88; b (Rome 32571) side view of figure in Pl. 90. The cup-shaped depression on top of the head is an important feature on Easter Island sculptures, overlooked by observers until their magic function was revealed by islanders during our expedition's visits to their family caves.
PLATE 90 SQUATTING FEMALE, rear and front views of figure in Pl. 89 b. The position is the same as that of the squatting female in Pl. 88, with the hands placed above the vulva which in this case is greatly extended and pendent. A natural flaw in the wood leaves a big opening at the rectum. The piece was collected among aboriginal Chimu artifacts from Trujillo on the north coast of Peru and reached Rome in 1886.
BEARDED WOMAN WITH LARGE VULVA (*Dunedin* D-36,985), side and rear view. The woman, squatting with her hands above her own large vulva, has a second vulva with split lips of exaggerated size extending downward and backward from the first vulva.
PLATE 92  MALE FIGURE WITH BIRD'S TAIL (Cologne 40586), right and front view of figure in Pl. 93. This very eroded piece has had bulging rather than inlaid eyes and what is left of the nose does not indicate a former beak. The slender arms, however, might well have terminated as pointed wings as they end near the clearly visible remains of a bird's tassel such as is typical of the bird-man and moko figures.
MALE FIGURE WITH BIRD'S TAIL, rear and left views of figure in Pl. 92. This old figure is one of the many taken into hiding at the time of missionary interference, and brought out at the visit of the German Geiseler Expedition in 1882.
PLATE 94  HUMAN HAND (London E-P. 32), back, palm and side views. The carving was collected by Captain Cook's expedition in 1774 and was thought by the Englishmen to represent the elegant hand of a dancer since the long-nailed fingers are turned up in a graceful, backward curve.
HEAD, VULVA AND FOOT. The crudely carved head, a (Dresden 18367), collected by the Geiseler Expedition in 1882, has an oval depression scooped out of the left side of the forehead. b (Oxford VI, 30), collected by the Routledge Expedition, is a vulva symbol with two upturned female breasts with nipples. c-e (Honolulu B.4553) is a pendant carved as a foot swollen with elephantiasis.
PLATE 96  HUMAN TORSO AND SKULL-LIKE HEAD. a (Honoluli B.3572a) eroded and mutilated remains of aberrant figurine found on the island by the earliest settlers; b (Sacres-Cœurs 402) view from below, front, and side of goatee-bearded head with certain features of a cranium, collected by the earliest missionaries.
JANUS HEADS. a (Salem E-5307) is a fine pendant which reached the Salem Museum in 1851, prior to the arrival of the missionaries; b (London, 1919, 6-14, 18) the treatment of this pendant is more elaborate than a but the basic concept is the same.
COMPOSITIONS WITH OPPOSED HEADS. a (Paris 86.111.1), twin heads on a forked neck, is crudely executed and has glass dolls’ eyes replacing the standard inlays, but it is not a commercial piece as it was part of another museum collection before it was donated to Musée de l’Homme in 1886. A noteworthy detail is the short bridge which connects the left ear to the raised area around the eye. b (Boston 53592) is a front view of the carving illustrated in Pl. 99.
PROFILE AND REAR VIEW of carving in PI. 98 b. The concept behind this early carving remains obscure, but the two opposing goatee-bearded heads at each end of a common arched body is slightly reminiscent of a rei-miro. The perforation for a suspension string at the base of the skull of one of the heads, however, shows that it was not intended to be worn horizontally like the rei-miro.
PLATE 100  DOUBLE-HEDDED MOAI KAVAKAVA (La Rochelle MH.N.L.R. n° H 1529), a detail of which is shown in Pl. 102 a. This beautifully finished carving has all the aspects of a standard moai kavakava except that it has a forked spine and twin heads, both of which face forward.
DOUBLE-HEADED FEMALE (Christchurch E. 138.635). Inferior in skill and finish to the male figure in PI. 100, this twin-headed female has its heads facing sideways and in opposite directions. As so often on Easter Island figurines, the heels project further than the short toes of the hooflike feet.
PLATE 102 DOUBLE-HEADED FIGURES. a detail of image in Pl. 100 showing reliefs on top of the heads, representing anthropomorphic figures with three-fingered hands; b (London 98.10–10.13) a strange squatting male figure has one head facing forward and the other backward.
JANUS-HEADED MALE (Concepción A.IV.1). This image was brought from Easter Island on one of the several visits of Policarpo Toro, who finally annexed the island to Chile in 1888. The legend of a hero with an extra face that could see an enemy from behind is still vivid on the island.
DISTORTED MALE (Bremen D.318). This figure, probably representing, like most other aberrant wood carvings, some particular *aku-aku*, is intentionally carved to appear grotesque and appalling. Received at the Bremen Museum as early as in 1855, the specimen clearly shows that grotesque aberrant carvings were part of the cultural pattern on Easter Island prior to missionary arrival.
ANTHROPOMORPHIC BIRD a and b (Berlin VI 4875). Details of this specimen are shown in Pl. 106. The long nose of the human head suggests a beak in view of the fact that the body and limbs are those of a bird. The carving, which was donated to the Berlin Museum in 1883, is linked to a tautonga by a suspension string.
HEAD OF ANTHROPOMORPHIC BIRD, detail of figure shown in Pl. 105. Since it is unlikely that the exaggerated nose is meant as a caricature, the slight similarity to the beak-mask of the bird-tailed man in Pl. 41 is noteworthy.
RIBBED, LEGLESS FIGURE (Boston 53594). Although ribbed, this carving has none of the other moui kavakava characteristics. The ears are asymmetrically placed, one arm is a short stump and the other is not represented. Below the rib cage, the figure ends in an unworked stump. The antiquity of the carving is shown by its presence in the old Boston Collection before it was transferred to the Peabody Museum in 1899.
PLATE 108  RECLINING MONSTER WITH CUP-SHAPED DEPRESSION (Leiden 547, N3). Details of this figurine are shown in Pl. 109a and b. The deformed body has stunted arms and only one leg which is as wide as the body. This image, with a chin repair, was purchased from a dealer in Paris in 1886.
CUP-SHAPED DEPRESSION USED FOR MAGIC, and ZOOMORPHIC FIGURE. a details of figurine in Pl. 108 seen from behind and from above. This is one of the most striking examples of the cup-shaped depressions which were overlooked until the magic purpose was disclosed by the islanders in 1955. b (London 8700) rear view of image in Pls. 110-11.
ZOOMORPHIC MALE, front and side view of figure shown in Pl. 109b. A detail is shown in Pl. 111. The position of the head of this large-mouthed monster in relation to the body suggests a land animal, but the hands, carved in low relief on the throat, resemble the claws of a lobster.
ZOOMORPHIC MALE, detail of monster in Pls. 109b and 110. Of especial interest is the provenience of this figure as it was found on the Chincha Islands of Peru and presented to the British Museum in 1872. It thus makes a case for possible pre-European contact since there is no evidence that Easter Island slaves worked on the guano fields of the Chincha Islands.
TWISTED ZOOMORPHIC MALE (Leipzig Po 436). This image, carved from a crooked piece of toromiro wood, is a good example of the bizarre imagination of Easter Island artists in pre-missionary times. The sculpture was collected during the visit of the Seignelay in 1877.
BEARDED MAN AND BIRD COMPOSITION (Oslo 2438). A detail of this figure is shown in Pl. 114d. This remarkable early piece is another example of a bearded man (top left and Pl. 114d) appearing as a bird with protuberances on its beak when viewed from a different angle. The bird strongly resembles the aboriginal South American turkey. The sculpture was collected on Easter Island by a Norwegian captain in 1868.
PLATE 114  FACIAL VARIETY. Early Easter Island art displayed a wide variety both in style and concept. a detail of image in Pl.116; b of Pl.117; c of Pl.38; and d of Pl.113.
ZOOMORPHIC FIGURE (London c. 1979). This goatee-bearded male, whose eyes were formerly inlaid, has a ribbed body with wings or fins and a long, thick tail. It was bought by the British Museum in 1866 and was probably collected during Captain Cook’s visit in 1774.
PLATE 116  ZOOMORPHIC FIGURE (London E–P 27). A detail is shown in Pl. 114 a. The image represents a bird with a goatee-bearded human head. The legs are broken below the knees.
ZOOMORPHIC FIGURE (*Hooper Coll., n. n.*). A detail is shown in Pl. 114b. This image has a human head with bone ear-plugs, joined like that of an animal to a body with a thick, forked tail. Grooves across the mouth do not represent teeth as they cross the lips in the same way as on many Easter Island stone statues, possibly imitating the stitched mouth of a mummy.
PLATE 118  ZOOMORPHIC FIGURES. a (Bremen D 319) this grotesque monster, with a greatly extended penis, holds a ball-shaped object in the left hand, the right hand being placed on the shoulder. The piece was donated to the Bremen Museum as early as 1855. b (Boston 53602) is a ribbed and bearded creature in a swimming position with its front limbs bent at several joints like those of a praying mantis. It belonged to the old Boston Museum Collection until 1899.
INCISED TOROMIRO TABLET WITH ANTHROPOMORPHIC HEAD (Chicago 273242). Both sides of the plaque are covered with birds, bird-men, fish, and other symbols and ornaments. The animal head has bone and obsidian eye inlays as well as bone earplugs.
COMPOSITE FIGURE of iorororo wood (Hooper Coll. 1113). Rear, side, and front views of tall female figure with dwarfed male upside down at the back of the head. The large-headed dwarf is carved with its head down the neck of the female figure, and its flexed legs on top of her head.
COMPOSITE FIGURE of *toromiro* wood (Salem E-31, 545). This amazing composition consists of a hermaphrodite body with a raised spine and a tassel. The head of the main figure is composed of the truncated torso and legs of a smaller figure turned upside down, the bulb-shaped feet becoming eyes on the main figure, the rest of the face of which is an inverted vulva. Another vulva appears as the hair of the main figure. Probably collected between 1838 and 1841.
This clublike sculpture terminates at its broader end in a phallic whale's head. Clasping the slimmer body is a ribbed man, his head joined to the body at the apex, and his exaggerated penis trailing behind.
BIRDLIKE CARVINGS. a (London 1950. Oc. 4, 12) a flat hook-beaked bird with all surfaces covered with vulva reliefs; b (Boston 53593) the natural curvature of a toromiro branch has been used to give the general shape; the back is covered with ribs and a raised spine terminates in a disk, all of which is framed by the bird's wings.
PLATE 124 COMPOSITE FISH FIGURES of toromiro wood. a (Chicago 273243) crouching bird-men cover the flat body of a fish with a human head as its tail; b (Boston 53610) represents a fish giving birth to a human being and was part of the old Boston Museum Collection until 1899.
CURVED FISH. Unlike the fish *rei-miro*, these carvings are not flat, and the belly rather than the back forms the inner curve. a (Berlin VI 236a) was collected by Forster during Captain Cook's visit in 1774; b (London E-P.30) might have left the island at the same early period.
PLATE 126  MARINE ANIMALS.  a (Berlin VI 13229) is a toromiro pendant probably representing a turtle head of the type shown in PL 130; although it somewhat resembles the fish head in PL 52a; b (Dresden 18365); c (Oslo 21828) fore-part and head of fish; and d (Dresden 24812) complete fish. All are perforated for suspension strings.
MARINE ANIMALS.  

a (Honolulu B.3571) very eroded conch pendant of toromiro wood; b (Berlin VI 24941); c (Dresden 18414); d (Berlin VI 24948) details of common fish, moray eel, and turtle; e (Dresden 18369) moray eel.
PLATE 128 COWRIE SHELL (Santiago-Nat. 5507). This beautiful and very realistic carving reached the Santiago Museum before 1872 and was probably collected on the island by Policarpo Toro.
MARINE ANIMALS. a (Vienna 22868) this fine specimen of an octopus with inlaid eyes was purchased in Hamburg and presented to the Vienna Museum in 1886; b (Oslo 2445) chiton, a fine pendant collected on the island by Captain Arup in 1868.
PLATE 130 TURTLE-HEAD PENDANTS, side and top views. a (Cologne 32600); b (Christchurch E.150.1125); c (Dresden 18448) are decorated with two hook-beaked birds; d (K-T 1189) with grooved surface pattern, was preserved in an island cave until 1955.
TURTLE PENDANT (*Boston* 53608). Sea turtles are important in local traditions, and frequently visited the island beaches in former times although they no longer do so.
PLATE 132  LONG-BEAKED, HUNCHE D BIRD (Vienna 22866). An attempt by the sculptor to varnish the carving in imitation of toromiro wood indicates possible post-missionary work.
REALISTIC BIRD (*Dunedin* D.34.602). Whereas most other Easter Island bird sculptures have certain human attributes, this carving, like the one in Pl.132, has none. This specimen also probably dates from the end of the last century.
PLATE 134  ABERRANT BIRDS.  a (London n.n.) this clublike bird has an anthropomorphic nose on top of its beak, reminiscent of the trick figures in PIs. 38 and 113.  b (Brussels n.n.) this rat-eaten specimen with a spine and tassel, probably brought from a cave, was presented to Dr. Lavachery during the Franco-Belgian Expedition.
BIRDS AND BIRD-MAN.  

- a (Boston 53607) cock's head; 
- b and c (Honolulu B.3572 and B.3572.4) burned and eroded bird figurines; 
- d (Ratton Coll.) four views of a blunt-beaked bird-man in a seated position.

PLATE 135
PLATE 136  ABERRANT BIRD-MEN.  

a (Boston 53606) essentially a bird with a projecting spine, this figure has the lower limbs and genitals of a man.  
b (New York S-5309) front view of sculpture in Pl. 137. This emaciated bird-man has had its penis cut off in post-missionary times. Lines of indistinct *rongo-rongo* signs occur on part of the surface, and there is an anthropomorphic nose on top of the beak.
ABERRANT BIRD-MAN, side view of sculpture in Pl. 136b. The human nose on top of the serrated beak is again reminiscent of the trick figures in Pls. 38 and 113.
ABERRANT BIRD-MAN with split beak (Brühnschweig n.n.), right side and front views. Detail of same figure is shown in Pl. 139. Like the trick figures in Pls. 38 and 113, the beak of this bird-man becomes a long beard when seen from above. What appear to be ribs in profile look like five-fingered hands when seen from the front. The pedestal is modern.
ABERRANT BIRD-MAN with split beard, detail of image in Pl. 138. The ears are carved horizontally below the big eyes to correspond to the human face when the image is seen from above.
PLATE 140  ABERRANT ANIMALS.  a *(Oxford III 152)* mokolike rat with sawn-off tail, side view of sculpture in Pl. 141 a;  b *(London E-P 16)* sealike animal supported at its chest by a rocklike pedestal, right side view of sculpture in Pl. 141 b.
ABERRANT ANIMALS. a ventral view of *mokolike* rat in Pl. 140a, showing small human feet, and hands clasped under chin; b three-quarter view of sculpture in Pl. 140b. Animals left attached to a crude base are otherwise restricted to stone sculptures.
PLATE 142  ABERRANT ANIMAL (Salom E-25404), side and dorsal views. This crouching quadruped with conventionalized features reflects traditional memories of species unknown on the island where rats were the only mammals prior to European arrival. The sculpture was collected before 1870 and is therefore an obviously genuine sample of aboriginal art.
ABERRANT MAMMAL (Salem E-13896). This crouching monster, with its anthropomorphic buttocks and bird-man's tassel, has a head reminiscent of a feline.
PLATE 144  ZOOMORPHIC AND PHALLIC DEVICES of soft, light wood, probably intended for fire rubbing.  

a (Boston 53605) crouching quadruped reminiscent of the one in PL.143; b (Honolulu B. 3574) similar device with the same kind of groove, and an associated rubbing-stick.
ZOOMORPHIC AND PHALIC DEVICES of soft, light wood, probably intended for fire rubbing. a (Vienna 22853); and b (Chicago 273239) combined with eroded hardwood head (273240) secondarily inserted in spark-opening where it certainly never belonged.
The Franco-Belgian Expedition obtained a series of grotesque and aberrant sculptures invented and carved by the late Juan Tepano in 1934. These images, carved in imported wood, were undoubtedly inspired by bizarre concepts preserved either in verbal tradition or hidden in secret caves. a (Brussels ET 35.5.293); b (Paris 35.61.211).
MODERN WOOD CARVING. The head of the little man in the composite figure a (Boston 59-29-70/3897) and that of d (Antwerp AE-53.9.84) which was carved on the island for the Franco-Belgian Expedition, are so alike that they obviously have a common inspiration which could well be one of the series of hidden cave stones not disclosed until 1955-56 (cf. Pl. 295). Hidden art might similarly have inspired the artists of b (Brussels ET.35.5.288); e (Antwerp AE-53.9.85); f (Antwerp AE-43.4); i (Valparaíso 10); and particularly g (Bremen D.13423; cf. Pls. 292, 293).
STONE HEAD WITH CUP-SHAPED DEPRESSION (Santiago-Nat. 5521), front view of sculpture in Pl. 149. This ancient stone head belongs to the moai muaa type of magic house images which, according to the earlier records, had a different function from the wood carvings carried around at feasts. The goatee-bearded head has a vulva symbol on its forehead, transversal grooves reminiscent of mummy stitches only in one corner of its mouth, and a small concavity carved in its left cheek.
STONE HEAD WITH CUP-SHAPED DEPRESSION, side view of sculpture in Pl. 148. This sculpture, brought to the continent by the Gana Expedition in 1870, is the earliest sample known of an Easter Island stone head with a magic concavity intentionally pecked into its surface, a detail left unnoticed until its function was revealed by contemporary cave owners in 1955.
STONE HEAD WITH INLAID EYES (Santiago Nat. 5516), front view of sculpture in PL. 151. This head, carved from white tuff, has a goatee beard and a topknot, and obsidian disks inlaid in depressions in the centers of the eyes. As with so many of the wooden figurines, similar inlays might have been present in the figure in PL. 148 and subsequently lost.
STONE HEAD WITH INLAID EYES, side view of sculpture in Pl. 150. Like the previous specimen, this important stone head was brought to Chile by the Gana Expedition in 1870. The possibility that the large *ahu* images once had some kind of inlaid eyes is discussed in the text (cf. Pl. 156 i).
PLATE 152  STONE HEADS.  

a (Edinburgh 1925.454) a frequently repeated detail in the carving of stone faces on Easter Island is a narrow nose which splits into curving eyebrows encircling the eyes and terminating as sagging pouches on the cheeks; b (Berlin VI 11623), like the previous specimen, might have had inlaid eyes. Both specimens were collected on the island during the last century.
STONE HEADS showing the difference between the type with bulging eyes never intended for inlay, and the type with deep sockets that probably once contained an inlay which has been lost. a (Antwerp AE 59.2.1) was collected during the Franco-Belgian Expedition in 1934–35; and b (Rochefort n.n.) was collected by a French expedition during the last century.
STONE HEADS.  a (Santiago-Nolasco n.n.) this flat, bearded head has transversal grooves across the lips reminiscent of the mummylike stitches on some of the large statues; b (Paris 35.61.6) fragment, probably of a stone bowl, collected by the Franco-Belgian Expedition; c (Brussels ET.35.5.295) and d (ET.35.5.90) archaeologically found by the same expedition in 1934-35.
STONE HEADS: a (London 1904.5.12.1), excavated on the island in 1901–2, has remains of a white claylike inlay in the eye sockets; b (Dresden 18427) damaged face covered with vulva symbols and magic cup-shaped depressions; c (Paris 90.78.2) is representative of a not uncommon type with a peg-shaped neck.
STONE HEADS. a (Santiago-Hist. 4241); b (Gothenburg 19.1.333); c (Berkeley 11-1157); d (Philadelphia 18056). collected about 1874-75, has a singular history (p. 22); e (Vienna 20.055); f (Newcastle 27.1951/67); g (Leiden 945-14); h (Valparaiso 42) emerged during singular circumstances (p. 313); i (Washington Photo no. 33810) fragment of a now lost statue with inlaid eyes.
STONE BUSTS AND FIGURINES. a (Berlin V14937) eyeless busts as crude imitations of the unfinished statues below the quarries are today a common type of tourist fake, but this specimen, collected by the Geiseler Expedition in 1882, is a non-commercial sample of Late Period art; b (Chicago 273257 and 273258) shows two examples of crude figurines of a primitive type, which was also found archaeologically in 1955-56, buried at the bases of the large quarry statues; c (London n.n.), e (Santiago Hist. 4186), f (Los Angeles n.n.), and g (Chicago 273264) are sculptures whose eyes were never meant to have inlays, as opposed to d (La Rochelle n.n.) which was found by La Flore Expedition in 1872.
STONEBUSTS. a (Oxford VI 30) was found in a cave on the Motu-nui bird islet and obtained by the Routledge Expedition. Its name was recorded as Tiahanga o te Henua, which Routledge translates as "the boundary of the land," believing that it was a boundary stone; b (Santiago-Nat. 2557) was donated to the museum in Chile simultaneously with Routledge's visit to the island.
STONE FOOT (Santiago-Nolasco 76). This remarkable piece remained in obscurity at the Nolasco College Museum, Santiago from the time the museum was founded in 1917 until similar specimens, shown in Pls. 201 and 202 b, were brought from caves on the island in 1956.
PLATE 160  STONE FIGURINE WITH INLAID EYES (Boston 53591), right, left, rear and front views of image in Pl. 161. This truly remarkable sculpture with ribs, inlaid eyes, and a goatee beard also has its lips crossed by grooves resembling the stitches on a mummy’s lips. The piece was part of the old Boston Museum Collection until 1899.
STONE FIGURINE WITH INLAID EYES, view from above of image in Pl. 160. The right eye retains an inlay of white stone painted black in the center to represent the pupil. The inlay of the left eye is lost and the cavity appears like the empty sockets on the many stone sculptures which have not previously been suspected to have had inlays.
PLAQUE WITH RELIEF OF MAN (Santiago-Nat. 5520). This male figure with topknot and beard is another early example with a cup-shaped depression for magical purposes. The specimen reached Chile with the Gana Expedition in 1870, and eighty-five years after it disappeared from the island, the analogous figure in Pl. 209 emerged from a cave.
PLAQUE WITH RELIEF OF WOMAN (Santiago-Nat. 5518). This female figure with vulva symbols on the face and body reached Chile in 1870 together with the plaque in Pl. 162. The existence of carved stone plaques from Easter Island with other than bird-man reliefs passed generally unnoticed until examples were produced from caves in 1955-56.
PLATE 164 JANUS HEAD AND COMPOSITE FIGURE. a (Santiago-Nat. 5517) this double head on a blunt peg, carved in extremely hard vesicular basalt, was brought to Chile by the Gana Expedition in 1870 and is almost identical in concept and material to the triple head in Pl. 215c collected on the island in 1956; b (Honolulu C.3589.0) head resembling an atu statue carrying a small bust in relief on its back. This Easter Island sculpture was excavated from a beach in Hawaii.
DOUBLE FIGURES. a side view, and b front views of the two back to back images (London 1920.5-6.2). A double-headed bird with a forked tail is carved on the side of the sculpture. c is a remarkable pendant, the original of which appears to be lost, although it was published in 1873 with other objects brought back from the island with the Gana Expedition.
PLATE 166 KNOBBLY MONSTER (Raton Coll. n.n.). This amazing sculpture would have lost its Easter Island identity passing through the hands of art dealers if not for its remarkable similarity to the sculpture in Pl. 167, the provenience of which is known.
KNOBBLY MONSTER (*Berlin* V142369). This peculiar carving, resembling a Peruvian effigy jar of a personified tropical fruit, has a cup-shaped depression on top. The museum specimen is a cast made in 1928 of a piece collected on the island by Dr. Walter Knoche in 1911 and which has subsequently been lost.
PLATE 168  BOULDER MONSTER (Washington 128.773a), profile view, with head facing upward, of sculpture in Pl. 169. This monster with its head in high relief on a rather shapeless body was collected by Paymaster Thomson on the island in 1886 and recorded by him as a house image of the moai maeu type.
BOULDER MONSTER, front view of image in Pl. 168. Although the head is represented with the standard goatee-bearded mask with its nose forking into a goggle-shaped relief around the eyes, the limbs and body are deformed and largely unshaped.
PLATE 170  CROUCHING ZOOMORPHIC FIGURES. a (Edwards Coll. n.n.), carved as a bust only, was reportedly found near a prehistoric house site, whereas b (Santiago-Nat. 5515), carved as a crouching quadruped riding a phallic base, was brought from the island by the Gana Expedition in 1870.
STONE PENDANT AND MASK ON TWISTED LAVA. a is a small stone head pendant known only from a drawing published in the Annals of the University of Chile in 1873 devoted to art objects from Easter Island collected by the Gana Expedition in 1870; b (Santiago-Hist. 14085-A) is an example of how any unusually shaped stone can be decorated with a Makemake mask to become an akai-aku.
PLATE 172  ANTHROPOMORPHIC MONSTER, right side view of sculpture in Pl. 173 (Dresden 18426). This large and heavy stone depicts a creature with no arms but with hind legs stretched forward to end in long claws. The human face is turned upward with hollow eyes and with a full square beard pointing forward. The monster, which has a deep cup-shaped depression on its back, was well known on the island prior to its removal by the Geiseler Expedition in 1882 and was considered by the natives to be contemporary with the oldest statues.
ANTHROPOMORPHIC MONSTER, left, front, and three-quarter rear view of sculpture in Pl. 172. The creature, with a full human beard, has a short, stumpy tail in relief between its long hind limbs stretched forward to terminate in clawlike hands with three fingers and a thumb. Forelimbs are completely lacking. The extremely hard stone is very eroded and the head might originally have had deeper eye sockets with an inlay.
PLATE 174  STONE TURTLE (*Honolulu* B.3502), left side and front view of a sculpture in hard, vesicular basalt, collected on the island by the early settler Salmon prior to his own introduction of commercial art.
MISCELLANEOUS STONE HEADS. These carvings are representative of the variety of good-luck objects and *aku-aku* stones that played an important part in community life; a (Dunedin 31.1658); b (Honolulu C.4154); c (Santiago-Nat. 11573); d (Honolulu B.3547); e (Honolulu B.3495); f (Honolulu C.2469).
Plate 176  Stone Whales. Facial features have been added to naturally shaped oblong stones to make them resemble whales. a (Honolulu 6354); b (Honolulu B.3554), perforated at the tail end for use as a sinker, was collected by the early settler Salmon.
STONE FISH. a (Christchurch E 138.652), left side and dorsal view of water-worn stone slightly modified by the addition of bulging eyes and mouth near one end and a shallow groove along the back; the specimen was discovered when an old wall collapsed during Macmillan Brown's visit in 1923; b (Santiago-Hist. 11778) a lava "bomb" with fish's head carved at one end.
MISCELLANEOUS STONE SCULPTURES:  
a (Dunedin D.31.1657) animal head with neck;  
b (London n.n.) hongua uhru, or magic chicken fertility stone;  
c (Santiago-Hist. 14227/38) fragment of stone chicken;  
d (Antwerp AE.59.2.14) unidentified object with eye;  
e (London n.n.) and f (K-T 1071) turua, or stone pillows, decorated respectively with vulva symbols and bearded masks.
BIRD-MAN RELIEF (Boston 64851). A hunched mixture of man and bird of the type characteristic of the cliffs at Orongo is carved on the flat side of a crude block. A large vulva symbol is carved below its seat, two others below the tip of its beak, and still more are vaguely incised on the arched body. This specimen was collected by the Agassiz Expedition at the foot of Orongo in 1905.
PLATE 180 BIRD-MAN RELIEFS. 

a (London n.n.) white paint covers the background to this creature which is carved holding an egg in its hand; the specimen was collected by the Routledge Expedition; 

b (Boston 64852) two bird-men seated beak to beak in another position typical in local art, especially on the cliffs of Orongo; like the specimen in Pl. 179, this plaque was collected by the Agassiz Expedition at the foot of Orongo in 1905.
BIRD-MAN AND HUMAN FIGURE (Santiago-Nat. 5519). This unusual plaque of a bird-man with a vulva design and a smaller human figure crouching upside down next to it was brought to Chile by the Gana Expedition in 1870. A cup-shaped depression at the side of the human head and a larger one in the plaque itself behind the bird-man are of the magic type repeatedly referred to.
PLATE 182  BONE AND CLAY HEADS.  a (Vienna 22854) right, front, and left side view of the only known bone sculpture from Easter Island except for a Physeter bone rongorongo tablet in the California State College; b (Chicago 273255 and 273256) these unique heads of sun-dried clay were dug up by an islander, probably from the floor of a cave in the Mataveri area, and were purchased from the early settler Edmunds in 1907.
MISCELLANEOUS ART FORMS. Polychrome mural paintings occur in Easter Island caves and stone houses, particularly at Orongo. a mask with feather-crown and the “weeping-eye” ornament; b three-masted reed boat with the frequent circular sail probably symbolic of the sun; c (Washington 129759) example of engraved skull of a type not infrequently encountered. This specimen, incised with a vulva symbol, was collected by Thomson in 1886. d (Vienna 22.872) featherwork was an important Easter Island craft and elaborate feather-crowns were very common.
PLATE 184  EASTER ISLAND 1955–56.  a Short-ears with Father Sebastian Englert after revealing and erecting a previously unknown Early Period statue;  b Long-ears revealing previously unknown Early Period statue fragments; Pedro Atan is leaning on a headless basalt bust with his brother Atan on his left; his son Juan is leaning on the head with Lazaro Hotu behind.  c Atan Atan in his family cave;  d Henrique Teao in his family cave with the author and his wife;  e Dr. William Mulloy examining sculpture in Pl.288 just removed from Pedro Atan’s cliff-side cache;  f masked bird-man ceremony re-enacted before work began in the quarries.
FLAT STONE HEAD with cup-shaped depression (K-T 1066). This sculpture with alae extended as U-shaped mustaches was found by Father Englert's housekeeper in a stone house near Anakena Bay in 1955, just before the arrival of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition. No importance was attached to the puzzling depression cut into the forehead until it was subsequently compared to ethnographic specimens with similar concavities claimed to have a magic function.
STONE HEAD with eroded feather-crown (K-T 1838) from Urubano Pakarati.
STONE HEADS WITH BEARDS  

a (K-T 2105) from Pedro Atan's cliff-side cache; b (K-T 1388) from Ramon Hey;  
c (K-T 1503) and d (K-T 1514) from Atan Atan's cave. c was said by its owner to represent a former king, Tiki-tiki a Taranga. 

dis so strikingly similar to the sculpture in Pl. 185, except for the goatee beard, that it is obvious that either they were carved by the same artist or one was inspired by the other.
PLATE 188  BEARDED HEAD WITH LONG EARS (K-T 2098) from Pedro Atan's cliff-side cache.
BEARDED HEAD WITH BARED TEETH (K-T 2097) from Pedro Atan's cliff-side cache. Note the bulging eyes. PLATE 189
STONE MASKS

a (K-T 1342) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; b (K-T 1920) from Pedro Pate's cave; c (K-T 2172) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; d (K-T 1500) from Pedro Atan. The dominant features are the eyes and the nose. The heart-shaped form of the head, sometimes dictated by the curvature of the split nose, is an often repeated feature.
STONE MASKS AND PLAQUES a (K-T 2153) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; b (K-T 1611) and c (K-T 1638) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; d (K-T 1575) from Atan Atan's cave. The nose splitting into eyebrows sometimes runs in a spiral around the eyes. The ears are sometimes important and sometimes completely absent.
STONE HEADS AND PLAQUES a (K-T 1265) from Esteban Pakarati. Although only 15 cm. tall and thus exceptionally small, this sculpture is composed of three heads, the beard of the one shown interlocking with one of those on the back, illustrated in PL. 215 b. b (K-T 1499) from Pedro Atan; c (K-T 1975) from Rafael Teao; d (K-T 1631) from Lazaro Hotu's cave is a repetition of the plaque in PL. 191 b which comes from the same cave.
STONE HEADS a (K-T 1595) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; b (K-T 1985) from Rafael Teao; c (K-T 2195) and d (K-T 2209) from Rosa Paoa; e (K-T 1699) from Henrique Teao. a is the "key" to Lazaro Hotu's cliff-side cave. The goatee-bearded head in b has a bird at the back.
STONE MASKS AND HEADS

a (K-T 2165) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; b (K-T 1349) from Lazaro Hotu; c (K-T 2201) and i (K-T 2203) from Rosa Paor; d (K-T 1516) from Atan Atan’s cave; e (K-T 2219) from Esteban Atan; f (K-T 1959) from Benedicto Riroroko; g (K-T 1979) from Rafael Teao; h (K-T 1818) from Eria Pakarati. Some heads like e are heart-shaped even when they lack eyebrows. i is a plaque of a left side profile with nose, eye and ear.
STONE SKULLS a (K-T 1675) from Juan Haoa's cave; b (K-T 2202) from Rosa Paoa; c (K-T 1292) found by expedition members at a Late Period habitation site in Vinapu, same skull as in Pl. 297 a. a, considered to be one of the guardians of the cave, is a skull with its mouth drawn out into a cup-shaped receptacle; b has a topknot; and c two pits carved above the forehead, another anticipatory example of a feature that passed unnoticed until more evident specimens were later disclosed to us by cave owners.
PLATE 196  STONE SKULL (K-T 1505) from Atan Atan. This skull has a crater-shaped depression in the forehead which is very reminiscent of a trepanation opening. This sculpture was the first “key” to be presented to the author with the unexpected information that it allowed admission into a family cave. Reportedly, powdered human bone had once been in the depression to give the sculpture additional mana, or magic power.
STONE SKULL (K-T 1511) from Atan Atan's cave. This sculpture, with one depression above each eye socket, was found below the opening to the cave. Together with the skull in Pl. 196 and two real human crania, it was supposed to represent a magic guardian of the cave.
STONE SKULLS a and b (K-T 1578 and 1579) from Pedro Pate's cave; c (K-T 1816) from Benedicto Rioroko; d (K-T 1855) from Juan Haoa's cave. The cup-shaped depressions in the apices of a and b are once more strongly reminiscent of trepanation holes, a surgical operation very common not least for magical reasons both in ancient Peru to the east and in Polynesia and Melanesia to the west of the island. d was considered to be one of the four guardians of the cave together with the skull in PL 195 a.
STONE SKULLS: a (K-T 1820) from Esteban Atan, same sculpture as in Pl. 200 b; b (K-T 1924) the "key" to Henrique Teao's cave; c (K-T 1933) from Victor Riroroko. a has an unidentifiable relief of what resembles a creature with a crescent-shaped head enclosing a crater-shaped pit in the forehead of the skull. The same strange creature reappears on a plaque in Pl. 245 a. b has a bird relief with the beak of the bird stretching down the forehead of the skull, and beside it a crater-shaped depression.
a

b

PLATE 200  STONE SKULLS a (K-T 2223) and b (K-T 1820) from Esteban Atan. a has a bird relief on the left side of the head, and a cupshaped depression in front. b is the "key" shown in Pl. 199 a. The owner of this cliff-side cave, after disposing of the "key," was prevented from letting the expedition in by another family with property hidden in the same cave. Subsequently, leaving the island in a small boat, Esteban Atan was lost at sea.
STONE FOOT (K-T 1737) from Henrique Teo's cave, found together with the stone foot in PL 202 b. The discovery of these stone feet was considered unique until the writer unexpectedly came across a specimen (PL 159) in the Nolasco College Museum, Santiago, which had been entered in the catalogue when the museum opened in 1917.
STONE HAND AND FOOT a (K-T 2134) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; b (K-T 1740) from Henrique Teao's cave. a was handed to the author upside down by its owner who identified it as a quadruped with a long neck. b was found together with the stone foot in Pl. 201.
STONE HANDS. a back and palm view of hand holding matau (K-T 2190), found in Juan Nahoe's cave. The matau is known to the present-day islanders only as the obsidian projectile point for long-handled spears. They are ignorant of the fact that short-handled matau used as cutting tools are preserved in various museums (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 398-401). b (K-T 2055) from Alberto Tepihi.
PLATE 204 PHALLIC COMPOSITION (K-T 2100) from Pedro Atan's cliff-side cache. Same sculpture as in Pl. 205a. The arrow- or matau-shaped sculpture has a human head carved on the glans penis and a Makemake mask incised on each of the testicle-like barbs, with a knob between them. There are two cup-shaped depressions on the same side of the sculpture.
PHALLUS AND DEMON. a ventral view of same composition as in Pl. 204; b (K-T 1708), from Henrique Teao's cave, is a monstrous figure with a pair of asymmetrical and stunted limbs somewhat reminiscent of wings.
LEGLESS FIGURE AND BUSTS. a (K-T 2082) from Eria Rapu; b (K-T 1355) from Pedro Atan; c (K-T 1360) from Ramon Hey; d (K-T 2000) from Juan Haoa’s cave. Crude figurines with round- or loaf-shaped bodies, no limbs, and facial features restricted to large eyes and a nose, such as d, are not uncommon as surface finds on Easter Island.
SMALL STONE BUSTS a (K-T 1488) and b (K-T 1483) from Pedro Atan; c (K-T 1326) from Henrique Teao; d (K-T 1318) from Vincente Pon. c was referred to by the owner as belonging to a type known as *moai mata pupuku*, literally, "statue with bulging eyes."
STONE STATUETTES a (K-T 1526) from Atan Atan’s cave; b (K-T 1580) from Pedro Pate’s cave; c (K-T 2230) and d (K-T 2216) from Esteban Atan. Kneeling statues like a are unknown in Polynesia except for the Early Period monument excavated by the expedition, whereas squatting statues like c are common in Polynesia. The figure in d is clasping the stone and facing upward.
PLAQUE WITH RELIEF OF MAN (K-T 2180) from Juan Pakarati II Atan. The similarity of this plaque to the one in Pl. 162, brought from the island by the Gana Expedition in 1870, is so striking that a connection seems obvious. Even the cup-shaped depression on the stomach is present in both cases.
RELIEF FIGURES WITH FLEXED LIMBS a (K-T 1626) and c (K-T 1593) from Lazaro Hotu’s cave; b (K-T 2174) from Juan Pakarati H Atan. The plaques a and e were set in an upright position facing the entrance tunnel in the narrow cave and, although not guardians, e was referred to by the owner as the “most important” sculpture in his cave.
RELIEF FIGURES WITH FLEXED LIMBS a (K-T 1681) from Henrique Teao’s cave; b (K-T 1660) and d (K-T 1607) from Lazaro Hotu’s cave; c (K-T 1890) from Pedro Pate’s cave. Relief figures with raised arms, and legs bent at right angles are occasionally present on larger blocks set to delimit atapu burial ground in the Marquesas group where they were believed to chase away evil spirits.
PLATE 212  CAVE GUARDIAN AND COMPOSITE FIGURES.  a (K-T 1379) from Esteban Pakarati; b (K-T 1136) surface find from cave near Puna Pau; c (K-T 1543) from Atan Atan's cave; d (K-T 1604) from Lazaro Hotu's cave.  a this fairly large (33 cm.) and heavy prone bust with fingers placed below the neck, has a marked hump on its back and three bumps on its head.  It was claimed by the owner to be one of the four guardians of his wife's cave.  b is an eroded bust in very hard stone of a woman carrying a crouching child on her back, shown as line drawing in Fig. 48.  c and d are double-headed stones.
COMPOSITIONS WITH OPPOSED HEADS  

a (K-T 1491) from Pedro Atan;  
b (K-T 2228) from Esteban Atan;  
c (K-T 1876) and  
d (K-T 1874) from Lazaro Hotu's cave;  
e (K-T 1429) from Esteban Pakarati;  
f (K-T 1362) from Ramon Hey.

The concept behind these figures is clearly the same as in the wooden sculpture in PL. 98 b and 99 which, although not flat, shares some aspects with the wooden rei-miro.
DOUBLE-HEADED STONES

Two views of the same sculpture from Esteban Pakarati. The old man who brought b first claimed that he had copied it himself from a statue he had seen but, trapped by contradictions, he said it represented Ngurau-Hiva-Aringa-Erua, a legendary twin-faced son of the culture hero Kainga.
TRIPLE-HEADED STONES a (K-T 1206) surface find at Ana Okahi cave in Vinapu; b rear view of sculpture in Pl. 192a; c (K-T 1088) found in a prehistoric masonry tomb near the modern Hangaroa cemetery. The remarkable interlocking faces of a are formed by the nose and eyebrows of the middle face representing the beard and mustache of the upper face, while the beard and mustache of the middle face become the nose and eyebrows of the lower face (see line drawing in Fig. 29). The three interlocking heads of c are strikingly similar in style and identical in material to the old sculpture in Pl. 164a, brought from the island by the Gana Expedition in 1870.
PLATE 216 HEADS WITH FROGS AND LIZARDS AS EARS

a (K-T 1677) from Juan Haoa's cave, front view, and detail of right ear; b (K-T 1375) from Lazaro Hotu. These large flat heads with beards and nasal wings extended as mustaches obviously have a basic relationship although they come from different caves. The ears of a are shaped like frogs, an animal completely unknown in any part of Polynesia, and the ears of b are carved in the shape of slim-necked lizards whose tails form a V above the eyebrows. a was pointed out by the cave owner as being a very powerful aku-aku.
BUST WITH FROGS ON HEAD (K-T 1929) from Victor Rioroko. This limbless bust has two froglike creatures facing the same way on top of the head. They may represent ears as in Pl. 216 a since any other indication of ears is lacking.
PLATE 218  HUMAN FIGURE WITH REPTILE ON BACK (K-T 1986) from Juan Haoa’s cave. This sculpture is reminiscent of the eroded specimen in Pl. 212 b, the human child being substituted by a huge reptile.
CHRISTIAN MOTIFS AND COMPOSITE FIGURES a (K-T 1587) from Aron Pakarati; b (K-T 2200) from Rosa Paoa; c (K-T 1851) from Benedicto Riroroko; d (K-T 1894) from Pedro Pate’s cave. The owner claimed that a, apparently representing the crowned Virgin Mary and child, had been hidden in the cave by his grandfather. This was Pakomio Pakarati, a native of the Tuamotu Islands, who settled among the local community as the first catechist. b was obviously inspired by the popular Christian concept of Satan. c appears to be a bird-man erecting a Middle Period statue. d is a loaf-shaped stone with a human head at one end, a bird relief on one side, and the head of a bird with a vast, toothed beak on top.

PLATE 219
Whereas the upper creature is clearly zoomorphic although unidentifiable, the lower one resembles a whalelike animal with an anthropomorphic mask.
MONSTERS MATING a (K-T 1814) from Benedicto Rizoroko; b (K-T 1919) from Pedro Pate's cave. The upper figure in a is a bird with its conical beak at the apex of the anthropomorphic head of another creature with huge flaring ears. The wings of the bird are clasping the back of the creature below. The upper figure in b is anthropomorphic, while the lower figure appears to be a fish.
PLATE 222  ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURES MATING (K-T 1910) from Pedro Pate's cave, right side and dorsal view. A bearded male is clasping the back of a female figure with breasts.
COMPOSITE FIGURES AND BUST. a (K-T 1346) from Lazaro Hotu; b (K-T 1387) from Ramon Hey; c (K-T 2092) from Eria Rapu. In a a second and slightly smaller head emerges from the crown of the head of the main figure. Both have extended ears. b may be another mating scene. The lower figure is zoomorphic and bears on its back a bearded man facing upward. The eyes of these figures show clearly that local artists do not visualize human eyes as deep empty sockets.
PLATE 224 WOMAN CARRYING FISH (K-T 2193) from Rosa Paoa, right side view of figure in Pl. 225. This sculpture, showing the bust of a woman with a fish lashed to her back with a rope which also runs around her waist, is one of the finest specimens obtained on the island by the Norwegian Expedition.
WOMAN CARRYING FISH, front view from above of same sculpture as in Pl.224. The rope is crossed between the breasts of the figure. A slight bump at the nose of the fish might indicate the sword of a sailfish, broken and eroded away.
PLATE 226  MAN WITH RAT IN MOUTH (K-T 1264) from Esteban Pakarati. A detail of the same sculpture is shown in Pl. 227. The long tail of the rat curves down on the right side of the crude bust, and coincides with the arms which are roughly outlined and join below the belly. Whereas most of the carving was undamaged, the owner had retouched the outline of the almost invisible arms.
MAN WITH RAT IN MOUTH, detail of sculpture in PL.226 showing the rat with its forepaws held below its muzzle. Esteban volunteered the information that it was once a local custom for a man to run around the island with a rat in his mouth when a wife or child had died.
RATS a (K-T 1259) from Esteban Pakarat; b (K-T 1332) from Pedro Atan; c (K-T 1716) from Henrique Teao's cave; d (K-T 1966) from Rafael Teao. The red lava relief, a, was one of the first cave sculptures to be disclosed to the Norwegian Expedition. The eroded vesicular plaque, d, shows a crouching ratlike creature along the upper left edge, and a smaller hook-shaped animal, resembling a rongo-rongo symbol, below it.
RATS a (K-T 1599) and b (K-T 1658) from Lazaro Hotu's cave. These realistically carved animals, crouching on top of their vaulted stone bases, lay side by side in the cave. The edible rat was the only mammal known on the island at the time of European arrival.
In concept and style the 21 cm. long flattish head, a, with its horizontally projecting neck, carved in red lava, is strongly reminiscent of the puma head constantly reappearing in aboriginal Peruvian art. Felines were unknown throughout Polynesia as well as Austro-Melanesia when the Europeans arrived.
FELINE AND CANINES a (K-T 1493), b (K-T 1333), and d (K-T 2080) from Pedro Atan; c (K-T 1392) from Lazaro Hotu. a, unlike the sculpture in Pl. 230 a, could well be inspired by the large wild cat of unknown introduction living on the island. The dog, unknown in Melanesia, although an important domesticated animal in both Polynesia and Peru on European arrival, was not present on Easter Island. The Polynesian name for dog, kuri, was applied to cats when they were introduced to historic Easter Island.
PLATE 232  UNIDENTIFIABLE ANIMALS a (K-T 1583) from Pedro Pate's cave; b (K-T 2094) from Pedro Atan's cliff-side cache; c (K-T 1354) and d (K-T 1352) from Lazaro Hotu; e (K-T 1316) from Ramon Hey. c and d are the first art reproductions of the legendary animal *kekepu,* discussed on p. 223.
UNIDENTIFIABLE ANIMALS a (K-T 1482) from Pedro Atan; b (K-T 1608) from Lazaro Hotu; c (K-T 1365) from Henrique Teao; d (K-T 1570) from Atan Atan's cave; e (K-T 2199) from Rosa Paoa. Although unidentifiable, with the exception of b, these animal sculptures probably represent felines or dogs. The islanders insist that cats and dogs were known to their ancestors, but admit that horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs were introduced by Europeans.
HORSES

a (K-T 1782) from Aron Pakarati Atan; b (K-T 1600) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; c (K-T 1693) from Henrique Teao's cave; d (K-T 1542), e (K-T 1517), and f (K-T 1512) from Atan Atan's cave. All the islanders are well aware that the horse is a European introduction and would never carve one for commercial purposes. a and e actually resemble more a donkey or a mule, not known on the island today, although an attempt was made to introduce donkeys by the first missionaries in 1866. f is more like a llama, an animal which could have been seen by some of the slaves repatriated from Peru in the last century.
RABBITS a (K-T 1722) and b (K-T 1723) from Henrique Teo's cave; c (K-T 1624) from Juan Haoa's cave. Rabbits were unknown to the contemporary Easter Islanders and play no part in surviving traditions. They were introduced to the island by the first missionaries in 1866, but were soon consumed when the missionaries were forced to flee. The last few specimens were observed in 1877. c is a rabbit Janus head. The appearance of rabbit sculptures in local caves shows that the cult of small stone sculptures continued secretly after the formal acceptance of Christianity in 1868.
ANTHROPOMORPHIC MONSTERS

a (K-T 1900), b (K-T 1582), and e (K-T 1846) from Pedro Pate's cave; c (K-T 1612) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; d (K-T 1686) and f (K-T 1403) from Henrique Teao's cave; g (K-T 1477) from Lazaro Hotu. These sculptures are somewhat reminiscent of those in Pl. 170, one of which was brought to the continent by the Gana Expedition in 1870.
SPHINX (K-T 2192) from Rosa Paoa. This sculpture is one of the best executed and most surprising found on the island. An anthropomorphic head with hair flowing back like a mane is set like that of an animal on the body of a quadruped with a long tail hanging between the hind legs. The sculpture is somewhat reminiscent of, although far superior to, the animals in Pl. 230 b, c.
PLATE 238  FROGLIKE CREATURE (K-T 2168) from Juan Pakarati II Atan, right side, front, and rear views. Although purely zoomorphic, this peculiar froglike monster with its short, stumpy tail and single pair of limbs is slightly reminiscent of the monster with an anthropomorphic head in Pl. 172, which was brought from the island by the Geisler Expedition in 1882.
FROGLIKE ANIMALS a (K-T 1866) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; b (K-T 1917) from Pedro Pate's cave. These two sculptures, probably representing the same unidentifiable animal, are less froglike than the previous specimen, yet resemble no animal which the Easter Islanders could possibly have seen in territories adjacent to their part of the ocean. Although frogs and toads were unknown in all of Polynesia, toadlike creatures termed kohē (kōē) were reported among the tattoo motifs by early European visitors to Easter Island (p. 36).
PLATE 240

FROG AND BIRD SCULPTURES a (K-T 1581) from Pedro Pate's cave; b (K-T 1955) from Benedicto Riroroko. Although the lower figure in a is definitely a bird, the upper one resembles a frog or a tailless lizard. b seems to be a combination of a froglike creature and a bird on the same stone.
FROGLIKE ANIMALS AND LIZARD. a (K-T 1897) from Pedro Pate's cave; b (K-T 1623) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; c (K-T 2162) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; d (K-T 1679) from Henrique Teao's cave. The tailless creatures in a and b are reminiscent of those in Pl. 239, whereas c bears a strong resemblance to the presumably human figure in Pl. 210 c. Carved on the rear side of this plaque is a large oval depression surrounded by a raised rim with a rounded lip.
PLATE 242

REPTILES

a (K-T 1860) from Juan Atan; 
b (K-T 2034) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; 
c (K-T 1970) and 
d (K-T 1615) from Rafael Teao; 
e (K-T 1646) from Lazaro Hotu's cave. 
Although clearly reptiles, these specimens bear no resemblance to the tiny, slim-headed lizard of the island.
CHAMELEONLIKE CREATURES a (K-T 2207) and b (K-T 2210) from Rosa Paoa; c (K-T 1636) from Lazaro Hotu’s cave; d (K-T 1905) from Pedro Pate's cave. These animal sculptures, which again seem to depict reptiles unknown on the island, differ from the other specimens in having a strong resemblance to the continental chameleon.
COMPOSITE FIGURE (K-T 2229) from Esteban Atan. An unidentifiable animal is riding on, or mating with, a creature with a shapeless body and anthropomorphic head. The asymmetrical human head has its hair parted in such a way that half of it curves above the right eyebrow, and the rest falls back along the neck.
UNIDENTIFIABLE ANIMALS  
a (K-T 2194) from Rosa Paoa;  
b (K-T 1731) and  
c (K-T 1925) from Henrique Teao’s   
cave;  
d (K-T 2037) from Juan Pakarati II Atan;  
e (K-T 1632) and  
f (K-T 1878) from Lazaro Hotu’s cave;  
g (K-T 2010) from Juan Haoa’s cave.   
a is another example of the unidentifiable creature carved on the skull in Pl. 199 a.   
c has the head and  
hunched back of an Orongo-type bird-man but the rest of the figure is aberrant.

PLATE 245
PLATE 246 MYTHICAL CREATURES AND TURTLE. a (K-T 1487) from Pedro Atan; b (K-T 2176) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; c (K-T 2196) from Rosa Paoa. a the peculiar relief on this slab is almost identical with that on a slab taken from one of the stone houses at Orongo by B. F. Day in 1886 and reproduced here in Fig. 16 d. The present whereabouts of this Orongo slab is unknown. b is a unique hybrid of a flying bird with a human head, the opposite of the usual Easter Island tangata manu, or man with a bird’s head.
TURTLES MATING a (K-T 1650) from Lazaro Hotu’s cave; b (K-T 1906) from Pedro Pate’s cave. Whereas the bulk of the sculptures were given by their owners with no attempt to explain their motifs, the mating stone turtles were said to have had the power of increasing the number of turtles which formerly reached the island’s shores.
PLATE 248  WHALES a (K-T 1918) from Pedro Pate's cave, same sculpture as in Pl. 249; b (K-T 1797) from Benedicto Ritoroko. The resemblance to a whale is mainly due to the horizontal tail.
WHALES a side view of sculpture in Pl. 248 a; b (K-T 1891) from Pedro Pate's cave. The crater-shaped depression at the side of the mouth of a is difficult to explain, but a recently made sculpture of the same general type, possibly a copy of an old piece, had a similar crater on top of the head, representing a blow hole.
PLATE 250  FISH a (K-T 1637) and b (K-T 1618) from Lazaro Hotu's cave. The fish relief in a clearly represents a sailfish.
FISH a (K-T 2182) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; b (K-T 1990) from Juan Haoa’s cave. The sculpture in b seems to represent a moonfish.
PLATE 252  EELS a (K-T 1856) from Juan Atan; b (K-T 1348) and c (K-T 1501) from Pedro Atan. The plaque a shows a single animal, whereas both b and c show pairs mating. The flat heads and narrow necks of the two animals in b, as opposed to the others, make them resemble snakes unknown on the island, rather than eels which were very common on the coast.
MARINE ANIMALS a (K-T2038), b (K-T2161), and c (K-T2178) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; d (K-T2023) and e (K-T2025) from Juan Haoa’s cave. The octopus in b and the chiton in c are motifs known also from ancient Easter Island wood carvings (Pl. 129). The flying-fish in a and the crustaceans in d and e are motifs hitherto unknown in Easter Island art.
Crabs and mollusks caught along the rocky coast play an important part in the local diet.
LANGOSTAS a (K-T 1973) from Rafael Teao; b (K-T 1347) from Lazaro Hotu. Langostas, or clawless lobsters, are very common along the coast and are caught by hand at night by torchlight. One very crude langosta sculpture was found in a cave inside a toitoru-reed wrapping which crumbled upon touch.
Plate 256

BIRD HEADS a (K-T 1859) from Juan Atan; b (K-T 1393) from Lazaro Hotu; c (K-T 1402) from Henrique Teao; d (K-T 2083) from Era Rapu. a and c obviously represent birds of prey, and might be inspired by a small falcon introduced to the island about the turn of the last century, but a bird's head with the same type of short, hooked beak is common among the rongo-rongo signs, antedating European arrival. b has a "toothed" beak resembling the mask illustrated in Pl. 184 f.
CHICKENS a (K-T 1684) from Henrique Teao’s cave; b (K-T 2239) from Pedro Atan’s cliff-side cache. The chicken, which was the only domesticated animal on Easter Island prior to European arrival, was very often represented among the cave sculptures.
CHICKENS a (K-T 2005) and b (K-T 2005b) from Juan Haoas cave. b shows the hen sitting on its eggs.
BIRDS a (K-T 1541) from Atan Atan's cave; b (K-T 1911) from Pedro Pate's cave; c (K-T 1345) from Lazaro Hotu. PLATE 259

a seems clearly to be sitting on an egg and the same is possibly the case with the strange bird in c which has a prominent spine and is flattened at the sides.
PLATE 260  BIRDS a (K-T 1841) from Pedro Atan; b (K-T 1860) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; c (K-T 1651) and e (K-T 1864) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; d (K-T 2004) and f (K-T 1997) from Juan Haoa's cave. Realistic birds are as common among the cave stones as are the bird-men.
BIRD HEAD AND BIRD-MAN. a (K-T 2103) from Pedro Atan’s cliff-side cache; b (K-T 2024) from Juan Haoa’s cave.

a strongly resembles the head of a pelican, a bird unknown locally but numerous in the Galapagos group and along the South American coast. b is a bird’s body with a bearded human face, similar in idea to the sculpture in Pl. 246 b.
PLATE 262  BIRD-MEN OF TANGATA MANU TYPE  a (K-T 2166) from Juan Pukarati II Atan: b (K-T 1898) from Pedro Pate's cave: c (K-T 1525) from Atan Atan's cave, a detail of which is shown in Pl. 263. b is, in fact, rather a kneeling bird-woman and as such a unique piece. c is another trick figure of the type in Pls. 38, 39 with the bird's head becoming that of a bearded man when seen from above.
BIRD-MAN, detail of sculpture in Pl. 262 c. Precisely as on the sculpture brought to Leningrad at the beginning of the last century, the head of this trick figure changes from bird to man according to the angle from which it is viewed. This detail is confused and lost on modern commercial carvings of bird-men.
Bird plaques were very common. E shows a double-headed bird, one head of which has been broken off the slab. The edge of the fracture is very eroded. I differs from the rest in not having the head carved in profile.
BIRD-MAN PLAQUES a (K-T 1988) from Juan Haoa's cave; b (K-T 1875), e (K-T 1606), and f (K-T 1885) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; c (K-T 1567) from Atan Atan's cave; d (K-T 1799) from Benedicto Riroroko; g (K-T 1889) from Pedro Pate's cave. Plaques of this type are also very common in the caves and are clearly related to the bird-men reliefs dominating the cliffs around the ceremonial village of Orongo. The rear side of a is scooped out like a container.
BIRD SIGNS FROM THE RONGO-RONGO SCRIPT a (K-T 1624), b (K-T 1882), f (K-T 1596), g (K-T 1616), h (K-T 1872), and i (K-T 1652) from Lazaro Hotu’s cave; c (K-T 2087) from Eria Rapu; d (K-T 2136) from Juan Pakarati II Ata; e (K-T 2003) from Pedro Pate’s cave. These birds with unrealistic bodies and limbs concur with symbols on the written tablets where it appears as if heads of birds, mammals or human beings have been added as embellishments to non-figurative signs.
BIRD-MEN IN PAIRS AND WITH ARTIFACTS a (K-T 1617) and d (K-T 1609) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; b (K-T 1336) from Pedro Atan; c (K-T 1782) from Aron Pakarati Atan. Pairs of bird-men sitting beak to beak are not uncommon on the island and both a and b reflect the same concept as the sculpture in Pl. 180 b. c this eroded plaque shows an indistinct bird-man with its beak pointing upward in the top left corner. Its round head almost touches the hunched back of the figure whose long feet are bent up parallel to a double-bladed paddle of the type shown in Pls. 55, 56. d holds a short spear with a matau, or obsidian point.
PLATE 268  RONGO-RONGO LIKE SIGNS  a (K-T 1594) and c (K-T 1649) from Lazaro Hotu’s cave; b (K-T 1741) and g (K-T 1687) from Henrique Teao’s cave; d (K-T 1964) from Benedicto Riroroko; e (K-T 1858) from Juan Atan; f (K-T 1972) from Rafael Teao; h (K-T 2151) from Juan Pakarati II Atan. Like us, earlier visitors, including Metraux, were told that single rongo-rongo signs engraved on rock had a certain mana or magic strength.
RONGO-RONGOLIKE SIGNS a (K-T 1633) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; b (K-T 1726) from Henrique Teao's cave; c (K-T 2026) from Juan Haoa's cave; d (K-T 2138) from Juan Pakarati II Atan. Although the historic natives did not know the meaning of a single rongo-rongo character, they continued to consider the signs of the tablets and any symbol resembling them as the most powerful of charms.
REI-MIRO RELIEFS

a (K-T 1647) from Lazaro Hotu’s cave; b (K-T 1142) from Juan Pakarati II Atan. The motif of both plaques is clearly that of the rei-miro pectoral which is said to represent the large, crescent-shaped ancestral vessel. The balls on the hull of a are reminiscent of those on the whale-shaped vessel in Pl. 288. b has the Makemake mask symbolizing the sun in the place of a sail. The substitution of the sun for the sail, both of which are called ra or tua in Polynesia, is a remarkable feature in Easter Island art as shown in Pl. 187 b and Figs. 22, 23, and 27.
STONE TAHTONGA a (K-T 1350) from Lazaro Hotu, side, bottom and top views; b (K-T 2187) from Andres Haoa; c (K-T 1847) from Pedro Pate's cave; d (K-T 2143) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; e (K-T 1852) from Benedicto Riroroko. The concept of the standard tahonga pectoral shown in Pls. 51 and 52 is clearly present although these sculptures were probably never meant to be worn as ornaments, but more likely to be preserved in memory of ancestral wooden artifacts disintegrating in the caves.
PLATE 272  
TAHONGA RELIEFS, KUMARA, AND PARARAH:  
a (K-T 2167) and b (K-T 2179) from Juan Pakarati II Atan;  
c (K-T 1373) from Lazaro Hotu; d (K-T 1682) from Henrique Teao's cave; e (K-T 1530) and f (K-T 1531) from Atan Atan's cave.  
a dorsal view and b side view of bird coming out of a tahonga-like object, strengthening the suspicion that the original model for this pendant was an egg cracking open. c was interpreted by the owner as being a sprouting sweet potato, the staple diet on the island since pre-European times. d-f, an unidentified object, probably a charm identical to wooden specimens brought from Easter Island in the last century and mistaken for the blades of skull oars (cf. pp. 305-6).
STONE DANCE PADDLES AND CLUBS.  a (K-T 2028) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; b (K-T 1521) from Atan Atan's cave; c (K-T 1256) from Esteban Pakarati; d-i (K-T 1867, 1643, 1641, 1644, 1661, and 1642) from Lazaro Hotu's cave; j (K-T 1896) and k (K-T 1907) from Pedro Pate's cave.  a and b are clearly reliefs of the double-bladed ao paddles in Pls. 55, 56, while c-i represent clubs of the aie and paia types shown in Pl. 53.  j and k are clubs or pounders terminating in an upturned human face.  Since the fragile lava could not stand up to blows, these objects were obviously not utilitarian but, like the tahunga in Pl. 271, carved to preserve the memory or the mana of ancestral objects deteriorating or lost.
STONE BOWLS  
a (K-T 2197) from Rosa Pao;  
b (K-T 2211) from Esteban Atan.  
Excavations revealed that large and small stone bowls of hard and polished basalt were formerly common on Easter Island. Most, however, were found broken into fragments and complete specimens were extremely rare (Heverdahl, 1962, Pls. 76-78). Fragments with Makemake masks either in relief or incised were also found, and another example might be the fragment in Pl. 154 b.
STONE BOWL (K-T 1601) from Lazaro Hotu's cave, two views of the same bowl. Like the specimen in Pl. 274 b, this bowl has several human masks carved around its side. Although consumed by erosion, these sculptures could hardly have served as a watertight vessel and probably had the function of preserving the memory and the mana of ancestral objects broken or lost.
STONE RECEIPT ACLES a (K-T 1893) from Pedro Pate's cave; b (K-T 2240) from Pedro Atan's cliff-side cache; c (K-T 2102) from Pedro Atan's cliff-side cache, two views of same jar as in Pl. 277.  a is a replica in vesicular lava of the type of shallow basalt bowl encountered archaeologically by the expedition. Some of these bowls had masks in high relief on their sides. The two-handled vase, b, and the jug, c, clearly have ceramic prototypes. Although the modern Easter Islanders, like the rest of the Polynesians, had no pottery, the islanders had preserved a name for it, maenga.
STONE JUG, same piece as illustrated in Pl. 276 c. A Makemake mask is carved in low relief opposite the loop handle, and two flying birds of the standard type are carved on each side. This unique specimen, when brought from an almost inaccessible cliff-side cache, was covered with cobwebs and a thick coat of aeolian dust.
This peculiar sculpture, which was one of the first brought by Lazaro before he revealed his cave, shows a reed raft 27 × 16.5 cm. with a shallow hole in the center of the deck which, to judge from similar specimens, would have been intended as a socket for a mast, although it seems too shallow ever to have held one. The grooves indicating the hair of the heads, placed as on a rei-miro at each end, run uninterruptedly into the reeds of the vessel.
REED BOAT, detail of sculpture in Pl. 278. Whereas the head at one end is carved with closed lips, the opposite head has wind-filled cheeks and a blowing mouth like a wind-blowing cherub, meant to increase the speed if aiming at a sail.
STONE REED BOATS a (K-T 1513) from Atan Atan’s cave; b (K-T 1710) from Henrique Teao’s cave. The separate bundles of which the reed boat is composed are clearly shown. b, ornamented with eyes at the bow, has two shallow, square sockets similar to those on the reed boat in Pls. 284 and 285, but they are probably too shallow to have held masts. The owner volunteered an account of earth-filled umu, or fire pits for offshore cannibal ceremonies, supposedly represented by these depressions.
STONE REED BOAT WITH SAIL (K-T 1598) from Lazaro Hotu’s cave, two views of the same vessel. Above, the vessel is shown as it was found in the cave with a separate piece representing mast and sail mortised into a central socket. The sail is divided into sections by three transversal grooves and has concentric circles side by side like eyes incised near the top. Below, the same boat is shown from above with the sail removed. The deck area is surrounded by a low ridge which, in a similar sculpture in Pl. 282, is carved like a thick rope cable.
PLATE 282  TWO-MASTED STONE REED BOAT AND SAILS (K-T 1922) from Pedro Pate’s cave. A detail is shown in PL. 283. Above, the vessel is shown as found in the cave with masts mortised into the deck. This vessel has its bow carved into a human mask facing the inside of the vessel, with long hair continuing as the reeds of the hull, as in the specimen in PL. 278. Like in PL. 281, the deck is outlined by a low ridge which is clearly incised so as to resemble a thick rope cable of the type needed on Easter Island to enable the transport of 80-ton statues. Below, are the masts and sails of the same vessel taken out of the sockets. The sails are of porous lava, whereas the hull is of a fine-grained volcanic tuff.
STONE REED BOAT, detail of sculpture in Pl. 282. This sculpture is of exceptionally fine workmanship. Figureheads on boats have never been observed on Easter Island since European arrival and constitute an idea never alluded to by the present-day islanders. The use of the gunwale rope on reed boats is unreported from the entire Pacific area and was a detail unnoticed by the author until he saw them on reed boat reliefs in Egypt twelve years later.
PLATE 284  THREE-MASTED STONE REED BOAT (K-T 1707) from Henrique Teao's cave. Full view and detail of sculpture in Pl. 285 with the sail removed. This beautiful vessel resembles the one in Pl. 282, but the mask in the bow is turned in the opposite direction, with its beard rather than its hair continuing into the reeds of the vessel. The gunwale rope is once more present as well as what seems to be another rope attached to its rear section running around the peak of the stern.
STONE REED BOAT: detail of sculpture in Pl. 284. The beard of the figurehead can be seen merging with the reeds of the bow, and behind it is a square socket from which the foremast has been removed.
THREE-MASTED STONE REED BOAT with and without sails (K-T 1343). A front view of this sculpture is shown in PI. 287. This 40 × 21 cm. vessel was one of the first sculptures brought by Pedro Atan prior to his illness, when it was first admitted that the entrances to secret caves were still known and used.
STONE REED BOAT, front view of vessel illustrated in Pl. 286. The parallel grooves on the sail may indicate reed matting since reed sails are known from both Polynesia and Peru. According to the earliest traditions of the Easter Islanders, their ancestors reached the island in two huge crescent-shaped ships, each 15 fathoms or 90 ft. long (twice as long as Ra II), each carrying 150 men and women. When building a seaworthy reed boat for a crew of four in 1955, four old Easter Islanders stated that by increasing the quantity of reeds and labor such a vessel could be built to any dimensions desired.
PLATE 288  MYTHOLOGICAL COMPOSITION (K-T 2101) from Pedro An's cliff-side cache, same sculpture as in Pl. 289. This carving is probably the most amazing artifact brought from Easter Island caves. The image is that of a reed boat with a whale's or sea monster's head at the bow, and a skull-like mask at the stern. At the top of the stern is a five-sided umu, or Easter Island fireplace, and on deck is a haua paenga, or lenticular reed house, with a square doorway on the starboard side. On the same side, a wide channel surrounded by a V-shaped groove leads down from the deck aft. The vessel will balance on the six balls carved three each side of the hull of the reed boat (cf. Pls. 270a, 313c, f. Fig. 57).
MYTHOLOGICAL COMPOSITION front and rear view of sculpture in Pl. 288. Above, the left side of the whale's head, together with the port side of the vessel, is eroded and the eye and a toothed mouth can be discerned mainly on the starboard side. Behind the Easter Island reed hut, which is shaped like an overturned boat, can be seen the pentagonal *umu* embedded in a dirt mound as is customary ashore. Below, the skull-like mask at the stern and the complete form of the supporting balls are seen, the significance of which remains a mystery.
The sculpture is that of a crudely executed turtle with head and tail and an irregular and asymmetrical shell carrying two finely carved, almost circular plaques with *rongo-rongo* bird symbols incised in relief. Each plaque is carved like two superimposed concentric disks.
TURTLE WITH MAN IN FEATHERCLOAK (K-T 2099) from Pedro Atan’s cliff-side cache. The head of the turtle is finely carved, with eyes as raised rings, but the shell is as crude and irregular as that of the turtle in Pl. 290. A human figure with a feather headdress and a long feathercloak, the typical attire of an island king or chief, is carved in low relief on the turtle’s back. The figure either has a long arm and is holding a disk, or the hand, next to the knee, is holding a long handle terminating in a disk or ball. This sculpture was one of those found in a cache and covered with a thick deposit of fine dust.
PLATE 292  TURTLE AND HUMAN HEAD COMPOSITION (K-T 1676) from Juan Haoa's cave. The idea seems basically related to that of the sculpture in Pl. 291 and at the same time it is clearly one of the prototypes of the series of similar motifs in Pl. 293. A human head facing forward and upward is carved in high relief like a hump on the back of a marine turtle with large flippers. Although none of the owners of this frequently repeated motif could give any explanation as to what the carving represented, it brings to mind a well-known tradition concerning the arrival of the first ancestral discoverers who told of a huge turtle found ashore which killed one of the immigrants with its flippers.
DETERIORATION OF TURTLE AND HUMAN HEAD MOTIF. a (K-T 1669) from Juan Haoa’s cave; b (K-T 1668) and c (K-T 1667, side and top view) from Aron Pakarati Atun; d (K-T 2122) from Juan Nahoe; e (K-T 1475) from Esteban Pakarati. This series illustrates how a motif can multiply either by serving as a model for another sculpture, or by the artist’s memorizing a sculpture he has seen, or even by his carving something he has only heard of. e was one of the commercial pieces carved for the Norwegian Expedition once the collapse of the cave secrets became generally known in Hangaroa village.
DUPLICATIONS OF MOTIF: a (K-T 2154), b (K-T 2158), and d (K-T 2035) from Juan Pakarati II Atan; c (K-T 1993) from Juan Haoa's cave. Although all four plaques show basically the same bird-man with an arched back, flexed limbs, and large human feet, c is a direct repetition of a even in details such as the shape of the foot and the hand grasping the tip of the beak. Correspondingly, d is a direct repetition of b in various details such as the wide foot with toes indicated. The similarity is so close that the same artist has either repeated the same motif more than once or else he has copied another sculpture already in his possession. In this manner the same motif was able to spread, through generations, to different caves.
DUPLICATIONS OF MOTIF. a (K-T 1672) from Juan Haoa's cave; b (K-T 1962) from Benedicto Riroroko; c (K-T 2226) from Esteban Atan; d detail of sculpture in Pl. 147 d. It seems obvious that when the late Juan Tepana carved the wooden figure illustrated in d, he had not invented the motif himself as assumed at the time. He had obviously had access to the goatee-bearded and pointed-eared mask in c which remained in hiding until 1956, or else to another common prototype which might still be in hiding on the island.
PLATE 296  SCULPTURES INSPIRED BY NATURAL FEATURES. a (K-T 1538) and b (K-T 1544) from Atan Atan's cave; c (K-T 1673) from Juan Haoi's cave; d (K-T 2052) from Lazaro Hotu; e (K-T 1819) from Esteban Atan. a is a heavy water-worn beach stone only slightly modified by incision lines indicating a nose and mouth. b found in the same cave, is an imitation of a and only the eye concavities are natural features. An eroded relief resembling a lizard and a snake have been added to the skull. c and d are naturally twisted lumps of lava retouched at one end to resemble respectively a marine creature and a mammal. e is a volcanic block where a natural hole is exploited to create a head by adding eyes and lips.
LIVING ART. a same sculpture as in Pl. 195 c. b (K-T 1849) from Benedicto Rioroko; c (K-T 2155) from Juan Pakarati I Atan; d (K-T 1754) from Esteban Pakarati; e (K-T 2001) from Juan Haua’s cave. a–c show the continuation of the same motif from the archaeological specimen a to the recent skull c reportedly carved in the early part of the present century. d is undoubtedly a further development and stylization of the composition with opposed heads in Pls. 98 b and 213 c, while the squatting figure e is an obvious development from the relief figures such as in Pl. 210 b.
PLATE 298  LIVING ART.  a (K-T 1406) and b (K-T 1518) from Atan Atan; c (K-T 2149) from Juan Pakarati II Atan.  The animal heads in a and b pose a problem.  Both lack patina and could have been carved during the visit of the Norwegian Expedition, yet the owner, like all other Easter Islanders, knew well that the horse was a European introduction.  Thus the head in b is useless as a fraud representing ancient ancestral art.  The feline, however, has consistently been claimed to have been known to the islanders' earliest ancestors.  Rather than fakes, they might be recent carvings intended to give mana.  c is certainly no authentic sample of rongo-rongo script but the signs, individually and in groups, were still believed to possess magic power.
LIVING ART. a (K-T 1810), b (K-T 1796), and c (K-T 1806) from Benedicto Riroroko. a two views of a sculpture showing a long-tailed creature, probably the artist’s concept of the Christian devil, mating with, or raising, an unfinished, eyeless Middle Period statue. The early missionaries taught the islanders that the pagan statues had been erected with the aid of the devil, b a plaque with a bird-man and a skull; and c a fish and bird composition. Although probably of comparatively recent manufacture, the motifs suggest that these sculptures are not inspired by commercialization but by genuine magico-religious concepts or earlier models.
PLATE 300 MODERN SCULPTURE. a-1 young Easter Island imitator at work, a suitable lump of lava is selected; b a rough shape is given with an axe; c details are added with an iron chisel; d a smooth surface is obtained by rubbing. e an attempt to simulate patina is made by beating with plant fibers. f, g the final result which in most cases can be distinguished from the authentic cave sculptures. Jorge Tepano, son of the late artist Juan, never saw the reed boat sculptures hidden in local caves and claimed that no antique specimens existed, but that any good sculptor could imagine and make one. To try to prove his point he carved the sculpture in h which, however, bears no resemblance to the examples found in the caves (Pls. 278–89).
MODERN SCULPTURE. a from Ramon Hey; b–d and g from Esteban Pakarati; e from Victor Riroroko; f from Benedicto Riroroko. These sculptures are characteristic of those carved for purely commercial purposes when it became known that some islanders had disclosed the secret of their caves. b–d and g are typical of the crude images brought by Esteban Pakarati and produced by him and his collaborators when he was barred from further access to his wife's cave. e is a common tourist product of a type known as moai medio cuerpo.
PLATE 302  COMPARISONS. a–c (La Paz 129, 217, 322) rectanguloid stone heads from Tiahuanaco, corresponding to Easter Island Monument Type 1; d rectanguloid pillar statues at Tiahuanaco, corresponding to Easter Island Monument Type 2 (cf. Pl. 2).
COMPARISONS. Realistic kneeling stone giants with hands on thighs typical of Tiahuanaco correspond to Monument Type 3 on Easter Island (Pl.3). The concept of the nose splitting into a goggle-shaped pattern ending in pouches below the eyes is also repeated on the Easter Island counterpart, and together with the goatee beard and the ribs survived even in Easter Island wood carvings. a (Macmillan Brown, 1924) now in front of the local church; b, c (Posnansky, Vol. 2, 1945) and d (courtesy S. Rydén) now moved to the sunken plaza in La Paz.

PLATE 303
COMPARISONS. a an Early Period basalt statue of Monument Type 4 on Easter Island, the only Early Period type which later inspired the remarkably homogeneous mass production of Middle Period *alta* images; b a corresponding basalt statue from Peru, a legless bust with hands on the abdomen, excavated from a Tiahuanaco site at Taraco on the north shore of Lake Titicaca. On the mainland the four statue types represented in Plates 302–4 are recognized as representing the earliest Tiahuanaco period, just as their counterparts on the island represent the Early Period in Easter Island art.
COMPARISONS. Statues from the final, classical Tiahuanaco period in the Lake Titicaca area. Regional evolution led to more conventionalized forms on the continent as on the island, and correspondences in this period are rudimentary. a represents the bearded priest-king Con-Tici who, according to all Inca traditions, migrated into the Pacific with his Tiahuanaco stone carvers; b a statue fragment from Pukara, again emphasizing the ribs and navel. The remaining statues have the upper part of their heads carved like the Easter Island pukao; g and h show the locally important “weeping-eye” symbol which so often reappears in Easter Island art (cf. Pl. 183 a, Figs. 14, 16 e, 20, 24, 25), and h (Lehmann, 1924) like a has a bearded chin.
COMPARISONS. The masonry technique on Easter Island, without parallel in Oceania, closely follows the megalithic masonry tradition of ancient Peru. Blocks of uneven size and often colossal dimensions are closely fitted together with unexcelled expertise. a–c from Easter Island and d–f from Sacsahuaman in Peru, and the Lake Titicaca region. b and d show a characteristic insertion of a curved segment, the Easter Island sample displaced to show the masterly fitting (see also PIs. 7, 8 and Fig. 15).
COMPARISONS. Sun-oriented stone platforms of an initial architectural period, with perfectly fitted megalithic blocks, was followed both in Tiahuanaco and on Easter Island by a period of destruction and rebuilding in which available blocks were reused out of context. a, c, e from Easter Island; b, d, f from Tiahuanaco. a (Routledge, 1919) and c show Early Period house-foundation stones (Pl. 15 c, d) reused in a Middle Period ahu, and d shows similar stones reused in an ahu-like temple platform in Tiahuanaco. e, f dislocated facing stones in both areas prove to be narrow blocks which originally covered a rubble-filled interior.
COMPARISONS. Stone heads without bodies are common in the excavations at Tiahuanaco, and have a general resemblance to those of Easter Island in size and execution. Some represented complete images in themselves, while others were inserted in masonry walls, a practice formerly reported also from Easter Island (cf. Fig. 13). a, b stone heads excavated by A. Posnansky at Tiahuanaco (from Means, 1931); c, d stone heads respectively in reconstruction of wall and excavation of site at Tiahuanaco by Carlos Ponce S.; e gargoyle-type head from Chavin in Peru.
COMPARISONS. Stone heads from Tiahuanaco. The treatment of the facial features on these heads crudely outlined on almost shapeless blocks and boulders shares its main characteristics with Monument Type I and the moai moai of Easter Island (e.g., Pls. 2 a–c, 148–57, 190–93). Importance is given only to the big eyes with eyebrows splitting from a Y-shaped nose, and a mouth in relief, while ears, hair, and body are lacking. a–k in the museums of Tiahuanaco and La Paz; Lima.
The bird-man cult, fundamental in Easter Island religious activities, reappears only on the American side of the Pacific, but from Tiahuanaco and northward the bird-man is a basic concept in art and rites. a the "Gateway of the Sun" at Tiahuanaco with b rows of bird-men in relief; c bird-men with belt and tassel from Panama; d helping seafarers in ancient Peru by blowing at sail of mussel-shell divers; and e participating in ray-fishing by reed boat; f, g bird-men crouching in typical Easter Island fashion on ceramic bead from Puna Island in the Gulf of Guayaquil (cf. Pls. 180 b, 267 a, b); h one of the numerous Orongo bird-men reliefs. e Kelemen, 1956, Vol. 2; d, e Lohtrup, 1932; f, g courtesy of R. Northern.
COMPARISONS. The bird-man concept and the bird-man rites had such a firm grip on the Easter Islanders that it was the only religious activity that fully survived from the Middle Period until modern times. In wide areas of the American mainland it held the same firm grip on the aboriginal population, and from British Columbia to Lake Titicaca bird-man dances have survived into the present century. a Pueblo bird-man dancers (compare PIs. 40, 41); b–d bird-man musicians and message-carrier in early pre-Inca art from the Pacific coast of north Peru. a photograph by Adam Woolfitt © National Geographic Society; b, c Lima; d Amano Coll.
PLATE 312 COMPARISONS. a–g bearded Peruvian culture heroes portrayed in Mochica art although all historically known aborigines of South America were as unable to grow beards as were the Malays and Indonesians (cf. Pls. 35a, h, 36, 39, 114 e, d, 188, 189). h Late Chimu portrait; i Mochica goatee-bearded prisoner which in local art is repeatedly shown with pubic hair and circumcised; j–m sharp profiles and narrow lips in portraits from pre-Inca Peru correspond to those of Easter Island (e.g., Pls. 25, 30, 36) as opposed to those of Melanesia. a Heverdull Coll.; b–g I Larco Hoyle Coll.; h photo L. T. Laffon; j Lehmann and Doering, 1924; k–m Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952.
COMPARISONS. Mochica iconographic art. a, h models of stepped temple platforms of Easter Island type were widespread in ancient Peru (cf. Pl. 7a, Figs. 5, 11, 30); c, d, h reed boats, the main ocean-going vessel in pre-Inca Peru, and also built on Easter Island from transplanted Peruvian totora reeds (Color Pl. XV); e–g mythical reed boats sometimes represented with a monster's head at each end (cf. Pls. 282–85, 288–89); i–m characteristic Mochica headdresses with a feline head in front (cf. Pls. 22, 23, Fig. 32). a, h Lima; c–i Kon-Tiki; h, i, k–m Berlin; j Anano Coll.
PLATE 314  COMPARISONS. The same unusual variety in motifs is characteristic of the art of pre-Inca Peru as of Easter Island. Several peculiar concepts are common to both areas. a, b cranium with cup-shaped depression on each side of skull; c-e human limbs and head; f figurine with heart-shaped head; g, h bird-man and knobbly fruit with bird's head; i, j bird and reptile riders; k, l sea-food carriers; m hand with mataahike tumu; n, o bird of prey and sea-bird. a, b, d, j, k, n, o Berlin; c Lehmann and Doering, 1924; e, m Lima; f Pitra; g Copenhagen; h Wassermann-San Blas, 1938; l Amano Coll.
COMPARISONS. Although the motifs are basically interrelated, the artistic style varies greatly from one area to the other. Generally, Moche ceramics are less obscured by geometric decor and are here given preference since they more clearly reflect the parallel to Easter Island. The lack of pronounced wavy workable stones on the desert coast of Peru and potter's clay on Easter Island as well as the usual geographical differences in style and surface decoration do not obscure the common concepts in motifs a, b, c, d, e, h, k, n, m, Berlin; c, Copenhagen; f, Amano Coll.; g, Lehmann and Doering, 1924; o, Lima.

PLATE 315
As on Easter Island, flat female figures representing the earth-mother are common from Mexico to Peru. In Peru they are represented both in wood and in pottery. The correspondences to Easter Island carvings are further augmented by the stereotyped position of the hands, the equal size of head and legs, and the occasional presence of suspension holes for strings. a-e flat female figurines in wood and f in ceramic, from coastal Peru (Berlin).

PLATE 317 Comparisons. a–d stone head and skulls from Mexico. a and b with cup-shaped depressions in skull bone (cf. Easter Island).
Island Pls. 36, 89b, 167, 195c-98b, and Peru Pl. 314a, b); e, f, n shell eyes were common as inlays in Peruvian wood carvings; g, h in Mexico shell inlaid eyes, sometimes with obsidian pupils as on Easter Island, occur also on stone statues; i, j crouching zoomorphic figurine carved in Mexico as split drum with inlaid shell eyes and “tassel” on the lower back (cf. Pls. 42, 43); k Mexican stone plaque (cf. Pls. 210-11); l Mochica frog with common Peruvian eye-to-ear scroll (cf. Pl. 83a); m feather-crown (cf. Pl. 183d, Figs. 9, 10) and n, o pectorals (cf. Pls. 44-50) from Peru; p earplugs for ear extension were common from Mexico to Peru (cf. Pl. 15 c). a-e, f, l Berlin; d, g-k Mexico; m-o Amano Coll.; p Villafranquena.
COMPARISONS. "Trick figures," or sculptures where the same features illustrate different motifs according to the angle from which they are viewed, are one of the most remarkable elements in Easter Island art. The curious sculpture from Mexico Museum shown in full at the bottom left, and commonly referred to as a snake-carrying "monkey," appears to have the head of a turkey when seen in profile but the pointed beak becomes the beard of a human face with a nose and mouth when viewed from certain other angles (upper left). Compare Plates 38, 39, 113, 114, 137-39, 262 c. 263 from Easter Island.
COMPARISONS. In some cases the bird-man sculptures reveal that the image actually represents a human being wearing a bird mask (cf. Easter Island Pls. 40, 41). The antiquity of bird masks from Mexico to Peru is frequently documented in the art. a Bearded man looking out of the open beak of a bird costume, from Guatemala. His shieldlike emblem is reminiscent of the tassel of the Panama bird-man in Plate 310 c and those of the Easter Island bird-men. b A Mexican pottery figurine has a separate beaked or long-snouted mask molded as a detachable part of the sculpture. a Philadelphia; b Slavenhagen Coll.

PLATE 319
PLATE 320 COMPARISONS. Chimu pot from the north coast of Peru depicting chieftains wearing feather-crowns and holding ceremonial paddles in each hand (Amano Coll.). The double-bladed paddle in their right hands, with the feather-crown and long-eared mask on the upper blade, is a clear illustration of the royal emblem termed *ao* on Easter Island (cf. Pls. 47 a, 54-57, 273 a, Fig. 6 b). The fact that the Chimu artists have inherited this ceremonial paddle from their predecessors on the Peruvian coast, the Mochica (Color Pl. XIV), shows that the Easter Islanders maintained a highly specialized ceremonial emblem which was present on the mainland coast to their east prior to their own settling of Easter Island.
APPENDIX
Museum references

For convenience, the following abbreviations are used throughout the text when referring to museum and private collections containing Easter Island art objects or comparative material.

Antwerp: Oudheidkundige Musea, Etnografisch Museum, Antwerp, Belgium.
Belfast: Museum and Art Gallery, Stranmillis, Belfast, Northern Ireland.
Berkeley: The Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, Calif., U.S.A.
Berlin: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin-Dahlem, Germany.
Braunschweig: Städtisches Museum Braunschweig, Braunschweig, Germany.
Bremen: Übersee-Museum, Bremen, Germany.
Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
Brussels: Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, Brussels, Belgium.

Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
Christchurch: Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand.
Cologne: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum für Völkerkunde, Cologne, Germany.
Concepción: Museo de Concepción, Concepción, Chile.
Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Dresden: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden, Germany DDR.
Dublin: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland.
Dunedin: Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand.
Edwards Coll.: Mr. Edmundo Edwards, Santiago de Chile, Chile.
Gothenburg: Etnografiska Museet, Gothenburg, Sweden.
Göttingen: Institut für Völkerkunde an der Universität Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany.
Hamburg: Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, Hamburg, Germany.
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<td>archaeological site.</td>
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<td>Larco Herrera Coll.:</td>
<td>Museo “Rafael Larco Herrera,” Lima, Peru.</td>
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<td>La Rochelle:</td>
<td>Musées d’Histoire Naturelle, La Rochelle, France.</td>
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<td>Muzej Instituta Etnografii Imeni N.N. Mikluho-Maklaja AN SSSR, Leningrad, U.S.S.R.</td>
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<td>Philadelphia:</td>
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<td>Mr. Charles Ratton, Antiquaire, 14, rue de Marignan, Paris VIII, France.</td>
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<td>Sacrés-Cœurs:</td>
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<td>Stafford Coll.:</td>
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<td>Stavenhagen Coll.:</td>
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<td>Villahermosa:</td>
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Acknowledgment

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CATALOGUE

This section contains additional information and descriptions pertaining to the photographic illustrations in the present volume as well as to art objects not here illustrated.

Textual references to Plates 1–15

PLATE 1: Physical aspects of Easter Island. The principal data on the geography of the island with descriptions of the volcanoes and lava fields, the coastline, geological stability, climatology, water supply, flora and fauna have been assembled by the author as the introduction to a separate publication on the archaeology of Easter Island (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 21–90).

PLATE 2: Early Period Easter Island statues of Types 1 and 2. Type 1 is described on p. 153 and Type 2 on p. 154. Extra-island analogies are shown in Pl. 302.

PLATE 3: Early Period Easter Island statues of Type 3. This type is described on p. 154. Extra-island analogies are shown in Pl. 303.

PLATES 4–5: Early Period Easter Island statues of Type 4. This type is described on pp. 154–55. An extra-island analogy is shown in Pl. 304. Pl. 4 a: Now in the museum in Dunedin, this statue was originally brought to Tahiti by the early settler on Easter Island, Mr. T. Salmon. Pl. 4 b: Now in the museum in Brussels, this statue was brought from the island in 1935 by the Franco-Belgian Expedition. Pl. 5: Now in the British Museum, this statue was presented to H.M. the Queen by the Topaze Expedition in 1869.

PLATE 6: Middle Period Easter Island statue of Type 4 and topknots. This locally evolved type is described on pp. 156–60. Some basic analogies are shown in Pl. 305. Topknots are described on pp. 162–63. Pl. 6 a: This statue, now in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, was collected on the island by Paymaster Thomson in 1886.

PLATE 7: Early Period masonry. Early Period architecture and stone-fitting technique are discussed on pp. 164–65. Extra-island analogies are shown in Pl. 306.

PLATE 8: Middle Period rebuilding. The destruction and architectural revolution of this period are discussed on pp. 156–57, 164–68. Extra-island analogies are shown in Pl. 307.

PLATE 9: The procedure in erecting monolithic statues. The traditional methods of quarrying, transporting and erecting cyclopean monuments are reported on pp. 160–62. Extra-island analogies are shown in Pl. 307.

PLATE 10: Late Period overthrow of ahu monuments and re-erection in modern times. The gradual overthrow of all Middle Period images in the decadent Late Period is discussed on pp. 31–34. The re-erection of statues on Easter Island, initiated by the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition in 1955, has been continued under guidance of Chilian authorities.

PLATE 11: The abandoned image quarries. The sudden interruption of all work in the inner and outer walls of the Rano Raraku crater is described on pp. 248–50.

PLATES 12–14: Middle Period statues abandoned in their places of temporary erection at the foot of the quarries. The temporary erection of statues to permit the completion of their backs prior to departure to an ahu is described on pp. 159–60. The boat petroglyph disclosed by excavation, and shown in Pl. 14 c, is discussed on pp. 86–87.
PLATE 15: Non-Polynesian features in Easter Island culture. Elliptical slab houses with corbel-vaulted roofs and remains of circular stone houses once covered with thatched roofs, are illustrated in a and b respectively. Lenticular pole-and-thatch houses with paenga stone foundations are shown in c and d. For these house types see pp. 83–86. The Easter Island custom of extending the earlobes to accommodate large earplugs is characteristic of the population group referred to as Long-ears who are described on pp. 87–89. The earplugs illustrated were excavated by Smith and are described elsewhere (Smith, 1961, pp. 202, 206), compare Pl. 317 p. The polished basalt fishhook illustrated in f is referred to on pp. 92, 144–45 and described in a survey of Easter Island fishhooks (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 416–26). Polished stone bowls as illustrated in g represent one of the finest achievements of Easter Island stone-shaping art. They are described (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 438–46) in a special survey of this type of artifact unknown on the island previous to the visit of the Norwegian Expedition, but very common in ancient Peru.

Catalogue of tapa figurines

Plates 16–18 (Boston 53542): Stuffed effigy of seated male with upturned head. The figure is stuffed with bundles of totora reed tied together with bands of fiber and covered with white tapa cloth. The tapa is painted with black and yellow-brown motifs. The face has an egg-shaped outline but the upturned head is long and flattened at the sides. The nose is large and prominent with a straight, narrow ridge and a rounded profile at its tip. The nasal alae are large but narrow rather than flaring. The eyebrows are slightly raised and somewhat realistic. The eyes are applied as separate almond-shaped disks, possibly of light wood, covered with tapa and sewn onto the head covering. The mouth is huge, drawn slightly up in a grin at the corners, especially on the right side, and a row of teeth made of folded strips of tapa tied around by a fiber string at their base is sewn onto the inner side of each lip. As the mouth is slightly open, it is possible to see the totora reed stuffing inside. Extremely small, rounded rectangular tapa ears are sewn on at each side of the head. The neck is short and terminates in narrow, sloping shoulders. The body, which is leaning forward and represented in a seated position, is extremely long and thin, with an evenly oval cross section, flattened front and back. Small nipples are indicated by slight projections in the tapa. The arms are rounded, long and very thin, flexed at the elbows and flattened at their ends to become hands from which long and pointed wooden spines project as fingers, or more possibly they are intended to represent extremely long finger nails. The legs are thicker than the arms and the thighs are bent upwards from the hips so that the knees touch the sides of the lower body. The knees are flexed at right angles and the lower legs terminate in realistic feet. The feet are also stuffed with compact bundles of totora; they are bent upwards at the ankles and cut off transversally at the toe end. They have been wrapped with separate narrow strips of white tapa. A thin, erect penis and two small testicles have been similarly wrapped with tapa and sewn on. The extremity of the penis is wrapped with red, woven continental material.

Large black disks indicating the pupils have been painted on each eye, and a pattern representing tattoo or body paint has been added to the rest of the figure. A yellowish-brown disk is thus painted at the apex, surrounded by a star-shaped black design with one long point stretching forwards, two towards each side, and the rear one fanning out into two laterally curved points between which is a painted black vulva design in the center of the upper neck. Patterns of black dots enclosed in sickle-shaped areas outlined by thin black lines are painted on the rest of the head, above each eyebrow and above and around each half of the mouth. The ears are also covered with black dots. Black lines outline the contours of the nose and others form a pattern of short transversal stripes on the lips. Three black bands run down the center of the chin and others form a series of parallel zigzag bands down the neck, like the incisions on some of the large stone statues. Two fine black lines run down the outside of the arms, and others ornament the hands. Yellowish-brown paint covers most of the nose, arches above the right eyebrow, and forms a V-shaped pattern near the outer corner of each eye, as well as a band around the mouth. Three obsidian spear heads, or mataa, lashed to long, straight handles are painted in black on the front of the body. The central mataa has its obsidian head on the figure’s chest and the tip of the pointed handle near the scrotum, the two others have their heads in the scrotum area and the handles up to a point near each nipple. On the back are painted four such black mataa heads, two on the shoulder blades and two above the buttocks. Those on the shoulder blades have their handles running down each side of the back. The one above the right buttock has its own handle running up inside the one coming down from the right shoulder blade; the other one, however, shares its handle with the mataa on the shoulder of the same side. A pattern of fine black lines joining each other to form sharp angles covers the front of each lower leg. Black dots are scattered over the seat area, the upper portion of the back, and on the corresponding rear sections of the upper arms.
The length of the figure (seated) is 46 cm., the maximum width (across shoulders), 11.4 cm., and the maximum thickness from chin to apex, 19 cm. The cross section of the oval body is 3.5 × 6 cm.

No information about the provenience is preserved. The specimen reached the Peabody Museum from the Boston Museum Collection in 1899. However, the painted design involving representations of characteristic Easter Island matau, and even more so the actual filling with totora reeds which grow nowhere else in Oceania but on Easter Island, clearly pinpoints the geographical and cultural identity.

PLATES 19–20 (Boston 53543): Stuffed effigy of seated female. The material and method of manufacture correspond closely to what has just been described for “Boston 53542.” As opposed to the previous number, however, this figure is seated with vertical body, facing straight forwards rather than upwards. The face is oval and the head is rounded but flattened on the sides, with a raised ridge at the apex running lengthwise like a thick, rounded sagittal crest. The nose also differs in being extremely aquiline, almost beaklike, with a sharp, arrowlike termination at the tip. The areas of the two separated eyebrows are similarly raised to a blunt crest, giving the figure the appearance of having three bumps on its head when viewed from the front, a feature reappearing on certain of the recently discovered cave stone sculptures (e.g., Pl. 212 a). The eyes are similar to those of the previous specimen, but somewhat smaller and thicker. The mouth is slightly open, again allowing a glimpse of the hollow inside of the head, showing the intricate structure of thin twigs used as crossbars to keep the figure inflated, as well as the multiple strings crisscrossing the inner space as part of the seams contracting the various sections of the surface to give the figure its desired form. As opposed to the previous specimen, teeth are here represented by flat, transversely cut, rectangular pieces of totora reed. These are set between transversely placed, double reed bundles representing lips and gums. Only the lips and not the gums are covered with tapa cloth. The broad chin is somewhat sharper in profile than on the previous specimen; the left and only remaining ear is larger, without spots. The head runs directly into rather realistic shoulders, and the torso and limbs are also more realistic than those of the previous specimen. Neither breasts nor navel are indicated. A realistic vertebral column is represented by knots of totora fibers underlying the tapa cloth. The seat section is also realistic, with one deep, open slot between the bundles of reed stuffing, to represent the vagina, and a smaller one for the rectum. The arms and legs, and even the hands and feet, are rather realistic, although the latter are somewhat short and wide. Each hand has five long fingers individually wrapped with tapa fibers, and long, slim, and sharp wooden finger nails are inserted at their tips in a very effective manner. These finger nails, of which four are broken on the left hand and one on the right, are about 1.5 cm. long. The feet have no individual toes indicated, but flat chips of wood with roughly rectangular outlines represent separate toe nails, of which all remain on the right foot, while only one remains on the left. The same colors as on the previous specimen have been used for body paint, although the yellowish brown is here slightly more orange-colored. Three thin, black, concentric circles are painted at the tip of the nose, and from this a design extends up the nasal ridge, like a fish’s or a bird’s pointed body, with a large fin or wing curving along the nasal alae. This body and its wings are outlined in black and filled in with orange. A thin, black line runs around the wide mouth, surrounded by an orange-colored band, and outside this is an equally wide, black band. These bands surround the mouth except for the part at the center of the chin where a goatee beard is usually depicted on wooden figurines. In this area, from the center of the lower lip, three parallel black lines run vertically down to the tip of the chin. Outside the wide orange-and-black bands runs a white one of the same width, curving from the nose down to the chin. Above this, several corresponding bands alternate, first a black one passing at the level of the eyes, next an orange one terminating like eyebrows in front but running down to the neck behind. Above follow a black, white, black, and orange band. The latter assumes a longitudinal central position and covers most of the sagittal crest. All this face and head painting is bilaterally symmetrical. Twelve thick, black, vertical zigzag bands cover the neck, as on some of the large stone statues, but some fork into fine branches or curvilinear forms at the upper end. The space between two such lines on the left side of the neck is filled with black dots. Such black dots also cover the shoulder blades and immediately adjacent sections of the upper arms and torso. Parallel groups of fine, straight, and angular lines fill the rest of the back, and another pattern of three thicker parallel lines runs in the shape of a horseshoe from the seat up each side of the lower back. A worn pattern of fine parallel lines also covers the front of the thighs. A somewhat more intricate composition of fine rectilinear and curvilinear lines covers the upper and lower arms, and the outside of the hands. A black design somewhat resembling a short, pendent ribbon terminating in two concentric circles is painted on the chest, and the clavicle bones are outlined by two thin, parallel black lines. Traces of orange color, other than on the head, are visible only in the seat area. A dense pattern of fine vertical lines is placed on the abdomen above the genitalia, enclosed in a design resembling the profile of a gabled house. From this design fine parallel lines run along the inside of each thigh towards the knees. The height of the figure (seated) is 41 cm., the maximum width (between elbows), 15.5 cm., and the maximum thickness (from nose to back of head), 16 cm.
The figure is obviously closely related to "Boston 53542," together with which it was acquired, and the same comments on its origins are valid.

PLATE 21 (Belfast, 1910–41): Stuffed effigy of seated figure with perineal band. This figure is so remarkably like "Boston 53543," described above, that unless it represents a type once properly standardized on Easter Island, it is probably the work of the same artist. The material, working technique, dimensions, and general decoration are the same, and the seated position with the forward inclined body and upturned head is almost identical. The overall shape of the head, and the expression of the facial mask, are also a near duplication of the aforesaid specimen, and the application of eyes and teeth follow the same pattern. The only difference other than the painted decoration appears to be the lack of genitals and the presence of a perineal band. According to Zumbohm (1879, p. 664), the latter formed a common type of clothing for men and women alike at the time of missionary arrival.

The most interesting aspect of this Belfast specimen is undoubtedly the fact that it offers an opportunity to study the extremely complicated and ingenious method of manufacture. Through the open mouth the interior of the figure is visible, exposing sections of a supporting framework made from thin, bark-covered twigs with a diameter of about 2 mm., held in position by stays and bindings of fine twisted hau (Hibiscus tilius) strings and tapa. Bundles of totora reed supplement the framework in such a manner that they create the general shape of the figure, and rolls and odd pieces of tapa are filled in wherever necessary to give finer details, as, for instance, immediately inside the lips. Apart from the eyes, ears, and teeth which are sewn on separately, and the knotted-on loincloth, the entire surface of the figure is covered with a coherent tight-fitting "skin" of tapa cloth. The appearance is that of papier-mâché, although fine seams are visible where the different sheets of tapa have been sewn together. These seams occur along each side of the body, across the back below the shoulders, along the occipitalis and down the back of the neck, at each side of the face and around the base of the nose, along the back of the legs, the soles of the feet, and along the inner side of the arms. The only uncovered sections are the interior of the mouth which opens directly into the hollow framework of the head, and the tip of the fingers where the totora reeds protrude. An iron wire attaching the knee portion of the legs to each side of the body is evidently a secondary addition since the wire, as opposed to the inner framework, is inserted from the outside of the tapa cover.

The narrow head is long and realistic. The large lenticular eyes appear to be wooden plates with vaguely convex surfaces covered with a thin sheet of tapa with large, black-painted pupils. The nose, which forms part of the main structure, is very prominent, hooked, and has pronounced alae. The eyebrows are raised and rounded. The ears are small pieces of woven, red, continental, woolen cloth sewn on with tapa thread. The mouth is made with a large, open grin which makes the rows of white tapa teeth stand out spectacularly against the dark, shadowy interior of the head. Each tooth is formed from a small separate piece of tapa bent double, the fold forming the edge of the tooth, and the two loose ends being jointly tied around by tapa string and sewn into a tapa roll, which forms the gums behind the lips.

A realistic neck joins the oversized head to the narrow, rounded shoulder section of a long, slim body. The body has a circular cross section at its mid-length, but flattens and widens towards the chest and the buttocks. The chest is barely convex with two small, hemispherical knobs which seem to represent female breasts, the left of which is placed somewhat higher than the right. The figure is made so as to incline forwards in a seated position, with the knees flexed at right angles and the thin thighs drawn up along the sides of the abdomen in such a manner that only the buttocks and the soles of the feet support the figure. The feet are small, without any indication of toes, whereas the heels project considerably towards the rear. The slim arms are evenly curved and the hands are indicated only by a flattening of the lower arms. Sexual parts are not indicated, and the genital area is furthermore covered with a plain and undecorated tapa loin cloth inserted between the legs and tied with knots in front and back to a narrow tapa belt.

A fragment of a string that was possibly some sort of suspension cord is visible at the back of the head. It runs through a perforation terminating in two bilaterally placed holes 2 cm. apart. The right end of the string terminates in a double knot, while the other end has been worn off. When lifted by this string the figure will balance in its seated position, and perform a froglike jumping movement.

A painted decoration in black and orange has been added to the tapa (Pl. IX). Apart from the pupils of the eyes, all this design is meant to represent either body paint or, more probably, tattooing. Symmetrically placed with one eye on each side of the forehead is a Makemake design, each eye consisting of a black dot surrounded by two concentric circles. The space between the two black circles is painted orange. The nose of the Makemake is indicated by two slightly diverging lines running one from each of the larger circles down the forehead of the main figure towards the base of its nose, where it is lost due to damage of the outer layer of tapa. A double series of eyebrows are painted on the main figure's head above and on the lateral sides of the Makemake eyes, in such a way that the outer one is larger and encloses the smaller one, covering most of the main figure's head from apex to eyebrow. Each of the four
eyebrows is crescent-shaped and composed of one central section painted orange and enclosed between two outer sickle-shaped sections painted black. The back of the head is painted black; the front of the black area is curved in the same pattern as the eyebrows and represents a continuation of this series. The ridge of the eyebrows is painted black. The base of the nose is orange-colored, surrounded by a black outline. From a common point on the upper ridge of the nose, two black lines diverge down each side of the nasal ridge to form the longest arm of a four-armed star placed on the nose. The shortest arm extends towards the upper lip, and two additional arms run to each side along the nostrils. The center of the star, placed on the tip of the nose, is a concentric circle. The space between these two circles is painted orange. On each side of the nose is a triangular area painted orange without black outlines. The lips are outlined by a thin, black line, and covered with dense, parallel rows of transversal, black lines. Three parallel, black lines also run from the center of the lower lip down the entire chin. The whole area surrounding the lips, including the chin, is covered with orange paint enclosed by a thin, black line. The space remaining outside this orange area, flanked by the eyes, the nose and part of the ears, is covered with small black dots. In one row on each side below the ears and down the chin are three circles outlined in black. Symmetrically placed on each side of the throat are three pairs of black, vertical, winglike or undulating patterns, each curved and pointed towards the ends, a repetition of the zigzag pattern on the neck of some large Middle Period statues that reappeared also on the two tapa figurines described above. The two foremost pairs enclose a rhombic area in which is painted what seems to be a conventionalized bird with triangular body and head pointing downwards. On the shoulders and upper arms of the main figure is placed another pattern of small black dots enclosed by curved black lines. On the chest below the throat is painted a black vulva symbol (komari) with traces of orange color in its interior. Above this design and extending down from the zigzag motif on the neck are two bilaterally symmetrical, U-shaped, double lines in black filled in with orange color. On each side of the vulva symbol is a black-painted, shafted mataa. Their rounded points are turned upwards and slightly inwards, and their short shafts extend towards each armpit, and are shown with their wedge-shaped wooden prongs and transversal lashings, all in black lines. Traces of two sets of parallel black lines run down each arm from the dotted shoulder area towards the hands. These are covered with longitudinal, parallel lines, which might represent the outlines of fingers and the spaces between them. The wrist pattern on one arm is different from that on the other. Below each breast and down along each side of the abdomen is painted a composite design, part paddle and part bird. The characteristic blade of a ceremonial Easter Island paddle (ao) and a section of its upper shaft is in fact represented as the head and neck on a vertical bird's body with long, slim, pendent wings. The lower part of the bird's body runs into a pattern of densely placed vertical lines enclosed in a wide gable-shaped design outlined above the groin. Below and on each side of this design is a second, bilaterally symmetrical pair of black-painted mataa, this pair with the rounded point turned down on each side of the pubic area. The front part of the thighs are covered with longitudinally running series of parallel lines, whereas the lower legs are covered with an intricate pattern of longitudinally running komari, or vulva symbols. A black dot is painted on each elbow. On the left hip near the joint are two concentric circles. Thick, black lines, starting near each shoulder, converge to run parallel down the back. Traces of orange paint are visible between every second pair of lines, alternating with pairs that enclose continuous rows of small black dots. Such dots also run across the upper chest and down the front side of the upper arms. The total length (seated) is 47 cm., and the height of the head is 16 cm. The length of head (from nose) is 19 cm., the width (across shoulders), 14 cm., and the thickness of the chest, 5.5 cm.

The painted decoration was interpreted by Stolpe (1899, p. 11, Figs. 15-21) as Easter Island tattooing motifs, and Metraux (1940, Fig. 34), who never saw the Belfast tapa figure, reproduced Stolpe's designs as a direct sample of proper Easter Island tattoo. The specimen was in the possession of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society prior to 1846, that is, almost two decades before the first missionary arrival. It was brought back from the Pacific by Gordon Augustus Thomson who presumably collected it in Hawaii, as it figured as a Hawaiian artifact on the cover of S. A. Stewart's Notes on some of the more Interesting Objects in the Belfast Museum in 1891-92. It was, in fact, still reproduced as a figure from the Sandwich Islands in the museum's Illustrated Souvenir (Publ. No. 152) in 1961. Actually, G. A. Thomson never went to Easter Island, but he did visit Hawaii at some time between 1834 and 1838, and it is probably correct that this is where he acquired the specimen. Visits to Easter Island at that time were extremely rare, and the acquisition of this tohora-filled Easter Island figure in Hawaii may throw some light on its story. It was in 1805 that the captain of the New London schooner, Nancy, carried out the first slave raid on Easter Island. He called on Captain Alexander Adams of Hawaii and talked him into his unsuccessful attempt to land at Easter Island on his voyage from Hawaii in 1806. On his own raid the captain of the Nancy carried away 12 men and 10 women from Easter Island. The men finally jumped overboard and drowned but probably left on board whatever belongings they had with them when captured (Heyerdahl, 1961, p. 65). The captain's affiliations with Hawaii immediately after his Easter Island raid
may very well explain why one of these singular tapa figurines reached the Sandwich Islands prior to 1838, whereas the total remaining samples of this collection of intimately related specimens were carried along to the captain's own home port, New London, from where they later reached the nearby Boston Museum.

PLATE 22 a, b (Boston 53541): Stuffed fillet with zoomorphic head. This specimen is referred to by Métraux (1940, pp. 226-27), together with "Boston 53540" described below, as "two Easter Island headdresses which represent types that are neither mentioned in the literature nor remembered by modern natives. The origin of these hats cannot be doubted for the technique, the material, and the decoration are typical for Easter Island." See Fig. 32. A distinguishing feature common to both is the peculiar shape of the nose, which is applied to the conventionalized mask on each of these two aberrant headdresses. It is formed like a horizontally flattened spheroid, and thus finds no counterpart in the above described human figurines nor in any of the other truly numerous anthropomorphic representations in wood or stone from Easter Island. A nose, or rather snout, like this is otherwise characteristic for animal representations in primitive art and, combined with the circular, almost flattened form of the head with round cheeks, the absence of a chin, and a gaping mouth, it gives the mask a feline appearance. Certainly no rat or lizard, the only quadrupeds existing on Easter Island at the time of European contact, can have served as models for these conventionalized masks, nor the long-snouted dogs and pigs of Polynesia.

The headgear under discussion is clearly a fillet with an animal head in front. It is formed of two rolls of totora reed tied together with hau string to form the main circlet which is completely covered with tapa. The foundation for the animal head is made from extra reed rolls sewn to one section of the main circlet, giving the headwear the general shape of a magnified signet ring. The mask is skillfully modeled and kept in perfect shape by the sewn on, close-fitting tapa cover. The eyes, as on the above described, stuffed, anthropomorphic figurines, are formed of light oval disks covered with painted tapa and sewn onto the face. The round snout, as stated, is also sewn on. Transversally below the snout and covered with the tapa skin is placed an oval circlet of reeds pressed forward on edge to form the lips of a gaping mouth. The tapa cover makes the mouth a closed concavity. The cheeks are stuffed so as to become bulging, and strongly projecting eyebrows are formed by reed rolls covered with tapa, which are raised above the main ring in two wide arches. On each side of a black line drawn along the upper eyebrows are short transversal lines enclosing alternating groups of black and red dots. A wide red band runs across the upper part of the face on the level of the nose and eyes.

On each check below the eye is the outline of an oval, pointed toward the rear and enclosing alternate groups of black and red dots separated by vertical lines. The same pattern is repeated on the oval mouth, and additional unenclosed spots fill the remaining fields of the lower face. A chin is completely lacking, and the mask has no ears. The ring has an inner diameter of 30 cm. The zoomorphic face is 12 cm. tall.

The specimen was acquired for the Peabody Museum from the Boston Museum Collection in 1899, together with the two tapa figurines described above and the related headwear to be described directly below.

PLATE 23 a, b (Boston 53540): Stuffed headdress with zoomorphic representation. In spite of great differences from the headgear described above, there is a clear relationship between these two unique pieces. Basically, the object under consideration is a bowl-shaped hat with a rounded crown and narrow brim. It is made from totora reed beaten flat and check plaited to form a band which is wound spirally and stitched together with reed fibers. A major portion of the outer surface is covered with tapa and painted, as are the stuffed specimens described above. On one side of the hat, which we may term the front, is a stylized, zoomorphic head with a heart-shaped outline and a globular snout, strongly reminiscent of the snout on the headwear described above. The contour of the face is formed by the application of a thin reed roll curved like the outline of a heart, but open at the lower end. This reed roll is wound with a strip of paper mulberry bast sewn into the main reed base. Inside this heart-shaped contour, eyes and mouth are crudely painted on with a black pigment. The snout has the same form as on the mask of the previously described headwear, it is, in fact, even more globular and is once more formed by a stuffed tapa ball sewn onto the base. The reed rolls and the ball-shaped snout, like the rest of the figure, were once covered with tapa as on the above described reed figures, but in several places the tapa has worn off. On the opposite, or rear, side of the hat is a double set of superimposed reed rolls, sewn on in the same form and size as the heart-shaped outline of the head. When viewed from above these applications create the appearance of a conventionalized crouching animal (Fig. 32). The heart-shaped outline of the head assumes a double significance. It suggests extended eyebrows, and at the same time crouching front limbs, corresponding in size and shape to the crouching hind limbs, which are drawn up behind and in the opposite direction. This is a characteristic design discovered also on some of the cave sculptures for which the modern owners had no definition, some suggesting it was an insect, some a crab, and some a fabulous animal known in ancestral times. Métraux (1940, p. 227), who had access to no such comparative material, illustrated the drawing here reproduced in Fig. 32, and de-
scribed the hat as having two human faces, assuming that a second face had been lost with the missing pieces of tapa cover in the rear section of the figure. The slightly raised "body" of the creature is painted with a wide, orange-red band that alternates with a wide white one, and to this is added a series of black stripes and dots which leaves a combined pattern that strongly recalls the fur color of a spotted feline. The head is orange-red without spots, but the spots reappear once more together with a reddish band around the narrow brim of the hat outside the main figure. This peculiar Easter Island headwear was held in position on the head by means of a 2-ply, brown, twisted fiber cord passing under the chin. "Boston 53540" and "Boston 53541" are the only known representations of headwear with effigies preserved from Easter Island, although fillets and conical or domed hats of totora reed, usually covered with feathers, are common (Métraux, 1940, pp. 220-28). However, an exception may be seen in a headwear termed ha'u pou reproduced in Fig. 53 from an illustration by Englert (1948, p. 228). It is also made from totora reed, but has been given the precise shape of a totora reed boat with its characteristic upturned bow and stern. The specimen is 25 cm. in diameter and about 9 cm. high.

Standard wood carvings

PLATE 24 (Ratton Coll. n. n.): Moai kavakava or emaciated male. This fine carving is illustrated here as a type specimen since it is characteristic of the most commonly occurring motif in local wood carving, as discussed on pp. 181-86. Although similar figures are unknown elsewhere, extra-island analogies in the artistic treatment of facial features are shown in Pls. 312 h-l. The moai kavakava, which according to the Easter Island artists depict the people of the earliest settlement period on their own island, are always represented with circumcised penis, a detail repeated on mythical figures like bird-men and moko, but more exceptionally on the moai tangata. Circumcision of royalty is recorded from various parts of Polynesia, and although not known as an American Indian custom, the only known stele showing a nude Olmec (in Mexico Museum) depicts him with a pendent, circumcised penis. Similarly, both in ancient Mexican and Peruvian art, the well-known roped and nude prisoners are always molded or painted as circumcised and with pubic hair emphasized (e.g., Pl. 312 i, Fig. 64). The carving is 45.1 cm. tall, the maximum width (across shoulders) is 9.5 cm., and the thickness at chest is 7.7 cm.

PLATES 25, 26 a (London + 3286 A.W.F. 86): Cf. Pl. 24. Yellowish-red paint is visible inside the deep nostrils and in the vertical grooves separating the teeth. A tunalike fish is carved in low relief on top of the head. The length of the carving is 36 cm., the width across the shoulders, 7.5 cm., and the thickness at chest, 6.5 cm. The specimen was donated by Mr. A. W. Franks in 1886.

PLATE 26 b (London EP 21): Cf. Pl. 24. Yellowish-red paint is visible in the nostrils and between the teeth as in Pl. 25. A creature carved in low relief on top of the head has four legs, a short tail or penis, lobsterlike claws, a thin neck and a head with no other details than outstanding an-

Fig. 64: Circumcised prisoner in Peru (Amano Coll.). This familiar local motif, shared by ancient artists in Peru and Mexico, stresses the presence of circumcision and pubic hair, two traits otherwise alien to American aborigines. In the frescoes of a Maya pyramid chamber at Chichen Itza, Yucatan, these circumcised men are shown to be captured just as they land amidst marine animals in the Gulf of Mexico, arriving with vessels resembling yellow reed boats of the type surviving both in Mexico and Peru until historic times. In polychrome painting they are shown to differ also from the people receiving them in their much lighter skin color and long golden-blond hair (Heyerdahl, 1952, Pls. 29-32).
thropomorphic ears and a pointed apex which may even represent a flowing beard.
The length of this statuette is 43 cm., the width across the arms, 9.5 cm., and the thickness at chest, 7 cm. The specimen was collected on Easter Island in 1828 by Midshipman Cumming.

PLATE 27a (London 4835 Wareham 3.68): Bearded men as head design on moai kavakava. On the present sample two complete and one incomplete human heads are incised on top of the head of the statuette. The central face is largest, and has its high oval hairdo extending over the forehead of the statuette and a large rounded beard extending towards the rear of the main figure. To the right of this central face is another one with its flowing pointed beard twisted to the left side of the forehead of the statuette. On the opposite side, only flowing hair is visible, as the third face appears to have been removed by cutting, if it was ever carved.
The height of the statuette is 47.5 cm.

PLATE 27 b (London +2595 A.W.F. 18 IX 85): Bearded creature as head design on moai kavakava. A crouching human being or quadruped, with a short pendent tail or testicles, has parallel grooves incised on its body and limbs that are carved in low relief on top of the head of the statuette in PL 27 f, h. The face of the creature has a prominent, full beard extending towards the forehead of the main sculpture.
The height of the statuette is 43 cm.
The specimen was donated by Mr. A. W. Franks in 1885, prior to the initiation of commercial carving.

PLATE 27 c (London 1933. 10-14.1): Fishes and star as head design on moai kavakava. Two round-headed fishes are carved in low relief on each side of the upper head of the statuette illustrated in PL 27 g, facing towards its forehead. The tails of the fishes are represented as rhomboid bird heads with large eyes, and the split fish tails thus become their wide-open beaks. The tails and backs of the fishes enclose a six-pointed star radiating from a central dot and circle.
The height of the statuette is 43 cm.


PLATES 28–29 (Vander Strate Coll. n.n.): Moai papa, or flat female figure. This standardized type of wood carving, illustrated here as a type specimen, is described on pp. 186–89. Extra-island analogies are shown in Pl. 316, and the physical features reappear in Pl. 312 m.
The height of the present specimen is 54.5 cm., and the maximum width (at mid-length), 13.3 cm. The thickness of the body is 2 cm., and that of the head, 6 cm.
Dr. H. Lavachery, in first pointing out the existence of the piece in a letter to the writer (February 9, 1967), commented, “The wood (toromiro) is very dark, almost black, and bears marks of having possibly been buried or kept for quite some time in a cave.”

PLATES 30, 31 a (Edinburgh 1895.373): Cf. Pl. 28.
The height is 63 cm., the width, 13.5 cm., and the thickness at the stomach, 3.5 cm.

The height is 55 cm., and the maximum width (across shoulders), 15.5 cm. The thickness of the body is ca. 3 cm., and that of the head, 5 cm.

PLATE 31 c (Leningrad 402-1): Cf. Pl. 28. The goatée beard on this specimen is not infrequently found on carvings of this category.
The height is 58 cm. and the maximum width (at elbows), 15.5 cm. The thickness at mid-length is 2.3 cm.
This specimen, like the others here illustrated from Leningrad, is of pre-missionary origin, collected by one of the early nineteenth-century Russian expeditions calling at Easter Island.

PLATE 32 (Leningrad 402-2): Moai tangata, or male human figure. This common Easter Island portrait figurine, illustrated here as a type specimen, is described on p. 189. Extra-island analogies to the caucasoid features depicted in these realistic portraits are shown in Pl. 312 i, j, while bearded faces like those often incised on the heads of moai tangata are seen in a–g. The illustrations show, like those of Pls. 33 and 34 e, a dorsal relief of an arc and circle which probably represent the rainbow and sun disk according to still-surviving tradition. The popular reference to the symbol as a “girdle” is clearly erroneous, as it is not level nor does it reach the front. The present specimen, carved from toromiro wood, has orange paint inside the nostrils and in incision lines separating the exposed teeth. In addition to the bone and obsidian inlay of the eyes, the earlobes have formerly had inlaid disks which have been subsequently lost. A longitudinal crack on the dorsal side is filled in places with very small wedges of toromiro. On top of the head are incised the three bearded creatures shown in Pl. 35 b.
The height of the statuette is 42 cm., the width across shoulders, 11 cm., and the body thickness, ca. 5 cm.
PLATE 33, 35 a (London E-P 204): Cf. Pl. 32. On top of the head appear again three heavily bearded creatures, strikingly similar to those on the head of the statuette in Pls. 32, 34 a, 35 b, 36 and 37. A detail of the head of this statuette is shown in Pl. 35 a.

The height is 41 cm.

PLATE 34 a, 36 (Edinburgh 1954.100): Cf. Pl. 32. Once more the three bearded creatures of the cf. immediately preceding numbers occur as head decoration. An intentionally carved, circular depression on the right side of the upper head is particularly noteworthy, as shown in Pl. 36.

The height is 44.5 cm., the maximum width, 10.5 cm., and the maximum thickness, ca. 5 cm.

PLATE 34 b (London E-P 25): Cf. Pl. 32. An arc and ring relief on the rear of the figure is not illustrated.

The height is 38 cm.

PLATE 34 c (Hooper Coll. n.n.): Cf. Pl. 32. A quadruped or anthropomorphic creature carved in low relief on top of the head has a long neck, flexed limbs, and body extended towards the back of the main figure's head. The relief is decorated with parallel longitudinal grooves. Its facial features are human, except for two appendages in place of ears which have the shape of slender, curved, projecting horns. The creature holds a hafted matau in its left hand. The height of this statuette is 26 cm.

PLATE 34 d (Washington 17, 538): Cf. Pl. 32. There is no head ornament and the figure is generally more crudely designed and executed.

The height is 29 cm.

PLATE 34 e (Washington 17, 537): Cf. Pl. 32. The entire head, including the eyebrows and ears, is covered with a pattern of parallel incision lines.

Height, 24 cm.

PLATE 35a (London E-P 204): Head design of full bearded faces. On the head of the statuette shown in Pl. 33 are incised three human faces with extremely long flowing beards and hair. The narrow nose with wide alae branches on the forehead into two curving eyebrows. The ears are long and their lobes carry circular earplugs while their upper extremities are extended as pointed horns. Above each head the long wavy hair extends towards the neck of the statuette like a twisted snake, but terminates in a fish's tail. The large beard of the central figure has its wide termination rounded, whereas those of the two lateral faces are bent outwards at mid-length, and have pointed tips. The length of the central anthropomorphic sea monster is 9.5 cm.; the others are slightly shorter. Compare Fig. 7 b.

PLATE 35 b (Leningrad 402-2): Cf. Pl. 35 a. Three anthropomorphic heads with long flowing beards, the hair forming a whale or sea monster, are carved in low relief on the head of the statuette shown in Pl. 32, and bear a striking resemblance to the head ornament in Pl. 35 a.

PLATE 35 c (Paris 87.31.66): Male figure with attached human hair and perineal band. The statuette differs from most moai tangata in having circular earplugs, although the ears are not abnormally extended. A noteworthy effect is created by a tuft of genuine, black human hair held together by two kinds of string, only one being made from local fiber. The tuft is fastened to the wood with an old nail. What at first glance appears to be additional hair carved in low relief on the head of the image is seen, on a closer inspection, to be three separate crosshatched combs, presumably intended to keep the topknot in position. Topknots were a common masculine hair style on Easter Island, and elaborate ornamental combs are widespread among aboriginal peoples on both sides of Easter Island. As on so many related figures, this specimen has the arc and ring carved on its back, as described in Pl. 32. In the present case the theory that this relief represents a girdle or perineal band is shown to be false by the fact that this figure, unlike all others, is equipped with such a garment made from real tapa, in the shape of a band wound around the waist and passing under the crotch on each side of the penis. The goatee beard of this figure is represented as a ridge running down from the middle of the lower lip to a narrow rectangular extension of the center of the chin, from each side of which the beard continues as a narrow raised ridge extending back as far as the neck.

The height of this statuette is 29 cm., the width (across upper arms), 7.5 cm., and the thickness (at navel), 3.5 cm.

The carving, with its appendices, is obviously of pre-commercial origin since it was already present in Europe prior to 1887, when it was donated by Prince Roland Bonaparte.

PLATE 36 (Edinburgh 1954.100): Head of male figure showing cup-shaped depression and bearded sea monsters. On the top of the head of the statuette shown in Pl. 34 a are three bearded, anthropomorphic sea monsters of the type described in Pl. 35 a, b, and the same description is valid.

Most noteworthy, in view of its close analogy to a principal feature in Easter Island stone-shaping art, is a round depression with vertical sides, 1.5 x 2 cm. in diameters and 8 mm. in depth, carved on the upper right side of the skull.

On a superficial inspection the depression may appear as a cleaned knot hole, but this is not the case, and any fault in the otherwise flawless toromiro wood could easily have been avoided by the artist's making his statuette a fraction shorter. The crude cutting marks at the bottom of the hole are still visible, whereas the entire remaining surface of the figure is polished to a perfect shine. The concavity has ob-
viously been carved after the completion of the head ornament, destroying part of the central face and the ear of the one on the right side. Since there is no apparent functional or artistic motive for the addition of this depression it may be assumed that it has had a magical significance, strongly suggesting the skulls with similar depressions among the cave stones.

PLATE 37 (Leningrad 402-2): Portrait of Short-ear with small earplug. The figure is the same as represented in Pl. 32, with three bearded sea monsters carved on its head.

PLATES 38–39 (Leningrad N736-204): Bearded man as bird-man. The material is reddish-brown toromiro wood. This is the only known prototype of a carving that has become common on Easter Island since commercialization began. However, the most remarkable feature, the bearded human mask on top of the beak, has been overlooked by modern carvers who work from a profile photograph of this specimen illustrated by Stephen-Chauvet (1934, p. 265). The body shares its stooping posture, notched spine, pronounced ribs, xiphisternum, emaciated abdomen, legs, as well as the circumcised genitals, with the moai kavakava. The slim, pendent arms are replaced by narrow wings extending from the shoulder blades, with their points meeting at the standard type of bird’s tassel which marks the end of the spine, above the buttocks. The goat-bearded human head of the moai kavakava is replaced by the head of a bird with a long, thick beak curved at its tip. The most remarkable part of the composition is that a human face has been carved on top of the beak in such a way that, when seen from above, the head of the figure is that of a man with a long beard, facing upwards (Pls. 39 and 114 e). When seen in profile (Pl. 38 top center), this bearded human face is not apparent and the head becomes that of a bird with some excrencesences on the ridge of the beak. The fringe of the beard then becomes indentations along the opening of the beak. The eyes, which have once had inlays, the sagging pouches below them, and the prominent eyebrows above are shared by both the human and bird’s head. The small, short ears are vertical. The top of the head is smooth and polished. There is no perforation for a suspension string. The rectum is vertically perforated for a modern wire support, and the legs are separated. The height is 33.5 cm. The thickness and width at chest are 5.5 and 5 cm. respectively. The length of the human nose is 3.5 cm. and the narrow beak section, ca. 8 cm.

The specimen was transferred from the Russian Admiralty Museum in 1828, and it was probably brought from Easter Island by Lijanski in 1804. See also pp. 189–193.

PLATES 40–41 (London 1928, 5-17, 1): Masked bird-man. The material is dark brown toromiro wood. Although this specimen has certain features in common with the figure illustrated in Pls. 38–39, there are noticeable differences. The long beak, which has only its opening curved down near the point, has no human head carved on top, although the edges of the opening have the same indentations as on the previous specimen. The combination of a human and a bird’s head is represented on this specimen by the beak being carved as a superimposed mask lifted up to expose a human face underneath. The human nose is raised but narrow and has its tip broken off. The mouth is V-shaped with narrow protruding lips. The eyes, common to both the bird mask and the human face are represented by raised rings surrounding concavities which have probably once contained an inlay. The ears are small and vertical. The body has raised clavicle bones but is otherwise not emaciated. What appear to be four pairs of ribs are carved in such a way that they also represent long fingers curving forwards from the tips of the wings which are joined at the tassel above the buttocks, as on the previous specimens. A shallow groove is carved instead of a raised, indented spine, showing once more that the image is not emaciated. Between the shoulder blades, there is a curved transversal perforation for a suspension string.

The length of the figure is 26.5 cm. and the length of the beak is 7 cm.

This remarkable sculpture must have been brought to England by one of the early voyagers since it was dug up by Mr. W. R. Joys from below nineteen feet of clay in Brick Lane, Spittalfields, in February 1928. This location is just outside the wall of the old city of London.

PLATES 42, 43 b (Dublin 1603: 1880): Moko, or mythical reptile of standard type. For further discussion of this common type of local wood carving see pp. 193–95.

PLATE 43 a (Brussels E. T. 45.51): Moko. This specimen is a variety of the common type with a design of two cockerels on the forehead and a vulva symbol below the chin. The moko, like the bird-man and the moai kavakava, is always shown with circumcised penis.

PLATE 44 (Cologne 32601): Rei-miro, boat-shaped or moon-shaped pectoral. The type specimen carved in toromiro wood, follows the characteristic norm discussed on pp. 195–97. Special details include the curved slot running alongside each human head on the concave side of the pectoral, combining the human features with those of the conch as is represented by the variety shown in Pl. 47 b. It is also noteworthy that a 5 mm.–wide band in low relief runs on the same side across the boat-shaped ornament about 2.5 cm. from the left head, recalling the transversal bands in the painted boat designs that represent the lashings of a reed vessel.

The length is 30 cm., the maximum width, 7.5 cm., and the thickness, 1 cm., with a 3 mm.–deep central depression.
PLATES 45, 46 a (London 9295): Rei-miro with rongo-rongo inscriptions. The specimen follows the norm of this type of pectoral, and is unusual only in being inscribed with a continuous row of rongo-rongo symbols. This fact becomes the more noteworthy when it is observed that the specimen was collected on New Zealand in 1851, having reached a Maori chief on that island before the existence of rongo-rongo tablets was known even to the missionaries (see pp. 43–44).

The total length is 41 cm., with a maximum thickness of ca. 1.5 cm.

PLATE 46 b (London +2601 A. W. F. 18.1X.85): Rei-miro of common type. The deep eye concavities were probably formerly inlaid. There is a modern repair at the neck of one head. Remains of the former suspension string are visible in each of the two perforations.

The length is 76 cm. and the maximum thickness, 2.5 cm.

The specimen was donated by Mr. A. W. Franks in 1885, prior to the initiation of commercial carving.

PLATE 46 c (Sydney A 18853): Old rei-miro with secondary incisions. This obviously genuine specimen is completely eroded at the central part of the lower edge as if through prolonged storage in a damp cave. The incisions include vulva (komari) signs and other symbols present in local petroglyphs, as well as concocted designs meant to simulate rongo-rongo, all clearly secondary additions to the main carving. The secondary additions were present as early as in 1883 when this specimen was drawn by the artist of the Hyaene expedition, and therefore antedates the beginning of commercial art. Probably the incisions had been made for magico-religious reason by the last Easter Island owner of this rei-miro after he had himself found it in a cave.

PLATES 46 d, 47 a (London 6847 A.W.F. 2 VIII. 70 Comrie Coll.): Rei-miro with bird-man and paddle. The specimen is of standard type except for the noteworthy incision of a bird-man with a double-bladed paddle of ao type incised centrally on the convex side. The faces have the same conchlike slots on the concave side as on the specimen in Pl. 44, and vestiges of original red paint are left inside these depressions as well as in the main, central curvature. One eye on each head still retains the original inlay of an obsidian disk in a bone ring.

The length is 70 cm., and the height of the bird-man paddle is 3.4 cm.

The specimen was donated by Mr. A. W. Franks in 1870, prior to the initiation of commercial carving.

PLATES 47 b, 48 a (Oslo 2437): Rei-miro with a conch at each end. The specimen is representative of a not uncommon variety of rei-miro pectorals that have a marine shell substituted for a bearded head at each extremity.

The length is 92.5 cm. and the thickness at center, 1.8 cm.

The maximum thickness of the conch (above slot) is 6 cm. and the minimum (inside slot), 2.5 cm.

The specimen was collected on the island by Captain Arup in 1868, and donated to the museum in 1871.

PLATE 48 b (Hooper Coll. n.n.): Fish-shaped rei-miro.

The body of the fish has all the characteristic elements of a standard rei-miro, with its longitudinal curvature, transversely convex sides, two rounded projections spaced a little apart and perforated for a suspension string, a transversely concave side with a crescentic depression, and an upper edge vaguely raised in relief. Instead of bilaterally symmetrical representations of bearded heads or sea shells at each end, the present specimen, of not unusual type, terminates at each end in a fish’s head and tail respectively. The tail is closely grooved and the long dorsal fin indicated only on the concave, or right, side of the fish, whereas the head pattern is repeated on both sides. The eyes formerly had inlays of bone rings and obsidian disks, but only the right side bone ring remains.

The length of this fine, old specimen is 61 cm.

PLATE 49 a (Göttingen Oz. 1546): Cf. Pl. 48 b. Like the previous and subsequent numbers, the concave side of the rei-miro coincides with the right side of the fish. The tail grooves and long dorsal fin are present on both sides, and the eye inlays are preserved. The perforation holes show signs of obvious wear.

The length is 44 cm., the maximum width, 12.5 cm., and the thickness at center, 3 cm.

PLATE 49 b (Berlin V124947): Cf. Pl. 48 b. The eye inlay consists of a fish vertebra enclosing an obsidian disk.

The length is 43.8 cm. and the maximum width, 12 cm.

PLATE 50 a (Honolulu B.3642): Chicken-shaped rei-miro. As described with reference to Pl. 48 b, the body is that of a characteristic rei-miro, and the right side of the animal is again selected for the concave side of the toro-miro carving. A raised, lip-shaped rim surrounds the crescentic depression. A bilaterally symmetrical groove follows the dorsal ridge on each side, enclosing between them a third groove following the very edge of the carving. The ventral edge is plain and sharp. The inlay is preserved on the right eye only.

The length is 56 cm.

PLATE 50 b (Ratton Coll. n.n.): Double-headed chicken rei-miro. This aberrant piece, briefly referred to by Lavachery (1935, p. 219) and Métraux (1940, pp. 231–32), seems to be unique although authentic. The suspension
holes are pierced obliquely through the upper edge, the top of which is longitudinally grooved.
The length is 24 cm.

PLATE 51 a (Honolulu B.3571 c): Coconut-shaped tahonga. The material is dark toromiro wood carved into a general egg shape with only a small bud on the broad end perforated for the suspension string. The specimen differs from the norm of tahonga balls in having only three, rather than four, longitudinal ridges, and thus strongly resembles a coconut. It should be borne in mind that coconut palms grew on the island until well into historic times, and are now being replanted (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp. 72, 519).
The height is 10.7 cm. and the maximum diameter, 7.5 cm. According to Emory (viva voce), this fine old specimen was purchased by Mr. Young from Brander, who had received it from Salmon, and its authenticity cannot be doubted.

PLATE 51 b (Oslo 2441): Characteristic tahonga. Pendants of this characteristic Easter Island type are described on pp. 198–99. The present specimen was collected on the island by Captain Arup in 1868, and its authenticity is thus documented. A museum catalogue entry from 1871 says: "An imitation of a coconut carved from wood; at present nothing but the roots of larger trees remain on the island."

PLATE 52 a (Leningrad 402-201 a, c): Fish head and tahonga pendants. A standard type tahonga and toromiro fish head of exceptionally fine workmanship are at present attached to a common suspension cord. The original eye inlays of the fish head have been lost and substituted by disks of cowrie shell attached with modern adhesive tape. Except for the eyes, mouth, and realistic dorsal fin the fish head is covered with an ornamental pattern of parallel grooves, circular dots (in front of eyes), and reliefs (behind gills) of birds with fishes' bodies. The mouth, with rectangular teeth, is narrower at the center than at the sides. The truncated neck section is a concavity with a central bud perforated for the suspension cord. This depression continues as an equally wide groove beneath the lower jaw.
The length of the fish head is 12 cm., the width, 9 cm., and the thickness, 5 cm. The height of attached tahonga ball is 9.7 cm. with a maximum diameter of 7.4 cm.
These pieces were brought back by Miklukho-Maklay who called at Easter Island in 1871.

PLATE 52 b (Stockholm 1885.5.3): Tahonga with inlaid eyes. The material is a heavy, yellowish-gray wood of extra-island origin. Like the sample in Pl. 51 a, the present specimen is divided longitudinally by three, instead of four, ridges. The similarity to a coconut, however, is reduced by the inlay of bone rings with obsidian disks in two of the three segments, and by transverse grooves covering the projecting ridges to give them the appearance of eyebrows curving around the eyes of a turtle or fish head. A ca. 7 cm. long loop of a light suspension cord is left in the V-shaped perforation at the blunt end of the pendant.
The height is 13 cm. and the maximum diameter, 8.5 cm. The specimen was bought from the Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg in 1885, and must accordingly have left the island prior to the initiation of commercial carving.

PLATE 52 c (Edinburgh 1950.232): Jar-shaped tahonga. The plain, almost globular, body with a cylindrical neck ending in an open ring-shaped rim is strongly suggestive of a ceramic vessel. Carved like a stopper in the crater-shaped mouth of the jar is a prominent central bud perforated for suspension. The smoothly polished carving is undoubtedly old, and is badly worm-eaten at one section of the rim.
The height, including neck, is 6.6 cm., and the diameter is 5.5 cm.

PLATE 52 d (Oslo 2442): Jar-shaped tahonga with turtle ornament. The specimen, carved from dark brown toromiro wood, is strikingly similar to the one illustrated in Pl.52 c, but the main body has a slightly oval, rather than circular, cross section, and has two incised motifs. On one side are carved the outlines of what is probably meant to represent a turtle, with outstanding ears as the only anthropomorphic feature. At the bottom of the "jar" are two concentric circles. A peculiar fact is that the bottlelike neck section has been secondarily reduced on one side with a blunt tool to assume a shape similar to the worm-eaten sample in Pl.52 c. This is in no way due to commercial imitation, as the present sample was collected on Easter Island by Captain Arup in 1868, long before the commercial industry started. There is an apparent possibility, therefore, that the previous specimen is even older, and this a non-commercial copy with added decorations.
The height is 7.5 cm. The diameters of the oval cross section are 6 × 7 cm., and the diameters of the two concentric circles at the base are respectively 4 and 9 mm.

PLATE 53 (Oslo 2435): Ua, or stafflike club. The specimen is typical of a standard type described on pp. 199–200. This club, carved from toromiro wood, was collected on Easter Island by Captain Arup in 1868 and is thus an authentic sample.
The length of the carving is 92.8 cm. The length of the head section to below the lips is 11.8 cm. The even width at the neck section and at mid-length is 5.2 cm., and the maximum width (near terminal end) is 5.8 cm. The thickness of the staff is 3.3 cm.

PLATES 54, 55 a (Oslo 2436): The plain ao, or double-bladed utility paddle. The illustration is typical of a stan-
suitable wood, but also make them more convenient for twisting movements during the dances. The present specimen was collected on Easter Island by Lt. M.J. Harrison during the visit of H.M.S. Topaze in 1868, and is thus undoubtedly authentic. This paddle is probably made from a plank from a former canoe, as a few wooden pegs have been inserted into small circular holes along the edges of the blades, almost certainly bored originally for sewing the wood together.

PLATES 58 a, 59 a (London 1903-150): Kohau rongo-rongo or inscribed wooden tablet. The specimen, of dark toromiro wood, is covered with a characteristic sample of Easter Island script as discussed on pp. 203–16. A discussion of the history and ideograms of the undeciphered Easter Island writing system is included in the same pages. The long-legged feline with an arched back, round head, and gaping mouth is prominent among the script symbols, appearing upside down in every second line due to the boustrophedon arrangement of the unknown text. The tablet measures 7.3 × 21 cm. The history of the present specimen is obscure. Imbelloni (1951, p. 100) suggests that it might represent the third tablet brought back by the Gana Expedition in 1870 and subsequently lost en route for Paris. Barthel (1958, p. 25) suggests that it was more likely part of the Palmer Collection from 1868, but this is impossible since Palmer, in spite of all his efforts, did not succeed in obtaining any tablets. The specimen was reportedly in private hands for some thirty years before it was donated to the British Museum in 1903 by Mr. O.M. Dalton.

PLATES 58 b, 59 b (Washington 129773): As Pls. 58 a, 59 a. The specimen was collected on Easter Island in 1886 on the voyage of the HMS Topaze, emerging then from its temporary hiding with the assistance of Salmon. Carved from toromiro, it measures 9 × 24 cm., with a maximum thickness of 1.8 cm.

PLATES 58 c, 59 c (Washington 129774): As Pls. 58 a, 59 a. The specimen has the same history of provenience as Washington 129773. This fine sample of kohau rongorongo is carved from a plank of Podocarpus latifolia, however, which was probably secondarily used, possibly for a plank canoe. It is partly damaged on each side by fire. The dimensions are 12 × 63 cm., with a maximum thickness of 1.6 cm.
Catalogue of aberrant wood carvings collected prior to the Norwegian Expedition in 1955-56

PLATE 60 (Dunedin, D.36.984): Short-eared, grotesque moai kavakava. The specimen, carved from reddish-brown toromiro, is but a slight variety of the common type of emaciated male figure, but the ears are short and it has been made more grotesque by carving a larger head on a more stubby body. On top of the head is incised a dorsal view of a crouching quadruped with three-fingered hands, an anthropomorphic head, and a tail projecting from between the hind legs and forked horizontally at the end like the tail of a whale. The height is 29.5 cm. The maximum width and maximum thickness are both 7.2 cm.

PLATE 61a (Paris 94.27.1): Beardless moai kavakava with turned head. The specimen is carved from a dark, reddish-brown wood, possibly miro tahiti, which must have been green at the time of carving since the piece is cracked on the head. It differs from the usual type of emaciated male figure in having its head turned toward the left side, in the lack of beard, and in the lips being closed without the usual defiant grin. The left shoulder is also slanting down and is lower than the right shoulder. The eyes have lost their inlays, and the penis has been secondarily removed by crude cutting. The height is 33 cm., the maximum width, 7 cm., and the maximum thickness (at chest), 5 cm. The piece was donated to Musée de l’Homme in 1894 by M. Franck.

PLATE 61b (Washington 3823): Large-eyed and small-eared moai kavakava. The material is an eroded yellowish-brown wood, possibly toromiro, and the entire figure was considerably worm-eaten, with the left shoulder region missing, until restored for exhibition in 1959. The body and limbs follow the norms of a moai kavakava, as do the head shape, the hair pattern, the eyebrows, and the goatee beard. The nose, however, is extremely long, leaving space only for a small transversal groove substituting the usual grinning mouth. The eye sockets from which the inlays have been lost, are extremely large and a vague projection surrounding a hole on each side of the head represents the ears. The possibility cannot be excluded that pendant ears were present prior to erosion. The height of the figure is 26 cm. The specimen must have left Easter Island with one of the rare pre-missionary voyagers, as it was encountered in New Zealand by the Wilkes Expedition in 1838–42.

PLATE 62 (London n.n.): Flat, ribbed, male figure. The material is dark brown toromiro wood, and the lower part of the right arm is worm-eaten. The only features suggestive of the standard form of emaciated male are the prominent ribs above the sunken abdomen, the positions and proportions of the arms and legs and a pronounced goatee beard, as well as pouches below the eyes. The flattened shape is reminiscent of the moai papa. The turban or hair style is atypical, as are the forked ribbons in place of ears, the flat rectangular nose, the bulging eyes without inlays, and the bulb-shaped penis. The feet, as is so often the case, are reminiscent of animal hoofs. The height is 59 cm., the maximum width (across elbows), 14 cm., and the thickness of head and body, 4.5 cm. The age and provenience of this carving remain obscure beyond the fact that it is properly identified as “from Easter Island” on an old label glued to its back.

PLATE 63a (Leningrad 736-203): Narrow-faced aberrant moai kavakava. The general aspects of the body and limbs are those of a crude moai kavakava, although the rear side is left plain without protruding vertebrae, and the xiphisternum is absent. The stooping position of the figure is obtained from a natural curve in the wood. The face is flattened at the sides, and a long, but damaged, nose with flaring alae fills much of its width. The eyes are slightly convex with oval- to almond-shaped outlines and a barely visible central dotlike depression representing the pupil. The mouth is oval with raised lips pressed together, and the tapered chin is beardless. The long ears are raised as rounded bands without pendent earlobes. The neck is flattened at the sides like the face. There is no perforation for a suspension string. The height is 30 cm., the maximum width (at shoulders), 5 cm., and the thickness (at chest), 3.2 cm. The width of the lower face is 2.3 cm. and the depth of the head, 4.1 cm. The piece was received from the Admiralty Museum in 1828, and was probably brought to Russia by Lisianskij upon his visit to Easter Island in 1804.

PLATE 63b (Dresden 18361): Short stooping male. The material appears to be toromiro wood darkened with oil. The facial features are those of a moai kavakava without a beard or extended earlobes. The stooping position is obtained from a natural curvature in the wood, and the body has the aspects of a normal moai tongata. The soles of the feet are convex and a transverse perforation at the back of the neck was intended for a suspension string. The height is 23.5 cm., the width, 6.3 cm., and the thickness, 5.6 cm. The piece was purchased from Captain Pöhl in Hamburg in 1881.
PLATE 64 (Buenos Aires 20741): Fat goatee-bearded dwarf. The material appears to be reddish-brown miro tahi wood. The large head accounts for almost half the height of the figure, and is covered with a pattern of deep grooves representing hair. The obsidian disk of the left eye is lost and substituted by continental glass. The figure, which can neither sit nor stand, lacks a perforation for a suspension string.

The height is 32 cm., the maximum thickness (at nose), 14.5 cm., and the maximum width (at elbows), 13 cm. The piece is correctly identified as of Easter Island origin, but otherwise its history is obscure.

PLATES 65, 66 (Leningrad 736-205): Curved, stick-shaped figure. A thin and naturally curved branch of reddish-brown toromiro has been used to obtain the form of this highly aberrant figure. The head is strangely flattened at each side up to a crest-shaped apex, so that the eyes look in opposite directions on each side of the head. The eyes project in high relief from the narrow face and are carved as raised rings enclosing disk-shaped buttons above which deep grooves arch in concentric curves up to the sharp, sagittal ridge. A small, shallow central depression has been scooped out at each eye, the left one having a second depression of unknown significance slightly above the central one. The nose is sharp and realistic, but the mouth with its thin, sharp lips extends backwards and upwards on each side of the head almost to the thin ears. Ribs, navel, and sexual parts are not indicated but pendent breasts are carved in relief. The pubic area is left as a plain triangle. The hands are either left unfinished or have been lost through wear as the thin lower arms merge into the lower body. A vague incision line, however, reveals that the left hand was intended to be bent forwards on the abdomen, but this was not so with the right hand which continued straight down the side. The back of the figure is bluntly keeled. Perforations at the base of the back and near the rectum are secondary and modern, possibly intended for a support since the figure has no suspension hole.

The length is 52 cm., the maximum width (at shoulders), 4.5 cm., and the thickness (at chest), 3.6 cm. The width of the face, across the eyes, is 3.8 cm., across the chin, 2.3 cm., and the depth from the tip of the nose is 5 cm.

The piece was received from the Admiralty Museum in 1828, and was probably brought to Russia by Lisianskii upon his visit to Easter Island in 1804.

PLATES 67, 68 (Auckland 128/30 4793): Twisted and bearded hermaphrodite with trumpet mouth. The material is a crooked piece of reddish-brown toromiro wood with yellow strains. The natural double twist of the branch makes the figure lean towards its right, and at the same time the head is tilted backwards at an angle. The nose is akeinie with asymmetrical alae, the left one being twice the size of the other. The convex eyes are also intentionally asymmetrical, the right eye having an almost triangular outline with its outer corner lifted upwards, whereas the left eye is pear-shaped with its outer corner slanting down. The inlays are lost except for the outer ring of fish vertebra remaining in the right eye. The lips are represented as a raised ring surrounding a cup-shaped outline, and a pronounced goatee beard, carved as a band of three raised ridges, runs from the lower lip down the receding chin. The ears are represented in high relief with a roughly oval outline, and the left ear has a small but deep depression in the lobe as if intended for the insertion of an ornament. The long and slim body has a circular cross-section, and small pendent breasts, as well as a furrow representing the vulva, show that the bearded image is meant to be that of a woman. Once again one hand (the right) is placed on the abdomen, while the other is stretched out down the side. The figure cannot balance upright, as its hooflike feet have convex soles, and there is no perforation for a suspension string. The carving has been accomplished with a crude, blunt tool, and a smooth polish, restricted to projecting sections of the surface, is mainly due to handling.

The height is 34 cm., the width across the shoulders, 6 cm., and the body diameter below the arm pits, 4 cm.

The Museum acquired the piece from Mr. A. Hardcastle in 1930, and it is possibly a post-missionary product inspired by local tradition.

PLATE 69 (London 1957 Oc. 1-1): Fat male with trumpet mouth. The material is a yellowish-gray wood, possibly hibiscus, which was cracked after the carving was completed. The facial design recalls that of the preceding specimen, notably the representation of the circular mouth, the concavity of which in this case has been painted bright red. The bone ring of the left eye is lost and substituted by modern paste. The head is left unornamented as on the previous specimen, but whereas that image combined a bearded face with female sexual parts, the present one has a beardless face and male genitals. The sloping soles of the short feet prevent the figure from standing without support, and there is no perforation for a suspension string. The height is 27 cm.

The carving was procured by Miss Mary Chambers in 1957 and is probably of fairly recent manufacture, perhaps by the carver of the previous piece.

PLATE 70 (Boston 53599): Straddling male. A forked branch of yellowish-red toromiro has been utilized to give the figure its straddling position, and a flaw in the material is used to create a deep cavity in the rectum. The hair is realistically represented with symmetrical curls on the forehead. Once again the right hand is placed on the abdomen and the left straight down the side.

The height is 34 cm.
The carving originally belonged to the Boston Museum Collection, but was transferred to the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATE 71 (Washington 129745): Stooping female. The material is a curved branch of *toromiro* wood which gives the figure its forward-arching shape. The figure is tinted dark.

The height is 53 cm.

This piece was collected on the island by W.J. Thomson in 1886.

PLATES 72, 73 (Christchurch E 150.1129): Male with turned head and arms placed in front and behind. The material is a light, fine-grained, yellowish wood, possibly *hibiscus*. The finely executed head has its prognathous face turned toward the left. The mouth is oval and its teeth are exposed. The short neck is twisted, with a low and narrow ridge running obliquely from the meeting point of the clavicle bones to the tip of the chin. Another thick fold running obliquely down the rear of the neck is transversely perforated for a suspension string. The extremely long and pointed fingers of the left hand are curved sideways across the scrotum, and only the long thumb is separated from the other digits on the left hand, which rests on the back above the buttocks. The soles of the stubbed feet are convex. A peculiar anthropomorphic quadruped is again carved in low relief on top of the head of the main figure (Fig. 35).

Pointed triangles, like flames, probably representing a feather-crown, project from this secondary figure’s head, and the ears are carved like upturned horns. Adjoining the nasal alae are spirals which give the impression of being either nose ornaments or mustachios. The front limbs of the secondary figure have clawlike hands with two fingers and a thumb, whereas the feet have four toes and a human heel. Carved between the flexed and upturned legs is a fairly short, rectangular tail, which might represent a penis if not for the fact that it sometimes appears as a split whale’s tail on analogous figures.

The height of the main figure is 20.1 cm., the maximum width (across shoulders), 6 cm., and the maximum thickness (at checks), 3.8 cm.

The specimen reached the Canterbury Museum as part of the Oldman Collection and was brought to England by Captain J. Toppin, R.T.

PLATES 74, 75 (Hamburg 37788b): Curved male with one arm bent in front and one behind. The general shape of the figure is obtained from the natural curve of a branch of brownish wood with dark veins, possibly *miro tahiti*. A characteristic aspect of the figure, apart from the position of the arms, is the very narrow face with its wedge-shaped, upturned chin, which somewhat recalls the human faces at each end of the *rei-miro*. A goatee beard is not indicated, however, but the corners of the mouth are drawn out in a vast curve embracing the pointed chin at the tip of which they meet to leave the impression of a beard. An unusual aspect is the circumcised penis which here is carved at a backwards angle to appear on the rear side of the figure. The vertebral column projects but not the ribs. The projection at the rear of the neck is not perforated, and two small drill holes above the buttocks are recent. The left foot appears to have been joined separately onto the rest of the figure, and the left eye seems to be a recent replacement.

The length is 32 cm., the maximum width (upper arms), 6.3 cm., and the thickness at chest, 2.7 cm.

The piece, together with the image illustrated in Pl. 92, was originally a donation from an early merchant in Tahiti (probably the Salmon-Brander concern) to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Lübeck, where it was confused for many years with Melanesian artifacts until correctly identified by Karutz (1899, p. 152).

PLATE 76 (Santiago-Nat., 8336): Sexless figure with straddling legs. The heavy wood, possibly *miro tahiti*, is varnished dark brown. The genitals are not indicated, but the position of the three-fingered hands on the prominent belly, as well as the sagging breasts, may suggest a female representation. Cracks have been skillfully filled with slices of wood.

The height is 69 cm.

The lack of sexual parts on this figure could indicate post-missionary carving, but the fact that the surface is polished from handling and subsequently worn-caten, notably on the left arm, suggests that it is an old carving brought from a cave. It was purchased in Santiago in 1928.

PLATE 77a (London H. Cumming 6): Man with hat. The material is *toromiro* wood. A suspension string braided from black human hair runs through a projection at the rear of the neck, with a loop ca. 11 cm. long. The helmet-like hat and the crude carving create a strange impression which has led to many speculations, one being that the artist intended to represent a European visitor. This may well be so, although the figure is represented in the nude. Fingers and toes are not indicated.

The height is 23 cm.

The specimen might easily have been taken for a tourist fake if not for the fact that it was acquired on the island by H. Cumming in 1828 when Easter Island culture was still entirely pagan.

PLATE 77b (Berkeley 11-1156): Male with reed hat. The material is a fine-grained, yellowish-green wood (*not toromiro* as stated in the catalogue entry). The strange headwear is somewhat suggestive of the hats made from *toroa* reed and formerly used on the island. The hands are joined
on the abdomen below the navel; the right hand has only three fingers, all of which run uninterruptedly into the upper three fingers of the left hand, which has a forth finger terminating below.

The height is 28.5 cm., the maximum width (across arms), 6.5 cm., and the maximum thickness (at navel), 5.3 cm.

The piece was collected on the island by the Albatross Expedition in 1905 and was then reported to be a recent copy of a more ancient figure.

PLATE 78a (Leningrad 1432-11): Backward-bent figure with hands on chin, and feather-crown. The material is a heavy, yellowish-gray wood with a natural curvature that is utilized to give the image its backward curve and upturned face. A remarkable detail is the very realistic feather head-dress of common Easter Island type which ornaments the figure's head. The mouth is carved as a groove without an upper lip and with seven crosshatches probably representing teeth, although they are somewhat reminiscent of the furrows crossing the lips of the large Middle Period statues. The rib cage and xyphisternum project considerably but no ribs are indicated. The hooflike appearance of the feet is exaggerated to such an extent that the heels project farther at the rear of the feet than the toes in front. Coarse grinding marks cover the surface, which has never been finally polished.

The height is 42 cm., the maximum width (across shoulders), 11.5 cm., and the maximum thickness (at chest), 9 cm.

The figure was donated to the Museum by V. V. Svatlovskij who had bought it in Sydney in 1908 from an antique dealer. The lack of genitals suggests recent carving.

PLATE 78 b (Edinburgh 1954.101): Backward-bent figure with hands on chest. The material is an almost yellowish-gray piece of curved toromiro wood where the usual reddish-brown tint appears only in streaks. The smoothly polished surfaces have been covered with oil. The natural curvature of the wood has been utilized to create another sexless image strongly recalling the immediately preceding piece. The general pose is the same. The hands are placed with upturned fingers on the chest rather than on the chin, but the shoulders, back, and the lower body with stunted legs placed wide apart, closely follow a recognizable pattern, as do the rather characteristic ears, suggesting a common origin or inspiration.

The height is 29 cm., the maximum width (across arms), 8.5 cm., and the maximum thickness (at chest), 6 cm.

The piece was part of the Beasley Collection until 1954. The original provenience is obscure, but recent workmanship seems probable.

PLATE 79 (Boston 53596): Kneeling male. The material is a densely grained, heavy, dark-tinted wood. The workmanship and final polish are excellent. The head has most of the aspects of a moai kavakava, but the ears are carved in relief like a reversed S rather than being extended and pendent, and a mere vertical ridge from the center of the lower lip to the pointed chin substitutes the goatee beard. A double-headed frigate bird is carved in low relief as a head ornament. The torso has an extremely bulky abdomen, and the right hand is bent to rest at its side, the left hand being stretched down the left thigh. The figure is represented in a kneeling position, with the legs flexed at right angles in such a way that it may balance on toes and knees. The soles of the feet are turned backwards and the grooved toes are visible from behind although they are carved in a forward curve below the lower legs.

The height is 21 cm., the maximum thickness (from stomach to buttocks), 6.5 cm., and the maximum width (across arms), 6 cm.

The authenticity of this kneeling figure is assured by the fact that it formed part of the original Boston Museum Collection until received by the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATE 80a (Washington 315,748): Male facing left. The material is dark brown toromiro wood, and the upper part of the figure is stained black. The high and narrow head is turned 90 degrees to the left. A prominent goatee beard curls below the chin, and a raised band running down the edge of the chin from the hair seems to represent chin whiskers. The hair is elaborately formed by deep curvilinear grooves set well apart, the foremost running into a spiral on the forehead. The hands are stepped up in relief to the wrists and lack fingers. The penis is pronounced, but no navel is indicated. A thin, transverse ridge curves across the waist on the back side only, and from its mid-point a similar narrow band runs down to the rectum.

The height is 25 cm.

The image was a gift to the Smithsonian Institution in 1921. It had formerly belonged to Admiral J. V. B. Bleecker, and was reportedly acquired in Hawaii. Miss Bleecker wrote (1920) that she had learned that the figure was brought to the United States "between 1850 and 1860," and it thus seems possible that it might have been carried from Easter Island to Hawaii by some of the earliest nineteenth-century slave raiders who associated with Captain A. Adams of Hawaii about 1806.

PLATE 80b (Auckland 13807 Ex): Man with arms across back. The material is a heavy, yellowish wood carved while still fresh as witnessed by a considerable amount of cracking. An aberrant feature, other than the arms which are bent at right angles and stretched right across the back above the buttocks, is the pear-shaped rather than ring-shaped bone inlays surrounding the obsidian disks of the eyes. A circular fillet filled with crosshatches is incised around the upper head. The mouth is closed and the thin
lips are covered with transverse grooves like those on the lips of some of the Middle Period monoliths. Extremely crude tool marks, as of an obsidian implement, are visible below the poor polish, but the characteristic pointed, arrow-shaped nose is strongly reminiscent of the more recent work of Juan Tepano.

The height is 61 cm. The piece was obtained through exchange with H. D. Skinner of the Otago Museum in 1930.

PLATE 80 c (Brooklyn 03.215): Small, crude male with oval shell eyes. The material is dark brown wood which has cracked in many places. The rather crude carving has been made with a metal tool and left without surface polish. The inlaid obsidian disks are surrounded by oval sections of shell rather than circular bone rings as is more common. There is visible evidence to suggest that the figure had originally had a penis which has subsequently been cut off. The rear of the neck is perforated for a suspension cord. The height is 18 cm. The figure is recorded as a gift of A. A. Healy, and area designation is given as New Zealand. It is probably not very ancient.

PLATE 80 d (Boston 53598): Male facing right. A suspension cord without signs of wear is attached to the neck of this figure which was probably brought from Easter Island as soon as it was made. It could easily be suspected to be of recent manufacture but for the fact that it was part of the Boston Museum Collection until 1899.

PLATE 81 a (New York S-5316): Small female with turtle on head. The material is a fairly light, yellowish wood. The surfaces have been smoothly carved without polish, and tinted dark brown. The most remarkable detail is the turtle carved in low relief on top of the head. Similar designs, usually less identifiable, are common in Easter Island art. The inlaid eyes are unusually large in proportion to the diminutive mouth. Circular plugs are represented in the earlobes. A knob at the rear of the neck has a suspension hole with no apparent sign of wear. Neither breasts nor navel are indicated, but a furrow in the triangular area between the groins represents a vulva.

The height is 23.5 cm., the maximum width (across arms) 4.7 cm., and the maximum thickness (at upper head) 5.5 cm. The most remarkable aspect of the figure is probably its provenience, which is shared with the subsequent specimen (New York S-5315): "Part of collection of Mr. Gibbs of Grand Turks Island in the Bahamas. In his notes, one of a pair of 'African' idols found 'in the wrecked Spanish schooner, Esperanza in 1841 at Breezy Point, Caicos.'" And: "List in accession: 25, 26 - African idols found on board of a Spanish Slaving Schooner Esperanza which was stranded at Caicos in 1841 or 1842. Tag from Specimen: African idol found in the wrecked Spanish schooner Esperanza in 1841 at Breezy Point, Caicos; the slaves were taken possession of by the (?) and brought to G. Turk. The Captain being a Spaniard (?) escaped the penalty of hanging. The slaves were (?) the Brit. Gvt. apprentice for one year and then had the priviledges of other of Her Majesty's subjects in these islands. It is possible that these pieces were part of the 'Aboriginal Relics' loaned to the Jamaica Exhibition of 1891 ('They were returned with a certificate of Honour . . .')." The carving has unmistakably been made by an Easter Islander who must have been one of the captives on board the slave vessel.

PLATE 81 b (New York S-5315): Small bowing figure. The material and all aspects of the surface treatment are the same as on the figure described above, and the general resemblance combined with a common provenience suggest that both figures are very likely the products of the same artist. The head is left plain above the curving eyebrows. The face with the strongly protruding, sagging upper cheeks follows a well-known Easter Island pattern. The inlay of bone rings is crudely fitted, and the obsidian disks are roughly chipped without obtaining a smooth surface. Limbs and body with arching clavicle bones all follow a common Easter Island design. No vulva is indicated nor any obvious penis, but the lower abdomen is different from the previous specimen, carved as a long pointed triangle with its apex pointing downwards and forwards at the same angle to the body as the stunted legs. Whereas the previous female figure had neither navel nor breasts, the present specimen has small, sagging breasts which could equally well be those of a male. A raised, arched ridge spans the rear side above the buttocks. As opposed to the previous specimen there are no perforations for a suspension string, and the figure cannot stand. The feet are remarkably paw-shaped.

The height is 23.5 cm., equal to the previous specimen, and the provenience, as stated above, is the same.

PLATE 82 a (London 1920.5-6.240): Well-groomed fat man. The material is a yellowish-gray wood, possibly hibiscus. The outstanding feature is the special treatment of the ears and the hair, as well as the strongly protruding navel.

The height is 38 cm. The piece was obtained on the island by W. Scoresby Routledge in 1914, and was probably fairly freshly carved at that time.

PLATE 82 b (Boston 53597): Man with cap, and sheet between legs. The material is a light yellow wood, possibly hibiscus. The treatment of the facial features with the oval eye inlay is aberrant, as is the caplike headwear. A crudely
carved knob at the rear of the neck is perforated and contains a twisted suspension string, an indication of completed carving, apparently contradicted, however, by the seemingly incomplete condition of the lower part of the figure. It is possible that the artist, due to a fault in the wood, had decided to interrupt his original working plan. Behind the penis, which is secondarily broken, a vertical tube is worked upwards through the rectum by expanding a natural cavity along the center of the wood. A downward extension of this original cavity has given the inner side of the right leg a transversally concave surface, now partly hidden by a 3 mm. thin strip of wood remaining as a backward-bulging sheet between the legs. The artist had already started to perforate and remove this sheet in the conventional fashion, when it presumably became apparent that a complete removal would disclose the fault of the right leg. The projecting seat discloses that the artist, well aware of the central cavity, had placed it to concur with the rectum.

The height is 22.5 cm., the maximum width (across shoulders), 6.4 cm., and the maximum thickness (from stomach to buttocks), 5.7 cm. 

The piece was part of the old Boston Museum Collection until it reached the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATES 83 a, 84 (Christchurch E-150.1130): Small fat male with eyebrows like rams' horns. The material is a very heavy coffee-colored wood, possibly a dark strain of toromiro. The most striking features are the large extended eyebrows that join above the short, flat nose, and at their outer extremities diminish gradually in cross section as each curve into a spiral, taking the place of the ears. At the apex of the figure are incised two concentric circles from which four triangular arms run out in the shape of a star. The longest of these arms runs down the back of the head and lacks the inner pair of V-shaped incision lines that are present in the three others. A remarkable feature is the use of large circular brass nail heads instead of obsidian and bone inlay in the eyes. Oldman (1943, p. 47) believes this to be a continental modification, and it is very possible that this has been done because the original inlay was lost, a very common occurrence. Actually, the fact that the entire figure is treated with a heavy glossy coat of lacquer clearly shows continental modification. The mouth is carved as a short transverse groove with vaguely raised, thin lips. The neck is contracted to a keel-shape in front, and is provided with a lug for a suspension string at the back. The chest, above the clavicle bones, is raised in relief above the rest of the body. The soles of the feet are flat and permit the figure to stand. The peculiar eye-to-car scroll is common in Peruvian art (e.g., Pl. 317, Fig. 50). The height is 11 cm., the maximum width (across shoulders), 4 cm., and the maximum thickness (at stomach), 3.6 cm.

The piece was formerly part of the Oldman Collection and was brought to England by Captain J. Toppin, R.T.

PLATES 83 b, 85 (Christchurch E-150.1131): Large-headed, oval-faced male. The material is similar to that of the figure in Pl. 83 a, but this specimen is not secondarily lacquered. The perfectly oval outline of the head as well as all facial features, except eyes and eyebrows, are aberrant to Easter Island art. However, the eye inlay, the lug for the suspension string at the back of the neck, as well as the positions and proportions of the limbs leave no doubt as to the provenience.

The height is 21.5 cm., the maximum width (across elbows), 6.6 cm., and the maximum thickness (at head), 6.6 cm.

The piece, which was formerly part of the Oldman Collection, was brought to England by Captain J. Toppin, R.T.

PLATES 86, 87 (London E-P.31): Small, squatting male with hands placed behind. The material is a light yellow-gray wood, possibly hibiscus. The position of the squatting figure is exceptional, with the hands placed behind and the fingers meeting above the rectum. The facial proportions with the undistorted but large and strongly projecting ears are also unusual. The obsidian inlay of the left eye is lost. A short copper wire is at present attached to the perforation at the rear of the neck.

The height is 17 cm.

The piece is undoubtedly authentic, although no information as to the time or circumstances of provenience remains. Its early catalogue entry, however, directly precedes that of the wooden hand collected during Cook's visit in 1774 (Pl. 94).

PLATES 88, 89 a (Hamburg n.n.): Squatting female with bone earplugs. The material is dark brown toromiro wood. The entire image is extremely aberrant in all respects. The globular head has large ears with lobes turned forward and carrying inserted earplugs made from circular bone disks, respectively 1.2 cm. and 1.3 cm. in diameter. The inlay of the left eye appears to be a recent replacement. The neck is indicated merely as a deep and wide groove, but a transversally perforated knob for a suspension cord is placed at the lower rear of the head. Whereas no hair is indicated on the head itself, a realistic flow of hair is carved in relief down the back below the perforated lug. The vagina is incised as a conventionalized Easter Island komari symbol, above which the fingers of the hands are placed at each side of the lower abdomen. The short and stunted legs are drawn up on each side of the abdomen in such a way that the rounded seat extends down below the level of the small, hooflike feet. A small screw hole coinciding with the rectum is recent and undoubtedly served a former owner for the attachment to a foundation that would permit the rocking
figure to remain upright. All surfaces of this remarkable figurine are well polished and show signs of long handling.

The height is 18.7 cm., the maximum width (across arms), 10.5 cm., and the maximum thickness (at nose), 7 cm. The piece, together with the image in Pls. 74, 75, was originally donated to the Lübeck Museum by an early merchant in Tahiti, and remained in obscurity for many years until its correct provenience was finally identified by Karutz (1899, p. 152) at the end of the century.

PLATES 89 b, 90 (Ronte 32571): Squatting woman with cup-shaped depression in head. The material is a hollow but heavy piece of brownish wood, probably toromiro. The facial features are those of a common moai papa, and even the details of the elaborate hair style is reminiscent of that represented on the flat female figure illustrated in Pl. 30. The head has a very remarkable feature, however, of particular importance in view of its frequent recurrence as a main feature of several stone heads brought to light during our visit to the island in 1955-56. In front of the vertex and slightly displaced towards the right of the center is scooped out (not drilled) a circular hole 1.2 cm. deep and 1 cm. in diameter, with a concave bottom. The immediate impression is that it illustrates a case of cranial trepanation, and yet because of the analogy to art objects subsequently described, and the recently discovered stone heads in particular, one cannot escape the conclusion that the cup-shaped depression might have had a magical function.

The treatment of the body is normal except for the squatting position and a long pendent vulva, the lips of which reach to 2.5 cm. below the body and thus project below the feet. The hands are placed near the vulva in a position common on moai papa. A natural cavity running lengthwise up through the central section of the wood is utilized in such a way that the entire bottom of the figure behind the pendent vulva is open. This large hollow tube, which gives the image an appearance of a woman giving birth, gets narrower as it extends upwards. In a few places it reaches the surface as open slots or holes, two at the rear and one in front of the neck, and one under the left arm. Near the apex of the topknot, in front, is inserted asymmetrically an irregular somewhat egg-shaped piece of wood of the same material, measuring about 18 x 24 mm., possibly serving to cover another opening to the inner cavity. The obsidian disk of the right eye is missing. The height is 23 cm., the width, 7.3 cm., and the diameters of the basal opening about 33 x 40 mm.

The piece has a most remarkable provenience, as it came to the museum in Rome on May 25, 1886 from Trujillo on the north coast of Peru, together with aboriginal local pottery and bronze collected by the surgeons Teofilo Moscatelli and Giovanni Petella of the Italian Navy. The possibility cannot be excluded that the image reached Peru with some of the pre-missionary Peruvian slave raiders and their involuntary passengers, although there is nothing to exclude the alternative explanation, that the piece owes its provenience to aboriginal navigators.

PLATE 91 (Dunedin D-36.985): Bearded woman riding on large vulva. The dense and heavy, dark yellowish wood may be a twisted root piece of toromiro. Some aspects of the head, notably the goatee beard, recall the features of a moai kavakava, but the eyes have never had inlays and the ears are not extended. The bulging abdomen is stepped in from the level of the chest, but neither ribs nor breasts are indicated. Behind the flexed elbows the torso itself is transversally perforated by means of a blunt cutting tool, possibly for suspension. The perforation starts as a defect in the wood on the left side, but is carved to emerge on the opposite side and is conical in shape. The figure, with a double set of vulvae, is squatting like the last specimen described above, with hands similarly placed near the vulva. The squatting position of the drawn-up legs, the prominent pear-shaped abdomen and the exaggerated size of the vulva once more leave the impression of a woman giving birth, although the upper section of the image has only masculine attributes. The most prominent feature of the remarkable sculpture is a huge additional vulva, carved as a proper Easter Island komari symbol, which extends from the lower limit of the other vulva and at a backwards angle leaving the impression of a witch riding on a broom. Where-as the upper, smaller vulva with its raised lips extend along the full length of the legs from the knees to the gloubar feet, the extended, lower vulva is as long as the entire body of the image, and split into two separate lips which do not join at their lower end, but assume the appearance of prongs. The pronglike shape of this large appendix suggests some functional or ceremonial use, although this is by no means certain. The surfaces are smooth from considerable wear, and although the provenience is obscure, the originality of idea as well as the material and patina suggest pre-missionary origin.

The height of the carving is 19 cm., the height of the squatting figure, 14.5 cm., and the length of the large extended vulva, 8.5 cm. The width and thickness of the abdomen are respectively 2.3 cm. and 3.8 cm.

The piece was purchased in London in 1936.

PLATES 92, 93 (Cologne 40586): Very eroded male with bird's tail. The material is a curved branch of fairly light, yellowish wood, possibly hibiscus. All surfaces are extremely eroded, yet a careful analysis will reveal several characteristics otherwise common on the beaked birds. There have never been pits for the inlay of obsidian and bone eyes, and vestiges on the right side indicate that large eyes have been raised in low relief. The nose has been fairly narrow and distinctly raised, although it has probably

282
never had the shape of a beak. The mouth was wide with raised, narrow lips. The chin never had any beard, and the ears were represented as short and narrow bands. In front on each side of the upper head there are remains of two raised rings, which were a former relief ornament, possibly the head profiles of two birds. A transversal hole for suspension remains at the rear of the neck. The arms were carved in relief down the sides of the body towards the rear, and remaining vestiges may well indicate that they narrowed downwards to terminate as wings the tips of which, in the conventional manner, touch a fanshaped bird’s tail. The remains of this tail can still be clearly distinguished above the human buttocks, as well as vestiges of a raised vertebral column extending from the neck down to this tail. Buttocks and testicles remain, as does the penis, and a navel probably concurs with a twist or knot in the wood. The thighs are drawn up in a squatting or seated position, completely bent at the knees which are pressed against the abdomen. The lower part of the right leg is lost through erosion, the left leg terminating in a bulblike foot. If hands with incised fingers were ever present on the chest in bird-man style, all traces have been obliterated. The height is 21.5 cm., the maximum width (at shoulders), 5.3 cm., and the thickness of the torso, 3.9 cm. This ancient specimen was apparently kept in hiding on Easter Island until brought forth for barter on the arrival of the Hyâne in 1882.

PLATE 94 (London E-P, 32): Hand with long nails. The material is yellowish-brown wood which has been carved into a realistic left hand with long and slender fingers gracefully turned upwards and terminating in extremely long finger nails. The nails are concave on the inner side, and transverse lines at the finger joints on the inside of the hand, together with the presence of the wrist bone, add to realism. The distal end is abruptly cut off with a stone tool, and no attempts have been made to make a straight cut or to smooth away the cutting marks. A suspension hole with a diameter of 3 mm. has been perforated near this unworked end. The length of this carving is 35 cm. The length of the longest finger is 11 cm., including the 3.5 cm.-long finger nail. The maximum width is 9 cm. This piece was collected by Captain Cook’s expedition in 1774 and is reported on p. 38.

PLATE 95 a (Dresden 18367): Crude, wooden head with depression on left side. The material is toromiro wood. The nose is carved in low relief as a band narrowing slightly upwards to join the eyebrows forming a T-shape. The eyebrows are covered with transversal incision lines and curve below the eyes from the sides of the head in the shape of sagging bags or pouches on the upper cheeks. A small mouth is carved with lips indicated in low relief. On the right side of the face a narrow car is crudely indicated in relief, but on the left side there is instead an oval depression 1.2 x 2.2 cm. in diameters and ca. 1 cm. deep with a concave bottom. A suspension hole is represented by a short back-to-front perforation at the apex. The surface, which has not been polished, is covered with cutting marks. The back of the head is unworked and has a wide, longitudinal, natural groove. The height is 11.3 cm., the width, 7.6 cm., and the thickness, 5.4 cm. The head was obtained on Easter Island by the German Expedition in 1882.

PLATE 95 b (Oxford VI, 30): Vulva and two breasts. The material is an almost heart-shaped and flat chunk of toromiro with a natural central slot. Two curved lines are incised on the upper, broad side, and with very little modification of the natural shape, two breasts with nipples and a vulva have been indicated. The length of the carving is 16.5 cm., the maximum width, 14 cm., and the maximum thickness, 2 cm. The slot is 7.5 cm. long with a maximum width of 1.5 cm. The piece was a gift from W. S. Routledge in 1916 and was suspected to be a fertility emblem.

PLATE 95 c-e (Honolulu B, 4553): Human foot. The material is dark brown toromiro wood. The piece appears to have been carved as a pendant and is not a fragment of a once complete figure. The oval sole of the foot is transversally convex and the short toes are bent to curve back under the sole of the foot. A transversal incision marks the base of the toes from which five parallel grooves run down to separate six toes, the longest two being in the middle. The lower part of the leg increases in thickness and sags down over the top of the foot, with rounded protuberances indicating ankles. The impression given is that of an advanced state of elephantiasis. The cross-section of the leg is elliptical with a bluntly rounded ridge running down the front and back. These ridges are off-center nearest to the right side of the leg. On the right side, just above mid-length, is a perforation curving between two small openings 1 cm. apart, and a short suspension string of twisted coconut fiber is attached in this hole. On the left side, a natural concavity forms a wide vertical depression. The leg is truncated with a slightly convex cut. All surfaces are smoothly polished. The height is 8.5 cm. The maximum diameters of leg, 1.9 x 3.2 cm. The length of the foot is 4.5 cm. and its maximum width is 2.6 cm. The specimen reached the museum from J. Young’s Collection in 1920 and, according to K. P. Emory (viva voce), had been bought from Brander in Tahiti who received it from Mr. Salmon prior to the initiation of commercial art.
PLATE 96 a (Honolulu B. 3572 a): Eroded torso of human figure. The material is toromiro wood. The head and lower leg sections are broken off and subsequently eroded, and the entire piece is badly worm-eaten and partly consumed by rats. The upper right arm has been separated from the body by a slot as the local body surface has maintained its perfect polish with traces of dark oil. Remains of the eroded lower right arm are left, with the hand carved in finely executed low relief. Six extremely long fingers curve gently upwards at the side of a very bulging abdomen. The left hand is completely lost through erosion but remains of a slightly raised, worm- and rat-eaten protuberance indicate that it was carved in a position corresponding to that of the other arm, only slightly higher up on the twisted body and with a slot similarly separating the long upper arm from the main body. What remains of the chest area is broad and raised but ribless. The torso has a narrow midsection with an almost circular cross section but increases in pear-shape downwards to form a bulky, projecting abdomen strongly suggesting a pregnant woman. However, below the stomach are the raised remains of what seems to have been a penis, although it might perhaps have been a raised vulva. The remaining thigh sections show that the legs, like the body, form a rather strong arch towards the left, and in addition the left leg has been placed forward in relation to the right one, which curves slightly backward and considerably toward the left. A raised and serrated spine runs all the way down the back to terminate in the cleft of a rounded V-shaped step that marks the transition to the upper seat region. The buttocks are small but realistically carved. The remaining parts of the original surface sections show a masterly workmanship, beautiful polish, and the use of surface treatment, probably oil.

The length of the remaining fragment is 14 cm. and the width and thickness at chest, 3.8 and 3.1 cm. respectively. The diameters of the narrow mid-section are 2.2 x 2.6 cm. The width and thickness at the stomach are 3 cm. and 3.8 cm. respectively.

The piece reached the Bishop Museum in 1920 from J. Young's Collection and, according to K. P. Emory (viva voce), had been bought from Brander in Tahiti, who received it from Salmon prior to the initiation of commercial art. The sculpture was probably mutilated and discarded either during tribal warfare or at the introduction of Christianity. Although limited in its value as an exhibition piece, this specimen is extremely important as it clearly shows the ancient origin of the aberrant twisted human figures on the island.

PLATE 96 b (Sacré-Cœurs 402): Human cranium with facial features. The material is toromiro wood. A human head is carved in such a way that it has most of the features of a cranium except for the facial section. The eyes are inlaid with obsidian disks in bone rings and the nose is long, narrow, and slightly aquiline, with flaring nostrils. The eyebrows are realistic and have a fine herringbone pattern. The pouches below the eyes, so common in Easter Island carving, extend backward in the present case to form the realistic-looking zygomatic bone of a cranium. The cranial effect is increased by the total absence of hair and ears. The extremely wide mouth is slightly open and carved without raised lips, exposing twenty-eight clenched teeth. The slots between the teeth communicate with the mouth cavity which, when seen from below, is completely open like the fleshless lower jaw of a cranium. A thin coat of resin behind the teeth partly covers the slots between them. Although the lower face is carved like a mandible, a rectangular goatee beard represented by five parallel, vertical incision lines, extends realistically down and under the jaw. A slight sagittal keel runs from the top of the head and part of the way down the back. A vertical hole, possibly intended for a suspension cord, is carved, not drilled, from apex to foramen magnum. The perforation is conical from both ends. The workmanship is superb and the carving is finished with a perfect polish.

The maximum length (from chin beard to back of head) is 9 cm. The height and width are respectively 6 cm. and 5.5 cm. The diameter of the perforation at the apex is 0.6 x 0.8 cm. and at foramen magnum 1 x 1.1 cm.

The specimen was sent to Bishop Jaussen in Tahiti by the first missionaries.

PLATE 97 a (Salem E-5307): Bald Janus head. The material is dark, reddish-brown toromiro wood. The two heads, which face in opposite directions, join in a shallow longitudinal groove, and a small bulb bridges a transversal suspension hole between the adjoining apexes. The two heads share a single pair of small, narrow ears carved in high relief. Another wide and deep groove, carved transversally at the base, separates the two chins, each of which is ornamented with a small goatee beard. These chin beards are carved as three raised bands extending downward from the lower lip. Each head has a prominent but narrow nose and the twin faces are realistic in shape and execution. The somewhat large eyes are inlaid with shell rings and obsidian disks in customary style. The inlay in the right eye of one head has been lost and that of the left has been reinserted and pasted on with a red adhesive. All surfaces are smoothly polished and oiled except for the transversal groove on the underside of the head.

The height is 8.5 cm., the length from face to face is 7 cm., and each face is 5.5 cm. wide. The specimen was received by the Museum in 1851, prior to missionary arrival.

PLATE 97 b (London, 1919. 6-14.18): Long-haired Janus head. The material is dark, yellow-brown wood. Two somewhat realistic human faces with large projecting
foreheads and goatee beards face in opposite directions and share the same upper head. The two faces are alike but for the mouths; one has a groove separating the raised lips whereas the other has not. The nose is rounded and realistic; the eyes are almond-shaped and bulging with inlaid obsidian pupils not enclosed in bone rings. The cheeks are pouched. The eyebrows, with an incised herringbone pattern, project considerably and form a large step from the forehead to the lower face. Parallel grooves arching from the eyebrows meet in a central line in front and at the sides, dividing the common head into quarters, leaving the impression that each face has a middle parting in the hair. On each side of the head, and filling the spaces between the outer corners of each pair of opposing eyes, there is a bilaterally symmetrical ear with an earplug, somewhat resembling a human foot with five almost equal toes pointing upwards, a depressed sole between the toes and heel and with a cup-shaped depression in the raised heel. Directly below this “heel” is the apex of four concentric triangles with the basal angles outlining the goatee beards of each figure. On each head the beard is carved in relief and turns back underneath the chin. Four longitudinal grooves are incised across the base of the head to unite the two beards in the place where the neck should be. One centrally and two slightly laterally placed small perforations form a transversal row on top of the head, having probably served for a suspension string.

The height of the heads is 9 cm., the maximum length (between foreheads) is 7 cm., and the width of each face (from ear to ear) is 5 cm.

The history of this fine Easter Island specimen is obscure.

PLATE 98 a (Paris 86. III. I. [old no.: 16. 188]): Twin heads on forked neck. The material is heavy, dark reddish-brown toromiro wood. Two human heads are carved facing upwards with their apexes pointing in opposite directions and their chins about 2 cm. apart. They are joined by a short, T-shaped neck like a handle. The heads have characteristic Easter Island features: projecting eyebrows covered with an incised herringbone pattern and big, bulging cheeks. The noses are long, slim, and aquiline with extremely narrow alae and small nostrils. The lips are raised as narrow ridges surrounding a horizontal groove. The chin is broad and sharp. The ears are not elongated but carved rather realistically in high relief with ear spools indicated. The left ear of one head is missing as the corresponding area is filled by a large crack which may possibly antedate the carving. The right ear of the same head is linked to the raised area around the eye by a short bridge carved in relief. Modern continental doll’s eyes are inserted in the eye pits, but the one near the crack has fallen out and the socket gives the impression that the eyes were probably inlaid in the usual Easter Island manner, the present inlay having been substituted when the original was lost. The only striking difference between the two heads is the design of the hair. One head has a pattern of concentric U-shaped furrows starting off as parallel rows above the eyebrows, while the other head has two small circles incised side by side on the forehead, each surrounded by a concentric arc at each side. The ear pattern varies slightly from one head to the other, and on only one head a short, wide band carved in relief connects the ear with the cheek. The T-shaped handle has an oval cross section, being flattened at the sides. The upper neck section is incised with deep grooves in a herringbone pattern, whereas the distal end is carved like a flat, almost disk-shaped tongue.

The width between the apexes is 26 cm., the height from the chin to the end of the handle is 16 cm., and the width of each face is 8.5 cm. The diameters of the upper handle are 3.5 cm. and 5 cm. The “tongue,” which measures 5 \times 5.5 cm., is roughly 2 cm. thick at its center.

The specimen reached Musée de l’Homme as a gift from Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle in 1886.

PLATES 98 b, 99 (Boston 53592): Opposed bearded men joined at stomach. The material seems to be brownish toromiro with light streaks. The two heads share most of their characteristics with the standard male figures, having straight, narrow noses, prominent eyebrows, inlaid eyes, and goatee beards. The inlay of the eyes, however, has been lost. Neither of the two heads has any decoration on the smooth upper head and only one of them has transversal grooves incised on the eyebrows. The same head also has oval ears surrounding a C-shaped groove while the other has a transversal band across the center of the ear and a cup-shaped depression in the earlobe. Both figures have a knob at the base of the skull, but a transversal perforation for suspension has been drilled only on the head with incised eyebrows. Each figure has small round breasts below which their bodies merge into each other. Realistic upper arms are carved free from the bodies and they too merge into those of the other figure at the place of the elbows. On one, the two merging arms are so badly eroded at mid-point that they are broken and barely touch at the elbow area. The back is eroded and in places very worm-eaten. This obviously ancient piece recalls a rei-miro carved with a round rather than a flat cross section.

The length is 27 cm., the maximum width (across shoulders) is 7 cm., and the maximum thickness (at center) is 5.2 cm.

The specimen was transferred from the earlier Boston Museum Collection in 1899.
acteristics of the standard moai kavakova except for the fact that it has two heads, carved side by side on separate necks below which there is a double set of clavicle bones, and that the realistically protruding spine forks below the shoulder blades, each branch running up to the base of each skull. The left head retains obsidian disks inlaid in bone rings, whereas the right has only the bone ring of the right eye left. The left head has teeth indicated by parallel grooves whereas the space enclosed between the raised lips of the right head is left smooth. Both heads are ornamented with the usual type of anthropomorphic quadruped with three-fingered hands and long ears, but the tail is lacking.

The height is 40 cm., the maximum width (across upper arms) is 9 cm., and the maximum thickness (at rib area) is 6 cm.

The specimen was brought to La Rochelle in 1860 by Ship's Doctor Gilles.

PLATE 101 (Christchurch E 138.635): Double-headed female figure. The material is hard and heavy dark brown wood. The special feature of this statue is that the broad and flattish shoulder section supports two almost cylindrical necks, each terminating in a head turned outwards at right angles leaving only a narrow cleft between the backs of the heads. The heads are tall and narrow and carved identically but for the right head having a herringbone pattern incised across the eyebrows. Each head terminates in a conical topknot with incision lines representing elegantly twisted and tied hair. The nose is long, straight, and narrow with realistic nostrils, but continues upwards into raised Y-shaped eyebrows. The almond-shaped eye areas have obsidian disks inlaid in bone rings. Transversal incision lines cross the inner side of the raised lips resembling the "mummy stitches" on some of the large stone statues, although in the present case they may possibly be meant to represent teeth. Very thin arms, slightly flexed, are separated from the more realistically carved body by open slots. The fingers meet above each side of a groove representing the vulva. The breasts are represented as small pouches. The back is plain and rather realistic. The knees are slightly bent and the heels project backward as much as the feet project forwards. The front of the feet have vertical incisions separating the toes which are curved down below the level of the soles of the feet.

The height is 45 cm., the width across the shoulders is 10.3 cm., and the maximum thickness (at belly) is 5.8 cm.

The piece was collected on the island by J. Macmillan Brown in 1923 and was possibly carved during his visit or shortly before, although it undoubtedly reflects a recollected motif.

PLATE 102 b (London 98.10-10.13): Squatting, doubleheaded male. The material is dark reddish-brown wood. The figure has two heads resting on separate necks, one facing forward and one backward. The front head is slightly lower than the back head. Both have very similar features with a long, slim nose, straight mouth, narrow lips, and the usual inlay in almond-shaped eyes. The obsidian disk in the left eye of the front head is missing. The eyebrows are not grooved and the tops of the heads are undecorated. The thin legs are drawn up on each side of the body with knees sharply bent, and the miniature feet do not even reach the base of the torso. The short arms are flexed but the hands, supposed to meet on the stomach, are not indicated. Nor are breasts or navel indicated although there is a prominent penis.

The height of the figure is 25 cm.

Although it is probably not very ancient, the history of this specimen is obscure.

PLATE 103 (Concepción A. IV. 1): Janus-headed male with hands on belly. The material is reddish-brown toromiro wood. The figure is in many respects similar to Pl. 102 b, but there is only one Janus head rather than two separated heads and the legs are hardly flexed. The large head has a sharp straight crest across the forehead, representing eyebrows, which curves around almond-shaped and bulging eyes to end as sagging pouches below them. The eyes are inlaid with bone rings and obsidian disks. The long ears, with plugs in the lobes, are shared by both faces as is the ball-shaped upper head and the stout neck. The nose is aquiline and realistic and the mouth is carved as a short transversal groove between thin raised lips. Both faces are almost identical, but the forward-looking face has lost the obsidian inlay in one eye. The body is stout with a bulging stomach and realistic buttocks. The navel is indicated as a cup-shaped depression and the penis as a short bulb. The thin arms, each separated from the body by a short slot, are flexed and curved in such a way that the long fingers oppose each other on each side of the stomach. The legs are short and thick with well-defined toes on miniature feet, but the soles are slanting in such a way that the figure, when held erect, stands on the tips of the toes. There is no perforation hole for a suspension cord. The surface is left unpolished and cut marks from a blunt tool are visible. The height is 27 cm.

Dr. Carl Schuster, who kindly furnished the photographs, provided the information that the piece was brought back from Easter Island on one of the several visits of Policarpo Toro who finally annexed the island for Chile in 1888. A strikingly similar specimen (Santiago-Hist. 4461) came from Easter Island shortly before 1921.

PLATE 104 (Bremen D. 318): Distorted male with split abdomen. The material is a flat and slightly twisted piece
of light veined *toromiro* wood. The face is flat and almost concave with a somewhat realistic nose. The eyebrows are widest at the center narrowing to a point at each end and are covered with transversal incision lines. The asymmetric eyes are carved as raised ovals surrounding deep depressions, one of which contains a crudely inlaid piece of obsidian. The wide mouth is oblique and drawn down into a long, pouting grimace on the right cheek. Parallel incision lines indicate a long beard flowing obliquely from the right half of the lower lip down over the right shoulder. The right side of the face is separated from the unformed back of the head by a sharp bevel leaving no room for an ear, whereas the left side of the head is slightly thicker and has a normal-sized ear represented as an elongated and rounded projection towards the side, directly connected with the left eyebrow as if forming an extension of this. The clavicle bones are outlined as a shallow step down to the chest. The figurine has neither breasts nor navel. The abdomen is indrawn. The slim arms are separated from the body by slots and terminate without hands, the right one on the thigh and the left on the rib cage. Stunted legs without feet are set wide apart, and between them a fault in the wood has caused a gaping longitudinal split right through the figure up to the solar plexus. In front, the split widens into a cavity occupying much of the abdomen and a black resinous paste of the type used for fixing the obsidian inlay in the eyes has been put into the upper part of the split both in front and behind. The same substance has also been put into a small natural scar at the side of the upper left arm. The lower abdomen on both sides of the split is flattened both in front and behind and a short, erect penis is carved on its widest section. A wide groove is carved in the place of the spinal column while shoulder blades and buttocks are raised in relief. An almost hemispherical protuberance at the back of the lower head suggests the knob through which a suspension string is usually passed but it has no perforation. Instead, a secondary drill hole for modern exhibition purposes appears in the center of the back. The surface of this piece has never been polished and the original tool marks are still visible although rounded by wear in exposed areas. The height is 23.5 cm., the maximum width (across elbows) is 8 cm., and the maximum thickness (at chest) is 3 cm. The figure was obtained from Dr. Andrée in 1855; that is, before the arrival of the first missionaries, and it again shows that grotesque aberrant sculptures were part of the aboriginal art manifestations on Easter Island prior to commercialization. 

PLATE 105a, b, 106 (Berlin VI 4875): *Bird with human head tied to tahonga ball*. The material is *toromiro* wood. The human head is characterized by a long, exaggerated beaklike nose with large alae. This feature combined with the birdlike body and limbs is highly interesting as it seems to represent a transition form demonstrating that the idea of the beak of the bird-man is related to the concept of a long-nosed human being. The head is shapeless on the top and on the back as if eroded, although this is probably due to the original form of the wood. The forehead thus projects as a narrow band above the eyes without any further upper head. The eyes are represented as deep oval cavities. The mouth is carved with lips raised in relief and separated by an incision line. Small ears are raised in relief. Through a natural twist in the wood, the head and neck project at a slight back ward angle from the body. The body is that of a bird, almost seal-like, with long, slim and pointed wings stretched along the sides almost to the split tail. The right shoulder is drawn forward and the left one backward, corresponding with the left-hand twist of the body which also turns the tail to the left. The flatish body narrows from the shoulders to the base of the tail. On the abdomen, at the transition from body to tail, there is a circular depression with a flat bottom, partly surrounded by a slightly raised ring and possibly representing the genital organ of a bird. A suspension string of *hibiscus* bark runs through a perforation in the body of the figure from chest to back, and is attached to a *tahonga* ball at its other end. The surface has been smoothed and rubbed with oil, but the polish has later been destroyed in places, possibly gnawed off by island rats. The length of the bird-man is 22.5 cm., the maximum width (across shoulders) is 6 cm., and the maximum thickness of the body is 2.5 cm. The *tahonga* ball is 6.5 cm. high with diameters of 7.5 × 8 cm. The string is 23 cm. long, 0.15 cm. thick, and is joined near mid-length by a knot. The piece was donated to the Museum in 1883 by Mr. H. Schlubach, German Consul in Valparaiso. 

PLATE 107 (Boston 53594); *Grotesque bust with ribs and large head*. The material is a crooked root section of brownish *toromiro* wood. The head is the major part of the figure and is flattened both in front and behind. The skull, above the eyebrows, is narrower than the rest of the face and has the appearance of a flattened hemisphere. Most facial features are of a common Easter Island character, with extremely bulging pouches below the eyes, but the small mouth has the tip of the tongue pressed between thin, sharp lips, and the eye inlay seems to have been restricted to the bone rings since the porous inner texture of the bone as well as the wood framed by the bone are completely without vestiges of resin. The left ear is large and realistic but the right ear is a small, unworked protuberance. The neck bulges in front as if with a struma while the back has a concavity caused by a fault in the wood. The miniature body is very distorted, incomplete, and possibly unfinished, although there is no material left for limbs. Ribs and *xyphisternum* are represented as on a *moei kavakava*, but below this there is a crudely cut and badly split stump that
served the carver as a handle during his work but permitted little or no further extension of the sculpture. The right arm is indicated by a roughly carved stump but on the left side there is nothing but a beveled shoulder area. The back is represented by a deep and wide natural concavity that would permit no further carving. The surface is elsewhere finished with a crude cutting tool without polish. The height is 24 cm. The maximum width (across the cars) is 9.2 cm., and the maximum thickness (at nose) is 5 cm. The specimen was transferred from the old Boston Museum Collection to the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATES 108, 109a (Leiden 547.N3): Reclining figure with cup-shaped depression and single leg. The material is a yellowish wood blackened by oil. The head is carved like a flat mask with a low projecting forehead outlined by eyebrows incised with a herringbone pattern. A 2.5 cm. deep step divides the forehead from the lower face which is dominated by bulging cheeks below convex almond-shaped eyes, into which have been inserted obsidian disks without bone rings. The mouth is carved as a raised oval, the lips projecting almost 1 cm. and enclosing what seems to be a slightly protruding tongue. Large ears, rounded behind, are carved without extension or ornamentation. An irregular depression, possibly a fault in the wood, extends from the center of the tongue down to the neck and is filled with white cement held in place by six old, handmade, continental nails. A similar repair is visible near the center of the left eyebrow. A large and deep cup-shaped depression is scooped out to dominate the apex. Whether meant to represent trepanation or to serve a magical function, or both this feature is again markedly reminiscent of the cup-shaped depressions present on stone skulls collected by the Norwegian expedition. Although the face is turned to the left, the entire figure from head to foot curves forward and toward the right, determined by the shape of the root. The head and short neck are set at an angle to the crude body that lacks breasts and navel and ends abruptly in a swollen abdomen from which one single leg with the same width as the body continues, terminating in a mushroom-shaped foot, the convex side outward. The left arm is indicated only by a deep groove, but it terminates abruptly below the elbow where it bends into a natural scar. The right upper arm is twisted towards the back, but this arm merges immediately with the body also below the elbow. The back is unsheared apart from a slightly protruding ridge down the neck and shoulders. Its lower end is perforated for a suspension string.

The length is 31 cm. The width across the ears is 13 cm., across the shoulders 7.5 cm., and across the stomach, as well as the leg, 4 cm. The thickness of the mask varies from 2 cm. to 4.5 cm. The cup-shaped depression on the head measures 3 × 3.5 cm. and is 1.5 cm. deep. The carving was purchased by Yvan in Paris in 1886.

PLATES 109b, 110, 111 (London 8700): Large-headed zoomorphic male. The material is yellowish-brown wood. The head is greatly exaggerated in size with an open zoomorphic mouth without chin. The lips, except where badly damaged in front, are carved in relief and covered with transversal incision lines. The tongue is realistically represented; the nose is long, slim and slightly aquiline. The pouches below the eyes are small but pronounced. The almond-shaped eye region is convex with an obsidian disk inserted in a white shell ring. The large eyebrows are incised with a herringbone pattern. The ears are asymmetrical, the left one carved as a raised rounded rectangle while the right has a wide groove splitting the ear and giving it the appearance of an animal ear. The head is bent upward and to the left and dwarfs the small, realistic body with its short, stunted legs and long, slender arms. The feet, as is so common, are hooflike, projecting equally far behind as in front. The thin arms are bent in a U-shape on the chest and terminate in what look like juxtaposed lobster claws carved in low relief on the throat. A penis is represented and the back is realistically carved, apart from a lug between the shoulders and the neck perforated for a suspension cord. The surface of this remarkable figure is smoothed and polished from wear.

The height of the figure is 29 cm.

Of special interest is the fact that this image was found on the Chincha Islands of Peru and was presented to the British Museum by A.W. Franks in 1872. It might be tempting to assume that this sculpture could have been brought to the Chincha Islands by one of the slaves carried to South America by the Peruvian slave raiders. However, most thorough research recently carried out (see pp. 44–45) on the movements of the Easter Island slaves fail to show that any of them ever worked on the guano fields of the Chincha Islands. This figure thus makes a case for possible pre-European contact.

PLATE 112 (Leipzig Po 436): Twisted zoomorphic male. The material is a branch of brownish toromiro wood, curved and twisted sideways. The figure has a zoomorphic head on a human body. The long, thin nose with flaring nostrils forks in a T-shape into eyebrows which are crossed by incision lines. The eyes are inlaid with bone rings enclosing a black paste, probably because the original obsidian disks are lost. The ears and mouth are positioned as on an animal: the narrow oval ears project in relief almost at right angles to the face. The mouth is also carved as on a muzzle placed at right angles to the face and is represented as a highly arched groove with the corners turned down. A thin U-shaped groove runs back underneath the lower jaw from the mouth. A keeled ridge runs down the neck and chest. Another ridge runs down the back, perforated below the shoulder blades for a suspension string. The long, slim upper arms are carved free from the body and both
The grotesque sculptor extends human yellowish-gray composition Seignelay two of the sion anision, which is separated by a deep groove in front and behind, although the small feet are joined as one disk. The toes are barely indicated by grooves. The hips are raised in relief and a large penis is carved free. The maximum length (from feet to arch of back) is 21 cm., the width at the shoulders is 5.2 cm., and the thickness at the chest is 2.7 cm. The sculpture, already reported in 1881 by Schmeltz and Krause (1881, p. 236), was collected during the visit of the Seignelay in 1877.

PLATES 113, 114 d (Oslo 2438): Bearded man and bird composition on sticklike body. The material is fairly light, yellowish-gray wood, probably Hibiscus tiuaceus. The sculptor has utilized a naturally twisted branch to carve a grotesque composite figure, partly human and partly bird. The head is thus once more an ingenious composition of a long-beaked bird resembling a turkey carrying a bearded human mask. The mask has borrowed most of its characteristics from the standard moai kavakava except for the ears which are very small and kidney-shaped. The inlays of the eyes are lost. A convex goatee beard with an oval outline, covered with fine longitudinal incision lines, extends in high relief from the lower lip down upon what is an additional, long and flowing beard on the same human figure. The edges of this second beard have parallel incision lines similar to those of the eyebrows and the goatee beard. When viewed in profile it becomes apparent that the flowing beard of the man represents at the same time the large beak of a bird incised with all the characteristics of the usual long bird-man's beak. In fact, on each side of what is a long human beard when seen from the front, run two almost parallel grooves that join at the tip and represent the edges of the beak's opening. The rows of short incision lines set at an angle to these longitudinal grooves to increase the similarity to a beard when viewed from above, now become the serrated, sometimes almost toothlike, edges of the beak, characteristic of Easter Island bird-man carvings. In profile, the eyes of the human face become the eyes of the bird while the human nose and goatee beard now appear as the usual protuberances on top of a bird-man's beak, reminiscent of the fleshy appendages on the beak of a turkey and certain other birds on the American mainland. The combined human and bird heads have one somewhat long common neck which terminates at very narrow, rounded shoulders where the extremely exagger-ated, long, sticklike body begins. A natural twist in the wood has helped the artist to place the combined heads at an angle, forwards and to the right of the body, whereas the rest of the figure from neck to legs is evenly curved. Thin clavicle bones are carved in low relief and ribs and xiphisternum are indicated as on both moai kavakava and birdmen. Breasts and navel are not apparent but a realistic pendent penis is present, carved in rounded relief. Two extremely thin and long arms follow the contours of the body closely and terminate toward the back. The right one merges gradually with the surface of the body with traces of four lightly incised fingers appearing almost like the tip of a wing placed behind the right thigh. The lower left arm is bent slightly further behind and terminates abruptly without a hand at a triangular pit on the back which is artificially excavated, probably to remove a fault in the material. The seat is covered with a tassel-shaped bird's tail carved in relief with fan-shaped incisions indicating feathers, such as is customary on Easter Island bird-man figures and even the standard moko. A long serratated vertebral column runs down the back from the base of the head to the aforesaid pit. No signs of this column occur between the pit and the bird's tail, a distance of about 3 cm., but detached vestiges of fingers or feathers from the right hand reach the tail. The thighs terminate abruptly above the knees as if crudely cut off or broken, but with signs of burning. A perforation in the form of a small slot occurs between the thighs below the penis. A small drill hole for a suspension string runs through the spine at the level of the arm pits and another, similar perforation runs underneath the left arm at the same level, obviously for the purpose of regulating the angle of the suspension in such a way that the combined faces are turned forwards and up rather than hanging face down as they would otherwise do. The sculpture is undoubtedly of considerable age, being noticeably eroded through time and wear. Certain areas are worm-eaten, particularly the entire section below the bird's tail.

The longest cord measures 32 cm., the length of the moai kavakava mask (to the tip of the goatee) is 10.5 cm., and the length of the bird's head is 14 cm. The carving was obtained by Captain Peter Arup in 1868 at a time when the first missionaries had ordered the burning of all pagan images and subsequently searched in vain for further samples to send to Tahiti.

PLATES 114a, 116 (London E-P 27): Bird with goatee-bearded human head. The material is yellow-brown wood. The human head is rather realistically treated and turned forward and upward on a thick neck. The eyes are almond-shaped and bulging, with a small depression representing the pupil. The eyebrows are raised and arched above a prominent nose which is curved at the tip. The lips are tightly shut and raised in relief. The chin terminates in a rounded goatee beard and the ears are represented as large
ovals in relief. The body and limbs are those of a bird. The wings are slim and pointed, meeting on the back, at the base of an almost disk-shaped tail. Both legs are broken secondarily below the knees and thick thighs are carved in relief against the body. A knoblike protrusion marks the penis and between it and the tail there is a deep perforation with a diameter of 0.4 cm.

The length is 33 cm. The maximum thickness (across wings) is 10 cm., and the height of the face is 10.5 cm. It is unknown how and when the piece left Easter Island.

PLATES 114b, 117 (Hooper Coll. n.n.): Zoomorphic human being with long forked tail. The material is yellowish-brown wood, probably *toromiro*. The disproportionately large head has an egg-shaped outline but is flattened at the back. The nose is long with a rounded rectangular cross section and is vaguely aquiline. At the base it forks in a T-shape into two slightly curving eyebrows, crossed by incision lines. Eyes of obsidian disks, surrounded by narrow bone rings are set in a slightly convex and almond-shaped area. The notched mouth is small, oval, and open, surrounded by an incision line outlining the lips. Some parallel, vertical grooves, which at first glance seem to indicate teeth, actually run outward to cut the lips themselves which brings to mind the marks resembling mummy stitches on the mouths of the large statues. The raised, elongated ears have a rounded cross section and are covered with longitudinal grooves. Small bone disks with central cup-shaped depressions are inserted as earplugs in the lobes. The back of the head is at right angles to the thick cylindrical neck as on an animal. The shoulders are wide but the birdlike body is short and narrow towards the hips. From large shoulder blades, thin arms continue in high relief and curve in U-shape at the elbows in such a way that the five-fingered hands are turned upward on each side of the chest with the fingertips reaching the base of the neck. The wrists are carved as rounded bands. No breasts, navel, or genitals are indicated although a natural flaw in the wood is present approximately in the genital region. The short legs carved in relief are set well apart with a greater distance between them at the hips than at the feet. The triangular area thus enclosed between the legs assumes the shape of a thick tail curving towards the rear and upward from the small feet to terminate in a split bird’s tail. The cross section of this zoomorphic appendage is rounded triangular. The split tail end is dorsally convex and ventrally concave. The human buttocks are small but realistic, and the short legs are bent both at the hip and knee.

The length of this figure is 41 cm. The maximum width (across shoulders) is 16 cm., the thickness at the chest, 10 cm., the length of the head, 18 cm., and that of the tail appendage, 12 cm.

Although the carving is obviously old and genuine, its history is obscure. It seems, however, to have reached England from Ireland.

PLATE 114c: See Pls. 38, 39.

PLATE 114d: See Pl. 113.

PLATE 115 (London C.C. 1979): Zoomorphic male with long thick tail. The material is a curved piece of dark brown wood, possibly *toromiro*. The natural twist of the wood has been utilized to obtain the shape of the curved zoomorphic body and tail with a human head. The head has the usual characteristics of Easter Island art, with hatched eyebrows running into sagging pouches below bulging, almond-shaped eyes both of which have lost their inlays. The nose is long and slim with flaring nostrils. The lips are pursed but not separated by a groove. A chin beard is represented by four vertical grooves. Five pairs of ribs are separated by grooves. Sexual parts are not carved although natural concavities appear asymmetrically at the lower part of the abdomen and at the base of the tail. Narrow wings are raised in high relief above the chest, but are merely outlined on the wide and smooth back by broad depressions. A long and thick tail with a blunt end curves almost at right angles to the left side of the body. The figure has no perforation for a suspension string and can only rest with the body in a horizontal position with the head bent up to face forwards. Two cracks run across the head. Near the apex there is a cup-shaped depression 0.5 cm. in diameter and 0.1 cm. deep, containing hard-packed remains of what seems to be a dark gray powder, also present in some other concavities. High in the center of the forehead there is a smaller and shallower depression measuring 0.2 x 0.3 cm. which is probably artificial like the one near the apex. The figure is smooth from wear and obviously ancient.

The length is 22 cm. and the height of the head, 7.8 cm. The piece was bought by the Museum from Mr. Wareham in 1866 but seems to have been collected on the island by Forster during Captain Cook’s visit in 1774.

PLATE 116: See Pl. 114a.

PLATE 117: See Pl. 114b.

PLATE 118a (Brenner D 319): Grotesque male holding ball-shaped object. The material is a twisted piece of *toromiro* wood. The disproportionately large head is looking upward, its eyes carved on each side of the head like those of an animal. The eyes have no inlay, but are large, circular, and bulging. Raised eyebrows form semicircles around the eyes and meet at the forehead. From its ridge, the nose, or rather snout, runs directly into each cheek with no lateral outlines, like the muzzle of an animal. Below this large, bulging nose, the mouth is carved as a long groove
extending back on each side of the muzzle, increasing the impression of an animal head. The cross section of the upturned head is thus lenticular with the two convex sides meeting to form a ridge on top of the nose and under the chin. The body is small and arched, with wide shoulders and a crudely carved spinal column ending in a fan-shaped tassel above the seat. The right arm, carved along the side, is bent sharply upwards, with long fingers in relief clasping the right side of the neck above the shoulders. The left arm is bent almost at right angles at the elbow, and the hand without fingers merges with a ball-shaped object projecting from the abdomen. Below this object an exaggerated penis hangs down lower than the drawn-up legs. A wide groove, resulting from a defect in the wood runs down the right side between the leg and the sphere, making it impossible to judge whether it is meant to represent a separate object or an abnormal projection of the abdomen. Two sets of bilaterally connecting suspension holes perforate the spinal column, one at the neck and the other slightly above the tassel. Still another and slightly larger hole has been drilled into the back in modern times for exhibition purposes. The piece is obviously old and the surfaces are polished by wear except in grooves where the wood remains rough. The carving is so aberrant that, perhaps with the exception of the perforated spinal column ending in the characteristic bird-man tassel, only the toromiro wood could have betrayed its origin if the provenance had not been documented.

The length is 14.5 cm., the maximum width (across shoulders) is 5 cm., and the thickness of the body, 3 cm. The piece was donated to the Museum by Dr. Andrée as early as in 1855.

PLATE 118b (Boston 53602): Moko-like male in swimming position. The material is reddish-brown wood. The head, although anthropomorphic, is turned up and back so that the face is in line with the back of the figure, the bearded chin pointing forwards. The nose is long, has a narrow cross section and narrow rounded alae. The eyes are large and carved as raised rings enclosing cup-shaped depressions that probably once had inlays. Although cracked, the upper end of the nose splits into rounded V-shaped eyebrows, outlined by the first of a series of four parallel V-shaped grooves covering the upper head and also joining in a V-shape below the chin, behind the beard. The face has no mouth but projects forward like a truncated cone, ending in a rounded rectangular beard. From the neck, the long, slim torso and limbs are reminiscent of the moko. A serrated vertebral column runs from the neck but terminates in human buttocks rather than the moko's tassel. The ribs stand out in relief. The extremely long and slender arms are bent at the elbows in moko fashion with the lower arms running forward to the throat, but they are unique in being bent once more at the throat to project freely downward at right angles and then once more bent slightly backwards before they terminate in small bulbs without fingers or toes. The right "foot" is broken and lost. The freely projecting parts of the forelimbs are divided front and back by deep grooves. The legs are stretched out behind as on a moko but there is no tail. A disk-shaped navel is indicated and from the genital area, a long narrow ridge runs all the way down between the legs as if indicating a penis. The piece has been polished and oiled, and shows evidence of considerable wear through handling.

The length is 42 cm., the maximum width (at arms) is 6.6 cm., and the maximum thickness (at chest) is 4 cm. The freely projecting sections of the front limbs are 6 cm. long. The piece belonged to the old Boston Museum Collection until transferred to the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATE 119 (Chicago 273242): Incised tablet with animal head. The material is dark toromiro wood. A flat and egg-shaped zoomorphic head is carved at the widest end of a tablet. The head has a long narrow nose and obsidian disks inlaid in rings of fish vertebrae in almond-shaped eye areas. A narrow ridge sags below the eyes and serrated eyebrows are carved above them. A long pointed muzzle is split open to form a mouth with a sharp protruding tongue. Fish vertebrae are inserted as ear ornaments and the entire head is covered with a pattern of curved grooves. The body, represented by the flat tablet, has its surface completely covered in tattoo fashion by interlocking figures outlined by incisions. Birds and bird-men dominate these ornaments which also include a fish and other motifs. The distal end, but only on one of the flat sides, is carved to represent a fish with a mouth and cup-shaped eye depression. A perforation for a suspension string is drilled near one "shoulder."

The length is 31.9 cm., the maximum width (at shoulders) is 13 cm., and the thickness of the tablet is ca. 2 cm. The piece was originally part of the Fuller Collection and was obtained on Easter Island by P. H. Edmunds in 1907, who reported that it had belonged to an islander named Kirimutu, aged over 80 years, and that the carving was made in about 1850, prior to missionary arrival.

PLATE 120 (Hooper Coll. 1113): Composite figure of female with small male upside down on head. The material is dark brown toromiro wood. The larger, female, figure has in itself no really aberrant features except perhaps an exceptionally long neck and the absence of breasts although navel and vulva are indicated. The oval head has neither pouches below the eyes nor hair, and the ears are short with cup-shaped depressions in the lobes. The small circular eyes are inlaid with obsidian disks in bone rings, the right bone ring being partly damaged. The female, with thin arms separated from the body by open slots has the long-fingered hands placed on each side of the abdomen
below the navel, reminiscent of the large stone monuments. The right hand has all its fingers, including the customary long, pointed thumb, curved upwards; the left hand has no thumb. The back of the female is transversally convex and smooth, with realistically carved asymmetrical buttocks. The stunted legs, with usual hoof-shaped feet, are set wide apart. At the back of the neck and head, the female figure carries a smaller male figure upside down. Although the total male figure is much shorter than the female, its disproportionately large head is much bigger than that of the female. The heads are almost identical except for the areas surrounding the eyes which on the male are almond-shaped and very convex. The male figure has a short, round neck, widest near the chin. It has a very round and projecting abdomen. Its arms, in high relief, are bent forward so that the fingertips join at the place of the navel. Each hand has only three fingers. The penis is represented as a round knob. The legs are wide apart and the figure is in a kneeling position although upside down. The apex of the male terminates at the level of the female’s shoulders, whereas the buttocks and legs of the male extend above the apex of the female. The piece shows beautiful workmanship and is finely polished. The height of the composite figure is 37 cm., the height of the female is 34.5 cm., and the height of the overlapping male is 17.5 cm. The maximum width (across arms of female) is 7 cm. and the maximum thickness (from the nose of the male to the chin of the female) is 9.5 cm. The authenticity of the piece is apparent although nothing is known about its age beyond the fact that it was bought from Lt. C. T. Austin Lacey, R. N. in about 1925.

PLATE 121 (Salem E-31.545): Composite figure of hermaphrodite with vulva on face and head. The material is a curved piece of dark reddish-brown toromiro wood. The main figure seems to be that of a hermaphrodite with a pendent penis and sagging female breasts. The cylindrical abdomen is carved as on the emaciated males and the birdmen, although only the clavicle bones and not the ribs are represented. The long, slim arms are asymmetrically flexed with the left hand just below the navel and the right hand close above it. Reminiscent also of a bird-man is the serrated vertebral column which ends in the usual tassel at the seat of the figure. The cylindrical neck does not carry a head, since the facial area is represented by a realistic vulva carved upside down in relation to the main figure. Another vulva is carved in high relief at the apex of the main figure. Both vulvae seem in some way to represent the exaggerated genitals of a second figure carved upside down on the neck of the main figure and truncated at the waist, lacking its upper half. With some imagination, the round feet of the small figure can be interpreted as representing eyes, the vulva with its extended clitoris as the mouth with a tongue, and the second vulva a kind of topknot. The finely polished and oiled carving is in excellent condition except for the fact that the left breast is split vertically and half of it is broken away. The length is 29.4 cm.

The sculpture was originally in the collection of the Franklin Society of Providence on Rhode Island. On receiving the piece at the Peabody Museum, E. S. Dodge, the director (1959, p. 18), pointed out that Captain N. W. Soul of the whaling ship Bowditch of Providence came back from the Pacific and presented his collection of South Sea material to the Society in June 1841. Therefore, according to Dodge, it was probably collected between 1838 and 1841, since nothing appears to have been added to the collection after that time.

PLATE 122 (London 1904. 12-20.1): Composite clublike figure of man and whale. The material is yellowish-brown wood. The object is slightly curved and somewhat clublike in appearance, decreasing in thickness towards one end. The thick end is carved like the head of a fish or whale but at the same time has a clearly phallic form, the head of the marine creature being shaped like a glans penis but for the fact that it has a realistic, open, toothed mouth in front. The head is otherwise smooth, without eyes, blowhole, or nostrils. An egg-shaped ball, or tongue somewhat flattened at the sides, fills the mouth. At the termination of the head, there is an abrupt instep to a narrower shaft clasped by a crouching human figure, beyond which the distal end of the “club” handle extends in the shape of an exaggerated penis from behind the seat of the human figure. The head of the crouching figure, carved as a mask in high relief on the shaft, is turned forward and upward so that the chin is farthest away from the shoulders. The face is fairly realistically carved and not intentionally grotesque. The eyes are lenticular and plain without inlays. The forehead projects above the curved eyebrows and is covered with transversal grooves. The mouth is wide with thin lips in low relief curving slightly upwards at the corners. The ears are not extended but carved in relief as narrow ellipses. The arms running from rounded shoulder blades, are flexed at the elbows so that the lower arms touch on the ventral side of the shaft and end in curved hands arching away from each other with the tips of the long, pointed fingers placed near the ears. The extremely long and pointed thumb is turned away from the other fingers showing the long nail worn customarily among the Easter Island aristocracy as seen from the large stone statues. A serrated spinal column runs from the apex of the human figure to its seat and from its upper section ribs curve all around the shaft to join at the ventral side, where a large and thorn-shaped xiphisternum projects over a sunken abdomen to end near the flexed knees. The legs are drawn up so much that the small feet with four serrated toes reach no farther down than to the seat, which they
touch. The unique carving is well polished, partly by wear, and is in good condition except for a secondary breakage that has removed part of the spinal column. At the top of the upper lip of the marine creature and at the bottom of the spine of the human figure there is a small perforation 2 mm. in diameter with visible indication of former nails which probably held a suspension string.

The length of the carving is 48 cm. The length of the animal head is 18 cm. The distance from its termination to the human figure is 6 cm. The length of the crouching figure without the distal penis is 18.5 cm. The maximum width and thickness (at the animal head) is 8 cm.

The piece was purchased from Mrs. Woodford in 1904.

PLATE 123a (London 1950. Oc.4.12): Hook-beaked bird covered with vulva designs. The material is a flattish angular branch of dark reddish-brown wood, possibly toromiro. A bird’s head is situated near the center with a beak and body of almost equal size projecting in either direction. The wide angle is given by the natural bend in the wood. The eyes are carved on each flat side as a raised ring perforated in the center by a single hole running right through the head. This perforation, with a diameter of 0.5 cm., has probably served for a suspension string as it is placed at the point of equilibrium. The beak is long and hooked at the end with toothlike serrations running along the edges of its opening as is common on the beak of the bird-man. Long, slightly curved and very slim wings are carved in high relief on each side of the body, their tips almost meeting at the dorsal side near the tail end of the body. Legs are not indicated but an instep is carved at the transition from the chest to the abdomen. A striking feature is that forty-three vulva symbols (komari) cover the entire carving, suggestive of feathers if not for the fact that they also cover the beak. The carving, which is obviously old, is well polished and smoothed from wear.

The length is 36 cm., the width of the head, 7 cm., and its thickness, 3.2 cm.

The carving was for some time mistakenly attributed to Mexico and was published as “Mexican” in the catalogue of the W. Oldman Collection. Although its history is obscure, it is definitely of Easter Island origin, and among the words still readable in ink on the old, faded label are: “Bird God (Make Make) Covered with Komari. God of fecundity ...”

PLATE 123b (Boston 53593): Swimming bird with human head. The material is reddish-yellow toromiro wood. The human head, carved at the end of a long curved neck, is bent backward as on a swan. A natural twist in the wood makes the face tilt upward and slightly to the side. The forehead projects considerably beyond the rest of the face and the eyebrows are only slightly raised and not grooved. The nose is exceptionally high, narrow, and straight and has once been broken off and glued back on. Nasal alae are only vaguely indicated. The eyes are carved as raised circles enclosing bone rings. Although there is no visible evidence of a former inlay in the right eye, the oval bone ring in the left eye fits so well that it must be original in spite of the fact that it has once fallen out and been reinserted with the same glue as used for repairing the nose. The cheekbones stand out realistically, but there are no sagging pouches below the eyes. The small mouth consists of thin lips raised in low relief around an oval depression. From the center of the lower lip two narrow ridges run down like a chin beard. Ears are represented near the back of the head as narrow vertical bands with a rounded cross section. The rest of the skull is plain. The small, stylized bird’s body is not much larger than the neck. Long, slim wings are carved in relief on each side and merge into each other in a wide band at their tips. Beyond this point only a blunt, round tail projects. In addition, however, a disk is carved in relief at the end of the dorsal ridge immediately before the point where the wings are joined. Marking the termination of the dorsal ridge, it stands out in relief on all sides except where linked to the spine, and is reminiscent of the tassel-like tail on the back of the standard bird-man. Just below the shoulders, the back is covered with ten pairs of ribs separated by curved grooves and framed by the wings. The ventral side is transversally rounded but otherwise unworked, and finely polished like most of the figure. The length, from tail to chin, is 18.2 cm., the maximum width (at face) is 4 cm., and the width across the shoulders is 3.2 cm. The diameter of the neck is 2.3 cm.

The piece belonged to the old Boston Museum Collection until transferred to the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATE 124a (Chicago 273243): Composite human and fish tablet with bird-men. The material is yellowish-brown toromiro wood. The general shape of the tablet is that of a fish flattened at the sides and a fish’s head is carved at the wider end. The rounded tail fin, however, is carved as a human face looking upwards. The mouth of the fish is carved as a groove in front and on each side of the tablet, and the eyes are inlaid with obsidian disks set in rings made of fish vertebrae. The head of the fish is completely covered with a pattern of asymmetrical incision lines. A dorsal and ventral crest is densely serrated to resemble the spine fins of a fish, and longitudinal grooves representing the pattern of the tail fin have the double function of also representing the hair on the human head. The facial features of the human figure are realistic, with eyes likewise inlaid, but in place of each ear there is a cup-shaped depression surrounded by a pattern of concentric grooves and ridges. On the left side of the neck of the human figure arei-miro is carved in relief, and still another occurs below the first on the transition to the tablet. Both sides of the tablet are covered with crouching bird-men in relief, some with three
and some with four fingers. Each bird-man has a cup-shaped depression centrally placed in the head for inlays, but most of them have been lost. One bird-man is placed in such a position that the inlay of its eye coincides with the eye on the left side of the fish. A transversal hole is perforated slightly below the dorsal fin forward of mid-point and through it runs a short loop of twisted fiber string. The length is 48.8 cm., the maximum width is 10.6 cm., and the maximum thickness is ca. 4 cm.

The piece reached the Museum as part of the Fuller Collection and was collected on Easter Island by the early English sheep rancher, P.H. Edmunds, in 1907, with the information that it had been carved around 1850.

PLATE 124 b (Boston 53610): Fish with human head projecting from belly. The material is reddish-brown toromiro wood. The fish is carved flat with a lenticular cross section. The wedge-shaped head is rounded and has a shallow cut on the edge indicating a small mouth. The eyes, which are also small, are inlaid with bone rings. The right eye holds an obsidian disk, but the disk from the left eye is lost. Gills are represented on each side by two finely incised, parallel grooves, and indistinct gill fins are outlined by triangles with one truncated point touching the gill. The tail fin is realistically carved but not grooved. An appendix, obtained by utilizing a natural branch in the wood, projects at the place of the fish's ventral opening. This appendix is carved as a human head with its apex running into the abdomen of the fish, as if in the process of emerging. The human face is characteristic of Easter Island art, with a straight, narrow nose and prominent eyebrows encircling convex eyes, to form sagging pouches beneath them. Parallel grooves across the forehead are reminiscent of similar features on the ceremonial aa clubs. A finger-shaped extension below the chin may represent a severed neck with a rounded base, and in this case only the scalp of the human head would be in the womb of the fish. However, if the finger-shaped termination represents a beard, then the body and limbs of the human figure are meant to be still inside the fish. The position of the neck would then be as on the bearded head in Pl. 118 b or in Pl. 122. Although the surface is smoothly carved, it shows no sign of polish from wear.

The length of the fish is 31.5 cm. The maximum width and thickness (at center) are respectively 8.5 and 1.8 cm. The length of the human appendix is 8.2 cm.

The piece formed part of the old Boston Museum Collection until transferred to the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATE 125 b (London E-P.30): Plain curved fish with convex back and bulging belly. The material is light yellow wood. The carving is very reminiscent of Pl. 125 a and differs mainly in details. The body has an oval cross section and is left with plain surfaces as opposed to the herringbone pattern running down the rounded edges of the previous specimen, which has a somewhat diamond-shaped cross section. The tongue-like tail is treated in a similar manner in both specimens, with longitudinal grooves. The mouth is closed without showing teeth as opposed to the previous specimen, and is carved, with its corners drawn down, as a curved incision line surrounded by a double set of lips in low relief. The head ornamentation is simplified with each eye represented as a circular incision surrounded by ever larger eccentric circles which eventually cover the whole head. As on the previous specimen there is a bulging protrusion on the concave ventral side above the tail section. A double pair of small perforation holes penetrate the throat area. The whole appearance of the carving is reminiscent of a short club, and a large oval and conical suspension hole is carved at the narrow end near the tail precisely as customary on some of the short Maori fighting clubs.

The length is 37.5 cm., the maximum width (across abdomen) is 9 cm. and the maximum thickness (across head) is 4 cm.

The authenticity of the sculpture is shown by the fact that it was an early donation by H. Cumming after his visit to Easter Island in 1828.

PLATE 126 a (Berlin VI 13229): Animal head with grooved surface. The material is old eroded wood, possibly toromiro. Although certain aspects of this carving are very similar to the fish head described in Pl. 52 a, particularly the general outline and the special treatment of the rear and ventral side, some other features make it doubtful as to whether we can definitely identify it as a fish's head. Thus, the nasal area has a pronounced snout typical of a mammal and the carving could possibly represent the head of a rat. However, on comparison with Pl. 130 certain aspects of
the snout and mouth suggest a similarity in style to the turtle head. An aberrant detail not otherwise easy to explain is the carving of the mouth since it is represented as two broad and widely separated grooves, one on each side of the head, with no connection between them. These separate depressions, of which the right one is badly eroded, are about 4.5 cm. long and terminate at about 2.5 cm. from the tip of the snout. Rows of small rectangular teeth are separated by incision lines. The eyes are carved as raised rings around cup-shaped depressions, and traces of paste show that they have formerly been inlaid. A broad band covered with incisions in a herringbone pattern runs from the snout across apex to the neck, and a similar band in low relief, but without incision lines, extends from the pointed lower edge of the snout to the groove on the ventral side. Patterns of parallel longitudinal grooves radiating from the nasal area cover the sides of the head. The ventral side is carved as a deep and wide groove, along the bottom of which runs a rounded ridge incised with a herringbone pattern. This groove with its central ridge bends around to fill most of the truncated back of the head, where the ridge is transversally perforated for a suspension line. The length is 11 cm., the height is 7.5 cm., and the thickness, 6 cm.

Although the history of this pendant is obscure, its age and authenticity are obvious.

PLATE 126 b (Dresden 18365): Realistic forepart of a fish. The material is a heavy brown wood that is not toromiro, with strains of a lighter color. The carving is simple and realistic. The craterlike eye concavities are surrounded by concentric circles and have possibly lost a former inlay. The mouth is carved as a furrow curving around the front, with teeth indicated as short incisions. Three curved grooves mark the gill area. The dorsal side is beveled to a blunt ridge whereas the ventral side is covered with two parallel wide and deep longitudinal grooves. The body of the fish is truncated at some distance from the head, the cut leaving a short central projection which is perforated and still holds the remains of a string of twisted brown fiber. The fish is bilaterally symmetrical. The length is 20.2 cm., the height, 10 cm., and the thickness, 6.1 cm.

The piece was collected on Easter Island in 1883 by the Geiseler Expedition.

PLATE 126 c (Oslo 21828): Realistic fish head. The material is dark brown toromiro wood. The carving represents a realistic fish head truncated at the gills. The cross section is egg-shaped with the narrow end inclined upward. The eye is a raised ring enclosing a convex disk carved in higher relief than the ring. The mouth, which curves from one side of the head to the other, has raised lips more open at the sides than in front and exposing rows of incised teeth.

Three curved gills are carved as grooves on each side of the head. The V-shaped area enclosed by the rear gills is sunk below the general surface on the ventral side and is incised with a herringbone pattern. The truncated neck area is convex and asymmetrically perforated for a suspension string. The surface is polished to a shine but leaves no impression of great antiquity although its history vouches for its authenticity.

The length is 11.6 cm., the height, 7.6 cm., and the width, 5.5 cm.

The piece was collected by Captain Arup in 1868.

PLATE 126 d (Dresden 24812): Flat, straight fish with suspension hole in ventral fin. The material is heavy, brown toromiro wood. A flat and broad tablet has been carved as a bilaterally symmetrical fish with a realistic pattern of incision lines covering the tail, dorsal, and ventral fins. The small, round head is outlined by a pair of curved incision lines representing gills. The eyes, each of which is surrounded by an incised circle, are inlaid with small bone rings whose obsidian disks are lost. The mouth is a small transversal cut in front. There is a deep, natural pit in the wood near the tail fin. The small semicircular ventral fin is perforated for a suspension string.

The length is 38 cm., and the maximum width and thickness (near center) are respectively 13.5 and 3.5 cm.

The piece reached the Museum in 1907 from C. Marquardt, director of the German Army, Navy, and Colonial Exhibition in Berlin that year.

PLATE 127 a (Honolulu B. 3571): Conch pendant. The material is old and extremely eroded toromiro wood. Although the piece is considerably worm-eaten and mutilated by decay, the very realistic shape of the seashell can be verified. The wide slot-like opening of a conch is represented by a deep, slightly arched groove. The pointed end of the shell shows the remains of two encircling grooves indicating its spiral form. A third groove seems to be lost through erosion. A narrow perforation for a suspension string is bored through the lip of the opening at the broad end. The limited sections of the original surface still preserved show a perfect workmanship and polish (cf. Pl. 128).

The length is 10.8 cm., and the maximum diameters are 5.8 × 6.6 cm.

The piece has the same provenience as Pl. 96 a and its authenticity cannot be doubted.

PLATE 127 b (Berlin VI 24941): Swordlike club with fish head. The material is yellow-brown toromiro wood. The club has a lenticular cross section but near one end the sharp edges become rounded for a grip which is carved into the shape of a bilaterally symmetrical fish head. The eyes, which are crudely scooped out and might have lost a for-
mer inlay, are outlined by a ring in lower relief. The mouth is a deep cut in front running down on each side. The gills are carved as five raised bands. The length is 100 cm., and the maximum width and thickness (at mid-point) are respectively 8 and 3 cm. The piece was collected on Easter Island toward the end of the nineteenth century and presented to the Museum by A. Baesler in 1905.

PLATE 127 c (Dresden 18414): Twisted eel. The material is a naturally twisted branch of *toromiro* wood that has been made to look like an eel by shaping one end as a head. The eyes have been inlaid with bone rings and obsidian disks but only those of the right eye remain. No mouth, gills, or fins are indicated, and the tail is only flattened. The length is 78 cm. The piece was collected by the German expedition led by Geiseler in 1882.

PLATE 127 d (Berlin VI 24948): *Spatular-shaped club with probable turtle head*. The material is yellowish-brown *toromiro* wood. The club has a rounded lenticular cross section with rounded ends and is bilaterally symmetrical. The short, flat grip is carved as the head of an animal, probably a turtle. The eyes are raised as convex disks and the mouth is cut transversally at the transition from the front to the ventral side. The length is 62 cm., and the width and thickness are respectively 12.5 and 3.5 cm. The provenience is the same as for Pl. 127 b.

PLATE 127 e (Dresden 18369): Moray eel with gaping mouth. The material is a twisted chunk of dark imported wood. The natural twists of the wood have been utilized to represent the fish merely by modifying the thick end to a head. The eyes are inlaid with bone rings enclosing obsidian disks. The mouth is large and gaping with short transversal grooves indicating teeth. A rough protrusion resembling a short tongue has been left in the mouth. Gills are represented by two parallel curved incision lines. No fins are indicated. The length is 85 cm. and the diameter of the roundish cross section about 17 cm. The provenience is the same as for Pl. 127 c.

PLATE 128 (Santiago-Nat. 5507): Cowrie shell. The material is a hard and heavy brown wood. The sculptor has imitated the shape of the mollusk (pure) in every detail, including the pattern of transversal grooves surrounding the opening. A small perforation for a suspension string runs transversally through the corner of the shell's opening at the narrower end and shows signs of probable wear. The piece is an example of excellent workmanship and all surfaces are finely polished (cf. Pl. 127 a).

The width is 7.7 cm., and the thickness, measured at the apex, is 5.7 cm. The piece reached the Museum before 1872 and was probably collected on the island by Policarpo Toro.

PLATE 129 a (Vienna 22868): *Octopus*. The material is yellowish-brown *toromiro* wood. The animal is realistically carved with an egg-shaped body slightly flattened from the ventral side and with eight flexed tentacles clustered in front. The eyes are small obsidian disks enclosed in bone rings, but the obsidian of the right eye is missing. The tentacles are carved as if bent at mid-length and turned back toward the ventral side of the head, four toward the left and four toward the right. Some suction disks are illustrated as small rings carved in low relief; others as mere pits of irregular size. At mid-length on the ventral side there are two lugs perforated for a suspension string, placed lengthwise and 1 cm. apart. When suspended, the octopus will hang with the tentacles upwards since they are thinner than the body. The piece is obviously old and is an example of fine workmanship. The length is 19 cm., and the maximum width and thickness of the body (at its center) are respectively 5.2 and 3.5 cm. Corresponding measurements for the tentacles are 5.6 and 1.6 cm. The piece was purchased from the firm Klée und Kocher in Hamburg and presented to the Museum in 1886.

PLATE 129 b (Oslo 2445): *Chiton*. The material is light grayish-yellow wood, probably *Hibiscus tiliaeus*. A very realistic chiton is represented with its convex back, and its ventral suction side slightly convex longitudinally and slightly concave transversally. Thirteen joints of the animal are represented correctly as if superimposed like the tiles of a roof. A furrow running around the edges encloses the joints and separates them from the outer rim. A similar furrow on the ventral side separates the shell from the suction disk. At mid-length this edge is perforated and contains a suspension string made of finely twisted human hair almost black but with a noticeably reddish tint. The length of the carving is 14.7 cm., and the maximum width and thickness (at center) are respectively 7.7 and 2.3 cm. The loop of the suspension string, when held taut, has a length of about 25 cm. The provenience is the same as Pl. 113 and its authenticity can, therefore, not be doubted.

PLATE 130 a (Cologne 32600): *Turtle head with red-painted mouth*. The material is a medium heavy, brownish wood. The head is bilaterally asymmetrical. The right eye has a flat-bottomed central concavity clearly carved to contain an inlay, whereas the left eye is not similarly hollowed out and has its surface merely irregularly pitted. This difference is accentuated but not caused by the fact
The raised rings surrounding the left eye have been gnawed away by rats. There is little reason to suspect that the work is unfinished since all other details including the painted mouth are completed, yet it should not be forgotten that the eye sockets were not scooped out on the large statues until all other details were finished. The cup-shaped depression of the right eye is surrounded by two concentric rings, the inner of which is stepped up in higher relief than the outer. Behind each eye are two scythe-shaped crests with triangular cross sections, incised with a herringbone pattern. Behind them, and arched around the largest of these crests there are two fishlike creatures occurring symmetrically on each side and around the back of the turtle head. Their split tails encompass each corner of the turtle's mouth. The tail as well as the body of each fish is covered with longitudinal grooves. The heads of the fishes are beaked and resemble a lobster's claws or even hook-beaked birds' heads with large circular eyes. The tops of these curved beams touch each other and cover the apex of the turtle head. Immediately in front of them are two deep slots representing the nostrils of the turtle. The rest of the turtle's head and beak is covered with parallel incision lines. The bottom of the realistically carved mouth shows clear vestiges of ochre-colored paint. There are two transversally placed, V-shaped perforations for a suspension string, one set at the extreme rear of the head in the sunken area between the fishlike bodies and the other about 3.5 cm. farther in front on the ventral side. The marks of rats' teeth are visible in several parts of the carving. The length is 13 cm. The maximum height and thickness (at center) are respectively 8 and 6.5 cm. The piece was purchased in Hamburg and presented to the Museum in 1915.

PLATE 130 b (Christchurch E. 150, 1125): Turtle head with raised snout and bird reliefs. The material is a medium-heavy reddish-brown wood, possibly toromiro. The general shape is that of the previous specimen. The eyes were inlaid with large obsidian disks in bone rings, but the left-side inlay is lost and the right-side obsidian disk is exceptionally crude and probably represents a secondary repair. Two raised concentric rings surround each eye, while another outer ring covered with an incised herringbone pattern is slightly displaced backwards in such a way that its rear section is wider and more prominently raised in relief. The opening of the turtle's beak is a lenticular depression on each side incised with a herringbone pattern similar to the mouth of another carving illustrated in Pl. 130 d. The ventral side is deeply grooved throughout its length and breadth and covered with an incised herringbone pattern. The nose is represented as a long, narrow band in relief, covered with longitudinal incision lines, ending in a raised and flaring semicircular snout with deep nostrils. In a bilaterally symmetrical position on each side of the upper head are two birds or birdlike figures in relief, filling the space between the two eyebrows. Each of them is composed of a large eye represented by three concentric circles from which a sharply bent aquiline beak emerges in front, and a thick neck, composed of parallel grooves, extends backward to the fishlike body and barblike wings. The body, which terminates in a split tail resembling that of a fish, is bisected by a groove crossed by incised lines in a herringbone pattern. Incised grooves forming four concentric diamonds fill the space between the birds' necks on the apex of the turtle's head. A vertical perforation for a suspension string runs from the area between the tips of the birds' wings down to the ventral groove. The length is 10.6 cm., and the maximum height and thickness (near center) are respectively 7 and 5.6 cm. The history of the piece is obscure other than its having formerly been part of the Oldman Collection, numbered 348.

PLATE 130 c (Dresden 18448): Turtle head with indented neck and bird reliefs. The material is brown wood. The carving is strongly reminiscent of the turtle head in Pl. 130 b and the eyes are similar to the above specimen but the obsidian disks are inlaid directly into the wood. The right disk has been lost. The design surrounding the eyes is the same as on the previous specimen except that there are three concentric inner rings instead of two. Even the detail of the two large-eyed birds with aquiline beaks and fishlike tails is strikingly similar to that of the previous specimen. The treatment of the mouth and the ventral depression are also the same as on the previous specimen. The nasal ridge is plain and ungrooved and ends in a flaring snout with carved nostrils, but the snout does not project in high relief as on the previous specimen. Seen from behind, this carving takes the form of a horseshoe-shaped ridge surrounding a deep furrow continuing into the ventral side. This ridge is covered with a continuous row of small cubes with rounded corners. The length of this specimen is 11.6 cm., and the maximum height and width are respectively 7.2 and 7.7 cm. This piece was bought for the Museum by Baesler in London in 1899, but otherwise its history is obscure.

PLATE 130 d (K-T 1189): Turtle head with undecorated apex. The material, although hard to identify since it is pitted through erosion, is a fine-grained reddish wood, probably toromiro. The bilaterally symmetrical carving is obviously related to the two specimens described above but with the marked distinction that there is no bird motif or other ornament on the crest of the head. The treatment of the eye is basically that of the two previous carvings. An obsidian disk is inserted directly into the wood and surrounded by a raised, circular band. Immediately in front of this ring there is a sickle-shaped relief almost forming a semicircle. The ring and this relief are jointly encircled by
a raised spiral beginning behind and below the eye and running forward with increasing width until encircling the central section 1½ times, ending in a point at the corner of the beak. The rear section of this band is incised with a herringbone pattern. The opening of the beak, as well as the nasal ridge and snout, is very similar to the figure in Pl. 130c, and the parallel incision lines running forward from the eye also follow the general pattern of that carving. The neck area, however, is treated differently. Placed vertically at the back of the head there is a wide oval ring surrounding a perforation. This perforation, possibly carved with a rat’s tooth, runs in a curve to another opening on the ventral side below the ring. The ventral side is carved as a wide depression throughout its length, but between the beak and the ventral perforation hole, and placed side by side, are two cup-shaped depressions, 0.6 cm wide and 0.3 cm deep, each surrounded by two raised concentric rings. When found, the carving was covered with white paint. This had, unfortunately, been removed by the Easter Island finder, and only traces remain in the furrows. The left obsidian inlay is original, but the right was replaced by the finder when the original was lost in his house. The length is 12.9 cm. The maximum width and thickness (near center) are respectively 8.5 and 6.6 cm.

This wooden turtle head, obtained by the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition upon its arrival in 1955, according to Engler (viva voce), had been discovered by an islander in a habitation cave in Hanga-o-teo a short time before. From the description of the circumstances in which it was found, it was probably not deliberately concealed in a cache but left behind where last stored by the final occupant of the dwelling. Hanga-o-teo has not been inhabited since pre-missionary times, and the authenticity of the carving cannot be doubted.

PLATE 131 (Boston 53608): Realistic turtle. The material is yellowish-brown toromiro wood. With the exception of the head, which is slightly exaggerated in size, the carving is a fairly accurate representation of a turtle. The eyes have deep, oval depressions without inner polish and show evidence of having had both ring and central disk inlays. Small holes represent nasal openings. The mouth is grooved with notched edges. The egg-laying region is bulging. A lug carved at the throat is intended for a suspension string. The piece is carved and polished with outstanding skill and has subsequently been varnished, but probably not by its creator.

The length is 13 cm. The maximum width and thickness (near center) are respectively 7.9 and 5 cm. The piece formed part of the old Boston Museum Collection until transferred to the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATE 132 (Vienna 22866): Long-beaked hunched bird. The material is a large piece of heavy wood varnished to imitate the color of toromiro. The natural curvature of the wood has been exploited to carve the long neck and beak at right angles to the bird’s body. The long neck runs on into the beak with a diminishing oval cross section interrupted only by a flattened spherical head carved on top as a bulging protuberance. The surface of the head is entirely covered with concentric incision lines around a central inlay of an obsidian disk in a bone ring. The inlay of the left eye is missing but remains of a black adhesive are visible. The edges of the beak opening are serrated by fine grooves. The body and tail are realistic and the long, thin wings are folded flat along the ventral side to join in a point below the end of the tail. Parallel incision lines on the ventral side of the wings and the tail indicate feathers.

The height from the shoulders to the tips of the wings is 38 cm. The combined length of the neck and the beak is 30 cm. The width across the shoulders is 15 cm., and the thickness at the chest is 7 cm. The history of the piece, which formerly belonged to the Westenholz Collection, is obscure, but the attempt to imitate the color of toromiro wood indicates a post-missionary origin.

PLATE 133 (Dunedin D.34. 602): Curved bird with feathers and feet. The material is a curved piece of wood, possibly toromiro, with some light yellow and some dark reddish-brown sections. The artist has exploited the natural curvature of the wood to form a graciously curved, flat-tish bird. The eyes are inlaid with obsidian disks in bone rings and are surrounded by concentric incision lines which are lined by an additional series of semicircles on the rear side, covering the back of the head. The beak is realistically pointed and slightly open. The legs are carved in relief and are stretched down to the base of the tail. Patterns of grooves indicating feathers cover the entire body and wings of the bird, leaving only the beak, the neck, and the legs plain and smoothly polished. The grooves, cut with a metal tool, are unpolished and leave the impression that the figure is unfinished.

The height is 40.5 cm. The maximum width and thickness of the body are respectively 10 and 4 cm.

The carving is a recent acquisition and probably was produced for sale at the end of the nineteenth century.

PLATE 134a (London n. n.): Clublike bird with nose on beak. The material is a grayish-yellow wood, possibly Hibiscus tiliaceus. The long and slim bird is carved somewhat like a club with the tail end forming a grip. The round head has small eyes consisting of protruding disks with a shallow central depression. The beak is open with an outstretched tongue, and the tips of both the upper and lower part of the beak, as well as the tongue, are damaged as if hammered against a hard material. On top of the beak there is a long and narrow human nose with small alae and nostrils.
Narrow, flexed wings are carved in relief. Neither feet nor genitals are indicated. A perforation 0.4 cm. in diameter appears 3.5 cm. from the tail end. The length is 39 cm.

The history of the carving is obscure, but it is worm-eaten and seems to be one of the very early acquisitions of the Museum.

PLATE 134 b (Brussels E.T. 35. 5. 297): Egg-shaped bird with spine and tassel. The material is light brown toromiro wood. Both body and head are roughly egg-shaped, and on the head the pointed end represents the blunt beak. On each side of the head there are marks of the teeth of rats which have eaten away raised rings surrounding former depressions that might have held inlays. The opening of the beak is carved as a very distinct groove and the upper part of the beak is covered with a pattern of very fine incision lines radiating from between the eyes. The bird has no neck but vestiges of a raised spine run down the entire back to a buttonlike protuberance shaped and grooved like the standard tassel at the end of the spine of the bird-man and moko figures. At the base, about 1 cm. in front of the dorsal tassel, and of the same size as the tassel, there is a raised oval enclosing a central button, indicating the bird's sexual organs. Feet are not represented and only the left wing is shown, outlined by a series of thin incision lines. A suspension hole runs through the upper part of the spine. At the chest there is an unworked depression caused by a fault in the wood. The design and workmanship are not outstanding but the piece has all the aspects of being genuine and old, probably found in a cave.

The height is 13 cm. The maximum width and thickness of the body are respectively 7 and 8 cm.

The carving was a gift to Dr. Lavachery from an islander during the visit of the Franco-Belgian Expedition in 1934–35.

PLATE 135 a (Boston 53607): Cock's head with neck. The material is a twisted piece of yellowish-brown toromiro wood. Natural irregularities in the wood have been exploited to create a cock's head with a prominent flaring comb. The usual obsidian and bone inlay is surrounded by two concentric rings separated from each other by an incision line and raised in relief above a third outer ring which is larger and carved in lower relief. The rest of the head with the beak and two flaps is realistic. The neck is twisted and terminates in a blunt hooklike point, following the grain of the wood. The carving is completed and smoothed but not polished and without signs of wear.

The length is 15.5 cm. The span from the beak to the comb is 11 cm., and the maximum thickness (across the eyes) is 4 cm.

The piece was part of the old Boston Museum Collection until transferred to the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATE 135 b (Honolulu B. 3572 [same number as following specimen]): Burned fragment of bird. The material may be toromiro wood, but this is uncertain as it is too eroded and burned for identification on sight. This old and badly mutilated fragment shows the long and slender neck section of a bird and adjoining parts of a head and body. The round head has two bilaterally placed cup-shaped cavities representing eyes which were probably once inlaid in the customary manner. A deep round-bottomed groove splits the damaged head vertically in front but this is the result of damage, partly caused by rats. The almost egg-shaped body section has remains of wings carved in high relief on each side, but the tips of the wings as well as the rear of the bird are completely consumed by fire.

The length of the fragment is 13 cm., the width (across the base of the wings), 5.5 cm., and the diameter of the neck, ca. 2 cm.

The provenience is the same as for the following specimen and Pl. 96 a. The damage is probably due to tribal war or the influence of the first missionaries.

PLATE 135 c (Honolulu B. 3572 [same number as previous specimen]): Extremely eroded bird. The material is probably toromiro wood. The carving is so thoroughly eroded that no original surfaces are left, although the remaining wood is exceedingly hard. The roughly rounded head has no features left but the rudimentary base of the beak. The neck section, however, is well preserved, forming a narrow contraction between head and body. The body, apparently realistic, narrows to a short, once probably fan-shaped bird's tail, which now seems to be twisted sideways. Traces of wings, formerly represented in relief, can be discerned on each side of the body. The entire carving arches slightly from head to tail and is suggestive of some of the swimming birds carved in stone.

The length is 13.5 cm. The maximum width and thickness (of body) are respectively 3.6 and 3.4 cm.

The provenience of this piece is as for Pl. 96 a and Pl. 135 b, and its great antiquity is apparent.

PLATE 135 d (Ratton Coll. n. n.): Seated, short-beaked bird-man. The figure is bizarre and differs in many aspects from the now standardized type of bird-man (Pls. 38–39). The face has neither ears nor nose, but a short snoutlike projection which, like the rest of the head, is flattened at the sides. The eye concavities have probably lost a former inlay. The wings join in the typical disk-and-tassel motif representing the bird's tail, but the disk projects so as to be almost hemispherical. Three-fingered hands, simultaneously assuming the appearance of protruding ribs, branch off from the wings to the chest according to the usual bird-man pattern. Small breasts and a large navel project strongly, and an erect penis is carved between the thighs of the seated figure. The rear of the figure and all of the
neck are covered with V-shaped feather designs. The original perforation hole across the spine has been worn through to become an open groove, and a secondary hole of the same size has been made slightly above it. The length is 19.5 cm., the thickness at the chest, 4.5 cm., and the maximum width (across the wings), 6 cm. The specimen had been the property of Mr. Angel Zarraga, an early collector of primitive art, until purchased by its present owner in about 1930. Otherwise this sculpture has circulated as a collector's item and the earlier history is obscure.

PLATE 136 a (Boston 53606): Tangata-mana with essentially bird features. This small version of a bird-man, carved from a light wood, differs from the now standardized type in lacking eyebrows or any other anthropomorphic features apart from the lower section with the usual human legs. It is of unmistakable antiquity, and was transferred from the old Boston Museum Collection in 1899.

PLATES 136 b, 137 (New York S-5309): Bird-man with rongo-rongo signs. This figure, carved from a comparatively light wood tinted dark brown, differs from the now common type of tangata-mana mainly in the presence of a large number of rongo-rongo signs, incised on its surface. The signs have been carved to a very shallow depth, and are almost invisible from wear. They occur in lines on many parts of the figure, although they are best visible on the right side of the belly and hips. Others occur on the chest, the stout neck, the head, the upper and lower parts of the beak, and, although barely discernible, on part of the back. The signs appear to have a purely ornamental or magic function, as they are not grouped in boustrophedon or in regular rows. Each sign is about 2 cm. tall, all appear to conform to normal rongo-rongo characters, and those which are not entirely non-figurative do, as usual, represent crouching felines, hook-beaked birds, large-eared human figures, and star-shaped bodies. The bird-man statuette has otherwise the basic aspects of the well-known tangata-mana. The fact that all surfaces are simplified and smooth may be ascribed to their function as a base for rongo-rongo inscriptions. Thus, for instance, the chest projects as usual, but has no ribs, although three parallel, curved grooves representing ribs occur on the upper right half of the back but not on the left side. The wings, correspondingly, have no feathers indicated, and a narrow ridge down the long, straight back has only some very short incision lines to indicate the usually exaggerated spine. A small transversal perforation near mid-length seems to show evidence of wear from a suspension string. The eyes have never been inlaid, but project as convex buttons. A realistic human nose with rounded alae is carved on top of the long beak at its base, but unlike Pls. 38 and 39, no human mouth is indicated.

The height is 33 cm., the maximum width (across wings), 8 cm., and the thickness (at belly), 6.2 cm. The specimen appears to have been acquired about 1891. The tinted surface seems a secondary addition. The various evidence of considerable wear, combined with the fact that the male organ formerly present has been removed by crude cuts, seems to indicate beyond reasonable doubt the authenticity of the carving.

PLATES 138, 139 (Braunschweig, n. n.): Squatting bird-man with split beard as beak. The material is brownish toromiro wood. The treatment of the head section is highly aberrant, whereas the rest of the figure follows the bird-man norm in most details although the belly and the spine do not have the usual emaciated appearance and the legs are bent in a squatting position rather than being straight. The human ears are placed in a horizontal position below the formerly inlaid eyes, showing that the head is turned upwards rather than forwards. When viewed from above, that is, en face, the head assumes the features of a human, or at least anthropomorphic, face with a long, split beard, recalling Captain Cook's (1777, Vol. 1. p. 308) noteworthy record from the Marquesas: "They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin ..." A realistic, short and vaguely aquiline nose is present, but unlike the analogous case with a combined beard and beak in the Leningrad specimen of Pls. 38–39, no mouth is represented. Furthermore, when the head is viewed in profile, and is thus that of a bird, no opening in the beak is indicated. Two flaps below the base of the beak suggest the wattles of a hen, but the length of the beak is indicative of some different, mythical species.

The height is 18 cm., and the length from the tip of the beak to the back of the head is 9.4 cm. The width of the face below the eyes is 2.2 cm., and the maximum width and thickness (profile) of the beard are 2.7 and 1.3 cm. respectively. The present pedestal on which the figure is mounted is of recent, extra-island origin. The figure is obviously old and authentic and has been carved with a crude tool leaving traces, especially on the neck, as of an obsidian instrument, although it is otherwise smoothly polished. The specimen was first commented on in 1899 by R. Andree (1899, pp. 389–90) who wrote that it had been acquired in San Francisco, having been originally brought there by a captain from the South Seas.

PLATES 140 a, 141 a (Oxford III 152): Moko-like rat. The material is reddish-brown toromiro wood. The general appearance of the carving is that of the usual lizardlike moko, but the head is that of a rat. The eyes are carved in high relief as convex disks. The almond-shaped rims of the ears are also raised in high relief and at the tip of the muzzle appears a snout without nostrils, but otherwise
realistically carved. The area of the chin and mouth is covered with the long fingers of the slender, flexed arms, the left hand with three fingers, the right hand with four. The short and slender hind legs terminate in small anthropomorphic feet without toes. The ribs are outlined by incision lines but sexual parts are not indicated. From the shoulder blades, a vertical column runs as an indented ridge down as far as to the hips. A small perforation runs through the spinal ridge just below the shoulders. The tail is obliquely sawn off, probably secondarily at a place where a defect in the wood is visible and the cut is polished to a perfect shine. Two natural faults in the wood create irregular depressions in the lower parts of the vertebral column. The piece, which is old and smoothly polished, partly through wear, has once been rubbed with oil. The length is 31 cm., and the maximum width and thickness (near mid-length) are both 5 cm.

The sculpture was donated by General Pitrivers' secretary, Mr. H. St. George Gray, who had bought it at a small sale in Taunton in 1904. Its earlier history is obscure.

PLATES 140 b, 141 b (London E-P. 16): Animal supported at the chest by rocklike pedestal. The material is a chunk of dark brown wood, possibly toromiro, crudely carved to resemble a somewhat seal-like animal resting with its chest on a roughly shaped block. The head is carved like a truncated cone with a deep groove representing the mouth. The eyes are carved as small, deeply incised circles. The rounded oblong ears are placed on each side of the head, seemingly with pendent flaps. The head is separated from the body by a deep and wide groove. The body has an elongated pear shape terminating in a stumpy, pointed tail below and beyond which two joined hind flippers taper into a sharper point. The front flippers are crudely indicated. The supporting block is crudely cut from the same piece to resemble a rock. Its sharp point in front below the animal's head is probably the practical result of chopping from all sides. The base is flattish but unworked. The surface has been only lightly polished and the marks of a blunt tool are still visible. The length of the animal is 19.5 cm., and the maximum length of the block is 12 cm. The maximum widths of the animal and the block are respectively 6 and 7.5 cm.

The Museum catalogue provides no information other than the fact that the sculpture is from Easter Island.

PLATE 142 (Salem E-25404): Crouching mammal without tail. The material is a light yellow wood as that of the previous specimen, and the carving itself is strikingly similar to it. Again, the head is separated from the body by a narrower neck section, but in this case the head is more triangular when seen from above and is horizontal to the prime body instead of at right angles. The head has a realistic snout like that of a cat and a huge mouth running around the head on each side with raised lips separated by a thin groove. The large eyes are round and bulging with deep central depressions which have once contained inlays now lost. The eyebrows, incised with a hair pattern as on the previous specimen, meet in a V on the forehead and once more continue uninteruptedly as a hairy band, or whiskers, between the mouth and the nose. There is no chin but another band like that of the eyebrows and upper lip runs below the lower lip to terminate in the spirally-shaped ear on both sides of the head. As on the previous specimen, the ear is erect, short, and round. The apex of the head is carved as a raised hump. The neck is ornamented with three undulating parallel grooves recalling the incisions on the necks of some of the large stone statues. The body and limbs are again carved in the crouching position of the animal represented in the previous sculpture, and the resemblance to a stalking feline ready to pounce is still more striking. The front paws meet under the throat while which merge to form a broader band crosshatched to resemble an eyebrow whose same hair pattern continues down to both sides of the mouth. The mouth is a deeply cut V-shaped groove at the extremity of the muzzle. Above it, in place of the nostrils, there is an oval, funnel-shaped perforation that passes through the head to an opening in the throat. This hole could have been used for a suspension cord but was, at the time of examination, filled with crumpled parts of an old printed paper. The ears, which are short, round and erect, are carved as raised spirals, the outer ridges of which continue into the grooved patterns on the cheeks. This pattern of parallel grooves also covers the rest of the head. The forelegs are carved in high relief with large oval shoulder blades and are flexed in the typical crouching position of carnivorous mammals. The hind legs are also carved in high relief with large flanks. The hind legs are thicker than the forelegs, and are decorated with parallel grooves which curve around the flanks in a whorl. Their paws are broken off and lost. The animal has never had a tail and its sexual parts are not indicated. The vertebral column is raised and four ribs are carved in relief in spite of the fact that the animal is not otherwise emaciated since the abdomen is bulging. The length is 15.5 cm.

Nothing is known about this carving apart from the fact that it was collected before 1870 and is thus obviously a genuine sample of aboriginal Easter Island art.

PLATE 143 (Salem E-13896): Crouching mammal with tassel. The material is the same light yellow wood as that of the previous specimen, and the carving itself is strikingly similar to it. Again, the head is separated from the body by a narrower neck section, but in this case the head is more triangular when seen from above and is horizontal to the prime body instead of at right angles. The head has a realistic snout like that of a cat and a huge mouth running around the head on each side with raised lips separated by a thin groove. The large eyes are round and bulging with deep central depressions which have once contained inlays now lost. The eyebrows, incised with a hair pattern as on the previous specimen, meet in a V on the forehead and once more continue uninterrupted as a hairy band, or whiskers, between the mouth and the nose. There is no chin but another band like that of the eyebrows and upper lip runs below the lower lip to terminate in the spirally-shaped ear on both sides of the head. As on the previous specimen, the ear is erect, short, and round. The apex of the head is carved as a raised hump. The neck is ornamented with three undulating parallel grooves recalling the incisions on the necks of some of the large stone statues. The body and limbs are again carved in the crouching position of the animal represented in the previous sculpture, and the resemblance to a stalking feline ready to pounce is still more striking. The front paws meet under the throat while
the hind ones meet behind an anthropomorphic penis. The raised and rounded buttocks are also very anthropomorphic. Above them is the tassel characteristic of the birdman and the moko. This tassel is, as usual, carved at the base of a raised vertebral column which is more realistic than normal, apart from a raised lug for a suspension string. Three ribs are carved in relief although this figure has an even more pronounced bulging abdomen than the previous specimen. This animal is also carved without any kind of tail.

The length is 22 cm.

Although closely related to the previous specimen, this carving was not received by the Museum until 1910 and its earlier history is unknown.

PLATE 144 a (Boston 53605): Small crouching animal with slot on ventral side. The material is light, yellowish wood, probably Hibiscus tiliaceus. Nearly half the length of the crude figure is made up of a long head separated from the body by a groove. There is no clear neck and the head is turned up with the chin pointing forward and the apex joined to the body. A straight, narrow nose without alae is carved in relief and runs into two curved and equally plain eyebrows. Eyes are absent, although a vague bulge seems to indicate the right one. Fore limbs are absent but hind legs are flexed in U-shape as raised bands covered with transversal incision lines. From the head a serrated spine runs down to the rectum. The ventral side is transversally convex and plain except for a deep longitudinal groove or slot with a rounded cross section. Toward the front of the figure, this channel curves inward to continue as a perforation opening in front as if to represent the small rounded mouth of the figure. Correspondingly, the rear end of the channel curves inward to emerge as an open rectum. A short twisted string is attached to the perforation at the rectum. Although there is no visible evidence of the present specimen having been used for fire making, this carving is directly related to the Honolulu specimen illustrated in Pl. 144 b. The figure is crudely carved and has never been polished.

The length is 14 cm. The maximum width and thickness (near center) are respectively 5.8 and 4 cm. The length of the groove is 10.5 cm., and its width is about 0.7 cm. The depth of the groove at center is 0.5 cm., deepening towards each end.

The piece belonged to the old Boston Museum Collection until it was transferred to the Peabody Museum in 1899.

PLATE 144 b (Honolulu B. 3574): Phallic object with slot and separate but associated leg. The material of the main figure is a very light yellowish wood, probably Hibiscus tiliaceus. The general form of the carving is elongated loaf-shaped with one end realistically carved into a glans penis with its opening perforated into the ventral slot.

The other end is also carved to resemble a glans penis, although it is simultaneously clearly meant to represent an animal head. Bilaterally placed cup-shaped depressions represent the eyes of this head which is shorter and narrower than that of the other end. The eye depressions are surrounded by a raised relief enclosing a curved incision line which, before erosion, seems to have formed part of a spiral. On the right side, this feature is entirely lost by erosion. A perforation, which on this side seems to represent the mouth of the animal head, opens into the rear end of the ventral slot. The resemblance to an animal mouth is increased by a transversal groove crossing this opening and extending part of the way down each side. The ventral slot is strikingly similar to that of the previous specimen which has a similar groove ending in a short tunnel at each end. An added feature, however, is a small round hole set vertically into the tunnel on the wide penis end. If this phallic specimen served for fire rubbing, the associated leg would fit perfectly. Hot wood powder would be pushed from the slot into the tunnel-shaped penis opening and the vertical perforation hole would serve for blowing on the powder to produce a glow. The whole appearance of the carving suggests a practical function and the material is in itself of the type ideal for fire rubbing as learned by the writer through practical experience in Polynesia. The specimen is very eroded and partly rat-eaten.

The length is 14 cm. The maximum width (at main head) is 5.2 cm., and the maximum thickness at mid-length is 4.3 cm.

The leg is of the same light yellow wood. It is likely that this very old and eroded piece, although long, is the fragment of a human figurine since the thigh end appears to be a roughly broken termination subsequently eroded and smoothed. The back of the knee and calf is realistically curved, but the short foot has the same almost hooflike shape with vestiges of vertical grooves indicating toes as usual on the human figurines. Probably the leg has been used secondarily for rubbing fire in the slot of the phallic specimen since the rear side of the broken end fits the slot perfectly.

The length of the leg is 15 cm.

The provenience is the same as for Pl. 96 a and its authenticity cannot be doubted.

PLATE 145 a (Vienna 22853): Phallic, zoomorphic figurine with slot. As for the previous carvings, the material is a yellowish-gray wood, probably Hibiscus tiliaceus, and a strong relationship seems to exist between these specimens. Thus, one end is carved as a realistic glans penis and the other roughly outlined as an animal head. A longitudinal, ventral slot terminates at one end as the opening of the penis, and at the other end as the animal's mouth. As distinct from the previous specimen, the crude animal head is separated from the body by a sharp groove and has two
ears projecting in high relief. A smooth spine runs down the back between the shoulder blades and into the flanks of the hind legs of the animal which also represent the *glans penis*. Ribs are carved as four separate rows of parallel grooves, one on each side of the spine and one on each side of the ventral slot. The number of ribs seems to be arbitrary as they are uneven in number. The fore legs, which have no fingers, meet at the throat. The thighs and legs of the hind legs are not separated as they are joined to form a smooth *glans penis*.

The length is 14 cm. The length of the slot is 10.5 cm., its average width and depth are respectively 1 cm. and 0.7 cm. The provenience is obscure beyond the fact that the specimen previously belonged to the German Westenhof Collection.

PLATE 145 b (*Chicago* 273239 [a] and 273240 [b]): *Body with slot* [a] *secundarily combined with unrelated eroded head* [b]. The material of the body [a] is the same soft, yellowish wood, probably *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, as used in the previous three specimens with a similar slot. Many aspects of the carving show that it is obviously related to the three previous specimens, although the composition seems more confused, ending neither in any apparent *glans penis* nor in an animal head. In the present specimen, the slot is dorsal since the opposite side has flexed arms with fingers in low relief placed on the chest below the shoulders, and a bulging stomach with a penis between the stunted drawn-up legs which lack feet. In fact, if placed horizontally, the crouching limbs and bulging belly of the figure are strongly reminiscent of the corresponding features of the animal in PL.143. Ribs are not indicated but the rib cage is outlined in relief against the abdomen. The slot is carved in place of a raised spine and runs on, as on the previous specimens at one end as a perforation opening at the rectum and at the other end as a perforation opening in the center of what would seem to have been the neck. In fact, it seems as if the old eroded sculpture has had its head cut off secondarily at the base of the neck just above the shoulder blades, perhaps because of damage to the head. It is possible that an already existing carving has been modified for use as a fire kindler. One thing is certain: the extremely eroded head [b] now fixed into the neck hole is obviously not part of the same carving, and it is also of a different wood. Except for what seems to be the secondarily cut off neck section, all surfaces are extremely eroded. For unknown reasons fish scales are stuck to various points of the body.

The length of the body fragment is 13 cm. The maximum width of the figure (across abdomen) is 5.5 cm.

The piece was collected by the early settler Mr. Edmunds and left the island at the beginning of the present century. The material of the extremely eroded head [b] is a somewhat harder yellowish-gray wood which has suffered long exposure. Although little is left of the original carving, it seems to have been a realistic and somewhat aberrant treatment of the human face. Deep oval eye depressions, and a narrow realistically protruding nose and beardless chin are visible. The right ear is missing but the left ear seems to have a natural shape different from most standard figures. There is no sign of the original mouth but a coarse transversal groove has been added secondarily to the eroded surface. It is probable that the head was part of an aberrant human statuette subsequently destroyed, as the rough neck section has clearly been modified to a peg shape to fit into the new, separate body.

The height of the head is 7.9 cm.

The head was collected on Easter Island by the early settler Edmunds, and the idea of fitting it into the present unrelated body might have been his or that of whoever found the two eroded pieces on the island.

PLATE 146 a (*Brussels* ET 35.5.293): *Modern wood carving*. This piece, as well as those illustrated in PL. 146 b and PL. 147, are included to show how certain elements characteristic of the old Easter Island art were still surviving among generations born long after the official disappearance of all pagan art at the baptism of the last islander in 1868. The present 72 cm.-tall specimen was carved from imported *miro-tahiti* wood and rubbed with refined oil by Juan Tepano for the Franco-Belgian Expedition in 1934–35. According to its creator it was meant to represent the *aku-aku* Tinoika who was supposed to remain with corpses to sing for them after burial on the *ahu*. The figure has a raised vertebral column terminating at its lower end in a tassel like that of the bird-man or *moko*. Since the known old and aberrant sculptures illustrated in the previous plates had long ago left the island and never returned in the form of photographs or published illustrations, Tepano must either have been under the influence of the verbal descriptions of earlier artists or have seen bizarre pieces still in hiding.

PLATE 146 b (*Paris* 35.61.211): *Modern wood carving*. The 66 cm.-tall sculpture was carved by the same artist from the same wood as the previous specimen.

PLATE 147 a (*Boston* 59-29-70/3897): *Modern wood carving*. The 63 cm.-tall specimen represents a demon with an upturned head, its neck joined at the apex, holding a smaller figure with a feather headdress and a split goatee beard. It has certain features reminiscent of Juan Tepano's workmanship and seems to have left the island subsequent to the visit of the Franco-Belgian Expedition.

PLATE 147 b (*Brussels* E.T. 35.5.288): *Modern wood carving*. The zoomorphic running figure is 67 cm. tall and was carved by Juan Tepano for the Franco-Belgian Expedition in 1934–35.
PLATE 147 c (Antwerp AE-53.9.85): Modern wood carving. This 81 cm.-tall figure carved from an imported yellowish wood has much in common with Pl. 147 a in spite of the difference in the smaller figure it is carrying. It was brought to Antwerp with the crew of the Mercator on its return from Easter Island with the Franco-Belgian Expedition.

PLATE 147 d (Antwerp AE-53.9.84): Modern wood carving. This 118 cm.-tall figure, representing a long-eared and goatee-bearded male with a feather-crown, is carved from the same wood as the previous specimen and came to Antwerp together with it. A most noteworthy observation is the similarity of the head of the present figure to the small supported figure in Pl. 147 a, and even more so its strong similarity and obvious relationship to stone masks from Easter Island caves encountered by the Norwegian expedition twenty years after the Franco-Belgian Expedition, as shown in Pl. 295.

PLATE 147 e (Antwerp AE-43.4): Modern wood carving. This 53.5 cm.-tall carving, of the same wood as the previous two specimens, but varnished dark brown, represents a demonlike male with zoomorphic ears, goatee beard, and with the left hand placed on the left buttock, palm outwards. The carving came to Antwerp with Commander Van de Sande, Captain of the Mercator which brought the Franco-Belgian Expedition back from Easter Island.

PLATE 147 f (Valparaiso 101): Modern wood carving. This carving, 20.5 cm. long, 11.5 cm. wide, and 5.5 cm. thick, is carved from a light, yellowish wood identified by the islanders as their own local makoi wood. It represents a cranial mask with a flat rear side and a deep bowl-shaped gaping mouth. The most interesting aspect of the piece is that it has originally had a large circular perforation on the right side above the forehead which ran through the skull to emerge in a large seminatural concavity on the rear side of the mask. The original carving, which is smooth from wear and may well date back to the turn of the century or even earlier, has been modified for unknown purposes in recent years. Thus, one large rectangular slot has been cut across the forehead partly intercepting the trepanation-like hole. Two other secondary slots, as well as five modern drill holes together with natural concavities, occur at the sides and the back of the skull. It seems as if the piece has been secondarily modified to be morticed onto a piece of furniture, although the frontal position of the main slot makes it difficult to entertain this idea. The groove down the chin might even suggest the function of an ash tray, although there is no evidence that it has been used as such. Nothing is known about this puzzling sculpture except that it came from Easter Island.

PLATE 147 g (Bremen D. 13423): Modern wood carving. The material of this 26 cm.-long sculpture is a heavy, imported wood varnished to resemble toromiro. The carving represents a rather realistic sea bird with eyes of obsidian disks inlaid in narrow bone rings. The bird carries a human mask in high relief near its tail and two crouching bird-men are incised on the back. This modern carving is reminiscent of some of the stone sculptures encountered in 1955–56 in caves, such as illustrated in Ps. 257–60, and Ps. 292–93. It is, therefore, interesting that the Überseemuseum in Bremen purchased this piece in early 1954 (from a certain Ernesto Hornke from Valparaiso, Chile); that is a year before the Norwegian Expedition reached the island.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Oxford 1271 [Ashm.]): Human figure believed to represent Captain Cook. The material is a brownish wood carved to represent a naked male person standing with arms straight down the sides of the body. Large almond-shaped eyes with circular concavities have lost their former inlay. The large ridged eyebrows are covered with incision lines in a herringbone pattern. The realistic mouth is carved straight with thin, sharp lips. The ears are large, but realistic. The face is beardless, but hair is shown in V-shape along the forehead and down along the back of the head. The slim arms are separated from the body by slots and the fingerless hands are carved on the sides of the thighs. A penis is represented. The height is 24 cm.

The carving, formerly belonging to the Ashmolean Museum, became part of the present collection when donated by George Griffiths, Esq., as early as in 1859. The obvious pre-missionary date of this carving shows beyond doubt that it is an authentic piece, but the reason for suspecting that it represents Captain Cook is obscure, particularly since the detail which must have impressed the natives most was Captain Cook's clothes.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Copenhagen 1.1741): Kneeling male figure. The material is a heavy dark-colored wood. The large head has raised eyebrows and sagging pouches under the large eyes that are pear-shaped, bulging, and not inlaid. The ears are carved as long bands. The chest and abdomen are protruding. Thin arms are stretched down the sides, separated from the body by slots, and long fingers are separated by thin grooves. The seat is carved as a hemisphere without a split between the buttocks. A striking feature is that the figure is kneeling. The legs are stout and the soles of the feet, without toes, are turned backwards.

The height is 19.5 cm.

The carving was purchased by Mr. Leif Janssen on a visit to Easter Island and donated to the Museum in 1931. The carving is obviously recent, and its main interest is that it
represents a kneeling figure, carved long before the aberrant kneeling statue at Rano Raraku was excavated and became known to the islanders in 1955 (cf. Pls. 3, 208a).

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Sacres-Caurs n. n.): Moko with mask on tip of tail. The material is toromiro wood. The specimen is of the normal moko type in most of its features, but an extra head consisting of two circular incisions denoting eyes and a rectangular outlined nose is carved on the tip of the tail. Below these features the tip of the moko's tail projects like a pointed head. The carving is crude and unpolished but, apparently dating from the early missionary period, it is probably non-commercial.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Chicago 273244): Very eroded realistic turtle. The material is light-colored wood. The carving is partly worm-eaten and the flippers, except for the right fore flipper which is in good condition, are badly eroded. The entire piece is very badly weathered and worn and shows signs of having been buried. The length is 19.7 cm., and the width is 9 cm. The specimen was excavated by P. H. Edmunds from the refuse in a cliff shelter in 1907 and reached the Museum in 1908 as part of the Fuller Collection.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Oslo 2444): Turtle head with turtle relief on top. The material is a grayish-yellow wood, probably Hibiscus tiliaceus. The artist has carved a stylized turtle's head with a somewhat rounded triangular cross section, the apex of the triangle forming the longitudinal ridge of the head. Each eye is carved as a raised ring enclosing a cup-shaped depression. Immediately in front of each eye begins a deep and wide groove with rounded ends and a rounded bottom incised with a herringbone pattern. These grooves reach nearly, but not completely, the front of the mouth and thus represent the opening in the turtle's beak. At the front of the ridge of the beak there are two nostrils shaped like a pair of goggles, with raised rims surrounding small almond-shaped depressions and joined by a central band. Eyebrows with transversal incision lines curve above and behind the eyes as part of a pattern of ridges and furrows that curves around the eye and runs in parallel rows forward along the head, covering most of its surface. Only at the rear of the head is this pattern interrupted by a small complete turtle carved in low relief. The oval shell of this turtle relief is covered with incision lines representing the natural pattern of the animal, whereas each of the four flippers as well as the tail run on to become one of the ornamental ridges covering the head of the main sculpture. The head of the small relief turtle is diamond-shaped with its lateral corners drawn out as clearly flaring ears that are badly eroded. There is a perforation for a suspension string at the convex, rear end of the main sculpture with one opening at the rear end of the shell of the relief turtle and another at its tail. The ventral side of the main sculpture is deeply grooved longitudinally, except for the beak section which is flat. In this groove the parallel ridges around the back of the head meet in a herringbone pattern. The carving is very old and yet well preserved in spite of the surface erosion. The length of the head is 11.8 cm., its maximum height (at center), 6.5 cm., and its maximum thickness (behind eyes), 5.5 cm.

The specimen was collected on the island by the Norwegian Captain Arup in 1868, and its authenticity thus cannot be doubted.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu B.3573): Very eroded turtle head. The material is yellowish toromiro wood, very much altered in texture by erosion. The piece, which is damaged through long exposure or burial in a cave, is reminiscent of the turtle head encountered by the Norwegian expedition and illustrated in Pl. 130 d. The obsidian inlay in the right eye seems to be a secondary insertion. The length is 12.2 cm., and the width and height are 6.5 and 7.5 cm., respectively.

The specimen reached the museum from the Young Collection in 1920 and was thus collected by the early settler Salmon in pre-commercial times.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Papeete n.n.): Wooden fish with rongo-rongo symbols. This flat, wooden fish with a rounded rectangular body, vaulted forehead like that of a dolphin, a long, sharply serrated dorsal fin, and a large triangular tail fin is covered with rongo-rongo symbols on both sides. The rongo-rongo signs are placed in five horizontal lines on each side of the fish's body from the gills to the tail fin, but the lines are not placed in boustrophedon since all identifiable symbols are carved head up. Several signs are not known from the authentic rongo-rongo tablets. The piece is probably not very ancient, but it is interesting since it may reflect an Easter Islander's concept of an old rongo-rongo tablet carved in the shape of a once brought to the village by the owner of a cave who subsequently became so concerned about having broken the tapu that he carried the tablet back into hiding again (p. 106).

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Washington 129, 741 and 129, 742): Ovoid boards with short handles. These objects are known in wood, Phyceter bone, and stone from Easter Island, but the present islanders have forgotten their use and meaning. The present specimens were brought from Easter Island by Paymaster Thomson, whose main informant was the early settler Salmon. The information that came with the specimens was that they are potato fetish boards, and through analogy with similar artifacts in Peru it may be assumed that they were planted in the fields of sweet potatoes. The general shape of the artifacts is that of
an oval to pear-shaped blade ending in a short blunt handle. The theory that they may represent paddle blades is eliminated by the fact that some specimens are carved from stone and the blade of one of Thomson's samples consists of two separate pieces of wood sewn together longitudinally, which would exclude any resistance if the object were used for paddling or digging. The usual length is about 30–50cm. including the short handle which resembles that of a table tennis racket (cf. Pl. 272 d–f).

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu B.3571): Egg-shaped animal head. The material is yellow-brown toromiro wood altered in texture by erosion, but the preserved surface sections show a beautiful workmanship and a fine polish. The egg-shaped head has bilaterally situated eye depressions, 1.5 cm. in diameter and ca. 0.5 cm. deep near the pointed end, which were probably once inlaid. A series of closely placed and fine parallel incision lines run from the rear of the head over the top and forward toward the pointed end where they join in a herringbone pattern. There is a perforation for a suspension string at the rear extremity. The forward position of the eyes, the absence of deep mouth concavities, and the lack of any ventral groove add up to distinguish this carving from the characteristic turtle head, and it is probably meant to be a fish head, although the possibility of its being a bird's head should not be overlooked due to its similarity to Honolulu B.3572c, and the fact that the ventral side of the pointed end is deeply eroded and obliterated.

The length is 15.2 cm., and the maximum width and thickness (at center) are 7.5 and 9.5 cm. respectively. The specimen reached the Museum from the Young Collection in 1920 and was thus found by the early settler Salmon in pre-commercial times.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu 6351): Deeply grooved animal head. The material is toromiro wood turned yellowish-gray during the process of erosion, and the carving seems to have been partly scarred. The general form is somewhat egg-shaped but prior to erosion the narrow end could have been slightly more pointed. Just above and behind mid-point on each side the eyes are carved as cup-shaped depressions which probably once contained an inlay. A long mouth, opening toward the front, carved as a deep groove with a V-shaped cross section, runs around the pointed end slightly below mid-line and is incised with a herringbone pattern. All surfaces have been entirely covered with a pattern of exceptionally deep and wide grooves running in V-shape from the pointed snout backwards to the suspension hole in the neck area. The carving might represent a turtle's head, but if so it differs from the standard specimens in the absence of the deep ventral concavity as well as in the pattern around the eyes.

The length is 8.5 cm., but the point of the snout end is eroded away. The maximum width and thickness (at center) are 6 cm. and 7.2 cm. respectively.

The specimen reached the Museum from the Young Collection in 1920 and was thus collected by the early settler Salmon in pre-commercial times.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu B.3572c): Grooved animal head with beak. The material is toromiro wood. The surface on the left side is completely lost through erosion and the right side seems to have been scarred although the original carving remains intact. The basic shape is that of an egg with the pointed end drawn down in a curve to form a hooked beak. The eyes, represented by cup-shaped depressions, are carved so remarkably close to the beak that they might have been mistaken for nostrils if not for the fact that there are no eyes elsewhere on the carving. As on the earlier described specimen, B.3571, close parallel lines arch over the head from front to back as the only surface pattern. No sign of a perforation hole for a suspension string can be traced due to considerable erosion in the neck area. With its curved beak the head is reminiscent of that of a bird of prey and contrasts with that of a fish as well as the standard type of turtle head as do the other details of the composition.

The length is 11.5 cm., and the maximum width and height are 6.1 and 7.2 cm. respectively. The provenience is as for the previous specimen and its authenticity thus cannot be doubted.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Edinburgh 1924.335): Rei-miro shaped fish. The material is toromiro wood. Although perforations for a suspension string are not present, the idea of a rei-miro is clearly suggested by the curvature and the flattened rear side with its depressed area in the shape of a crescent moon or reed boat. The outer side is convex with the fish's head toward the right. The head is circular and separated from the body by three curved grooves indicating gills. On each side there is an eye inlaid with a small bone ring and an obsidian disk. There is a notch in the wood near the center of the head, but it is partly removed by the carving of a large mouth curving like a parrot's beak. On the opposite side, where the wood is complete, the mouth is merely a short, straight groove. At the other extremity, a roughly rectangular fish's tail is covered on both sides with deep, longitudinal grooves separated from the body by a narrow, raised, transversal band crossed with incision lines. A deep groove, parallel and close to the back curves along the entire back on each side suggesting a dorsal fin.

On the convex side, near mid-point, and 1.2 cm. apart, are two tongue-shaped reliefs as if intended for perforation holes that have never been carved. The carving seems to have been freshly made and perhaps not com-
pleted at the time of collection, but it is executed with a primitive cutting tool.
The length is 40.5 cm., the width, 9 cm., and the maximum thickness, 22 cm.
The specimen was collected during the voyage of the yacht Yanza (1887–90) by Dewar of Vogrie House, Gorebridge.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Dresden 18422): Twisted eel. The material is a branch of toromiro wood modified to represent a twisted eel, flattened at the sides. Small eyes were formerly inlaid but only the bone ring of the left eye remains. There is a transversal saw mark on the body.
The length is 85 cm.
The specimen was bought in 1886 from Paymaster Weisser who visited Easter Island with the Hyâne Expedition four years earlier.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu C.4172): Double octopus in the shape of a pulley. The material is a very hard and heavy wood, probably toromiro, but eroded to a gray color. One flat octopus rests against another in such a way that they form an artifact reminiscent of a pulley. Joined only by an oval disk smaller than their bodies, their edges are separated by a very deep and wide groove which would have been perfectly adapted to winding up a cord. The flat but slightlyvaulted bodies of each animal have an egg-shaped outline with a narrow projection which forms the head. On each side of the head, both animals have large eyes carved as sideways-projecting disks with a central depression that might formerly have held an inlay. The head section, with traces of tentacles, continues for some distance in front of the eyes but seems to be broken off on both animals, the fractured edge being very eroded. About 1 cm. from its tail end, the oval disk between the animals is transversally perforated as if for holding a suspension string. The total length of the specimen in its present state is 11 cm., the body section being ca. 7 cm. The maximum width of each body is 4.7 cm., and the combined thickness is 4 cm. The groove is 1.4 cm. deep and 1 cm. wide, narrowing to 0.5 cm. near the bottom.
The specimen was obtained by Dr. K. P. Emory for the Museum in May 1931.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu 6353): Nerita shell. The material is yellowish-brown toromiro wood. The piece is very eroded and seems to have been exposed to fire. The shape is most realistic with a highly vaulted back and a flat ventral side. The area of the shell opening is stepped in with a narrow rim realistically represented. Some secondary chipping is visible on one side as if made in a recent attempt to remove burned surfaces. There is also a modern cut for holding a suspension line. Erosion excludes the possibility of checking if an original perforation hole was present.
The length is 9 cm., and the maximum width and thickness (at center) are respectively 6.1 and 4 cm.
This specimen was in the Bishop Museum by 1890, and was originally obtained from the Hawaiian Government Collection.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu 5946): Chiton. The material is reddish-brown toromiro wood. This realistic representation is carved with its vaulted back covered on each side with transversal grooves in parallel rows which join at right angles along the mid-line giving the impression of segments placed like tiles on a roof. A narrow rim runs around the oval outline of the carving as a transition from the vaulted dorsal to the vaguely concave ventral face. A wide and deep groove runs inside the ventral face of the rim separating the oval suction disk from the shell in a realistic way. A suspension hole is drilled near the apex of the last segment, but shows no sign of wear. The specimen is very reminiscent of the carving in Pl. 129b (Oslo 2445) and it is possible that this piece is a replica carved upon missionary contact.
The length is 21 cm. The maximum width and thickness are 9 and 3.5 cm. respectively.
The specimen reached the Museum from the Hawaiian Government Collection prior to 1898.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu B.3654): Angular branch with vulva. The material is a naturally elbow-shaped branch of brownish toromiro, extremely eroded and partly exposed to fire. The two arms of the branch form a right angle and are of roughly the same size. One of them is curved slightly inwards with a natural sideways twist resembling a short banana when seen in profile. It is longitudinally split, however, by being carved into two prongs in the shape of the vulva seen in Pl. 91, with a long clitoris represented at its join. The rest of the figure is too badly eroded for identification of details but a high relief representation of what might have been two up-curved arms can be seen near the angle. However, if these reliefs are vestiges of arms, they were carved in the opposite direction from what would be natural according to the position of the clitoris. The other half of the branch shows no obvious sign of carving except for its rounded end. The object, which might have been functional, is obviously very old and non-commercial.
The length of the carved branch is 11 cm., its width, 3.8 cm., and its thickness, 2.5 cm. The split is about 0.4 cm. wide with a maximum depth of 2 cm. at the terminal end, decreasing upwards. The second branch, measured from its junction with the first, is about 9 cm. long with approximately the same cross section.
The specimen reached the Museum from the Young Collection in 1920 and was thus found by the early settler Salmon in pre-commercial times.
NOT ILLUSTRATED (Dresden 18420): Elbow-shaped handle with carved face. A naturally bent branch, resembling the elbow handle of an adze, although bent at right angles, has a crude face carved at the short end. The nose is straight and narrow and joined to the eyebrows in a T-shape. Eyes are not represented, but sagging pouches in low relief mark the cheeks. The lower face is long and pointed, and a crude knob is left protruding on the upper left forehead. There are traces of ocher which has apparently been rubbed on without oil. The length of the long arm is 29 cm., and the head is 19.5 cm. long with a maximum width of 7.7 cm. The specimen is catalogued as having been bought in 1883.

FIGURE 65 (Stephen-Chauvet, 1934, Figs. 114–15): Bird with large human head. This piece, owned by the heirs of Dr. Stephen-Chauvet in Paris, was not made accessible to the writer for study or photography, and all knowledge about its qualities have been obtained from Stephen-Chauvet's own publication. Fig. 65 is a line drawing from the not very clear photographic illustration to his text. The material is toromiro wood, and the carving is extremely eroded. Like the aberrant bird-men in PIs. 105, 116, and 123 b, a human head is carved on a bird's body instead of vice versa. To give even the head a certain birdlike aspect, says Stephen-Chauvet (Ibid., pp. 310–11), the eyes were placed laterally instead of frontally, "and at the base of the nose there is a protuberance reminding one of the horned excrescence of certain birds." The ears are elongated or at least deformed, with earplugs, and the large eyes, represented as two concentric rings in relief, are inlaid with obsidian disks. There is a sort of pronounced "wen" at the back of the head above the neck, and there is also a smaller one higher up. He stresses that the bird's body, minute in proportion to the large head, never had legs or feet of any kind; the sculpture is complete as it now is, although feetlike pedestals have been added by Pierre Loti to permit the figure to stand upright. Wings and a bird's tail are pronounced, however. The height of the sculpture is given as 25 cm. Stephen-Chauvet has the following comment on the provenience: "Admirable piece, of exceptional quality, probably contemporaneous with the large archaic statues of stone. Obtained by Pierre Loti on Easter Island in 1872."

Fig. 65: Bird-man with human head and bird's body collected by Loti in 1872 (after photograph by Stephen-Chauvet, 1934, Fig. 114).
Catalogue of aberrant stone carvings
collected prior to the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition
to Easter Island in 1955–56

PLATES 148, 149 (Santiago Nat. 5521): Stone head with
cup-shaped depression and vulva symbol. The material is a
natural boulder of white tuff, incorporating harder sections
of a gray color, apparently covered with oil after carving to
give a gray surface color. The flat rear of the boulder is left
unworked, whereas the vaulted front is carved into a
human face with a long, narrow nose in relief, following the
central crest. The small alae have nostrils indicated. The
large eyes are almond-shaped and slightly bulging, with
depth oval pits filling most of their surface. Sagging
pouches are carved in relief below the eyes, and run up past
their outer corners into the slightly raised but indistinct
eyebrows. The mouth is realistically carved with raised
lips, and three short, vertical incision lines cross the lips
near the left corner, as if to represent tattoo or stitches.
The central section of the broad chin projects as a blunt
point that may indicate a goatee beard or the chin itself.
Ears are not indicated. On the left cheek is carved a cup-
shaped depression 4 cm. in diameter which shows clear
signs of having been scooped out intentionally. A vulva
symbol (komari) has been carved in the center of the
forehead. In the harder section, below the right eye, there
is a shallow scythe-shaped incision.
The height of the head is 30 cm., its width, 28 cm., and its
maximum thickness (at chin), 24 cm.
The piece, which was part of the Luis Monitt Collection, is
obviously ancient and genuine since it was brought to Chile
by the Gana Expedition in 1870.

PLATES 150, 151 (Santiago-Nat. 5516): Stone head with
topknot and inlaid obsidian eyes. The material is the white,
redesposed, and consolidated volcanic ash found on the
Poite peninsula and known to the natives as teatea. The
surface has been colored almost black. An apparently
water-worn boulder has been formed into a human head with
a topknot. The nose is thin but flaring alae and splits
between the eyes to continue as rounded eyebrows. A
striking feature is that the almond-shaped eyes have oval
concavities in the center which are inlaid with obsidian
disks. A transversal groove indicating the mouth is shorter
than the width of the nose, and below it, two vertical
grooves outline a chin beard which runs into a full beard
carved as a narrow band in relief, following the jaw from
ear to ear. The ears are small and realistic. The topknot
at the apex is carved in high relief to represent a curved
tuft of hair arcing back on the right side like a bluntly
pointed hook. This topknot, like the rest of the head, ex-
cept in front is covered with more or less parallel grooves
indicating hair. On the forehead, between the topknot
and the nose is incised a mataa-like design resembling that
which is painted on some of the tapa images. Two vertical
converging lines run from the topknot down the rear
side of the head to an insteped rectangular area repre-
senting the hairless neck. The base is round so the head
cannot stand except in soft ground or a concavity.
The height is 19.3 cm.
This remarkable and seemingly quite aberrant piece, for-
merly number 333, was illustrated by R.A.Philippi in
Anales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. XLIII, 1873, and
had been collected by the Gana Expedition on the island in
1870.

PLATE 152a (Edinburgh 1925,454): Stone head with
depth pupils and pouches under eyes. The material is a red-
dish and in parts a lightly porous tuff. The slim nose with-
out alae is split in rounded T-shape into eyebrows arching
around the eyes to become sagging pouches. The eyes are
raised oval disks with deep depressions for pupils. The
mouth is a crude transversal band with lips separated by a
vague incision line. The chin is separated from the
rounded base by a deep groove. Rounded rectangular ears
are carved in relief. The back is unworked.
The height is 12 cm.
The piece was collected by Dewar of Vogrie House,
Gorebridge, during the voyage in 1887–90 of the yacht
Yanza.

PLATE 152b (Berlin VI 1623): Narrow stone head with
long nose and sunken pupils. The material is soft grayish-
white teatea tuff. The surface was once rubbed with oil, but
most is worn off through surface damage. The long and
slim nose, which splits at the base into slightly curved eye-
brows, has thin but flaring alae with deep nostrils. The
mouth is carved with raised lips separated by a groove. The
raised almond-shaped eyes have cup-shaped depressions
for pupils. The ears are carved as raised and curved bands.
The back and base are unworked.
The height is 23 cm.
The piece belonged to the German Consul Schlabach from
Hamburg, who donated it to the Museum in 1883.

PLATE 153a (Antwerp AE 59.2.1): Basalt head with neck
and bulging eyes. The material is heavy, dark gray basalt.
The vestiges of the nose, which seems to have once been
broken by a strong blow, show that it was originally raised
with wide alae. The low unworked forehead is raised in re-
lief above the bulging almond-shaped eyes which are in
turn raised above the cheeks. Neither eyebrows nor
pouches are represented. The wide mouth with thin lips is pouting but so eroded that further details are indiscernible. The left ear is only crudely indicated and there are no vestiges of the right ear. The head has no neck but the chin is sharply outlined above what appear to be very narrow shoulders and chest. The back of the figure is flatish and unworked and leaves the impression that the head is not intended to stand freely.

The height is 61 cm.

The obviously old and very eroded head, according to Commander Van de Sande (viva voce), was found in the region of the Orongo stone village during his visit to the island with the Franco-Belgian Expedition in 1934–35.

PLATE 153b (Rochezot n.n.): Head with neck and projecting forehead. The material is chocolate-colored fine-grained tuff with polished and once oiled surfaces. The nose is long and straight with exceptionally narrow alae merely represented by grooves on the tip. The almond-shaped eyes are convex and have deep circular depressions in the center which, to judge from other similar specimens, have very probably lost their inlays. At the bottom of each there is a small hole at the center as if made by a thin, pointed tool. On the projecting forehead a pair of separate thick eyebrows are realistically carved in relief, and sagging pouches under the eyes are carved in low relief. The mouth is a simple, transversal groove without lips. Small rectangular ears are carved as narrow vertical bands in low relief. The head can stand alone on a short, cylindrical neck with a flat base. The back is straight and transversally convex although flattened longitudinally along a 5 cm.-wide center band, suggesting that the head has been designed to stand against a wall.

The sculpture is 35 cm. high, 17 cm. wide, and 20 cm. thick, measured from the nose.

PLATE 154 a (Santiago-Nolasco n.n.): Stone plaque of red painted head with stitched lips and narrow chin beard. A very heavy, densely grained, gray stone boulder is left unworked on its flat side while a human face is carved on its convex side. The straight nasal ridge terminates in large semicircular alae which are excavated to represent nostrils. At the base, the nose branches into eyebrows. Together with slightly raised pouches, they surround almond-shaped eyes outlined by incisions and containing small and deeply excavated pupils. A noteworthy feature is that the raised areas surrounding the eyes continue in low relief from the corner of each eye toward the side of the head as a short and narrow band. On each side of the head this band forks into one upward- and one downward-pointing arch, each of which curves slightly back toward the face and together they represent a stylized ear. The lips are carved as an oval in low relief and divided by a wide and shallow transversal groove. The lips are covered with short transversal incision lines similar to the mummylike stitches on some of the large stone statues. Extending from the center of the lower lip and as a direct continuation of it there is a long and narrow band in low relief representing a chin beard. The chin itself is the crude edge of the stone. Although tool marks and scratches are visible on the hard stone, a close examination leaves no doubt that this specimen is non-commercial. It has once been covered with the same kind of red ochre as used on some of the old mural paintings in Easter Island caves and stone houses, although most of its original paint has been knocked off, leaving traces only in the many areas not exposed to wear.

The head is 33 cm. long, 26 cm. wide, and 18 cm. thick. No information could be obtained from the Museum as to the history of this carving except that it came from Easter Island prior to the arrival of any of the present staff and that its low catalogue number indicates that it formed part of the collection when the college Museum was formed in about 1917.

PLATE 154 b (Paris 35.61.6): Hard basalt fragment with round human mask. The piece is a fragment of an artifact, possibly a stone bowl, worked by pecking and subsequent rubbing on an extremely hard, heavy, and black basalt. An almost hemispherical human mask with a broad oval outline has been carved with the forehead and nose raised in relief above the rest of the face. The nose extends down from the forehead as a flat band and has flaring, round alae. The bulging eyes are almond-shaped with a cup-shaped central depression. The mouth is a shallow horizontal groove with a very slightly raised upper lip. Ears are not represented. The mask is separated from the rest of the fragment by a deep and wide surrounding groove. The remaining pecked section of the stone has a wider diameter than the head, with broken edges and a rough plain surface behind parallel to the face. Although nothing is known of the original shape of the complete artifact, its similarity to stone bowl fragments encountered by the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition suggests that the present fragment belongs to the same category.

The human mask is 10 cm. high, 8 cm. wide, and 4–5 cm. thick. The thickness from the nose to the back of the fragment is 7 cm., and the maximum diameters of the fragment itself are about 11 × 12 cm.

The piece was obtained by Dr. Lavachery by barter with the Easter Islanders during the Franco-Belgian Expedition in 1934–35.

PLATE 154 c (Brussels ET, 35.5.295): Archaeologically found stone head with neck and bulging eyes. The material is a flat piece of grayish-brown volcanic rock with one side crudely shaped into a human face by incision lines. The large eyes are outlined by irregular, somewhat circular grooves, and with their central depressions they resemble
raised rings. The nose is a narrow rectangular band joining the eyebrows to form a T-shape. The mouth is a crude, transversally slanting groove. Crude ears are indicated. A small and rounded goatee beard is carved in high relief below the chin which stands out against a realistic neck whose base is unworked.

The head is 19 cm. high, 12 cm. wide, and 7 cm. thick. It was discovered by Dr. Lavachery on the floor of a cave near Ahu Tepeu during the Franco-Belgian Expedition in 1934–35, and its authenticity thus cannot be doubted.

PLATE 154 d (Brussels ET. 35.5.90): Archaeologically found flat stone head. The material is a roughly oval and flattish natural boulder of heavy, gray vesicular basalt. One side and the edges of the boulder are left unworked while the other side is carved with wide and shallow grooves into a crude representation of a human mask. Each eye is represented by a cup-shaped depression surrounded by a circular groove leaving the impression of a raised ring. The nose is outlined by two parallel incisions and terminates in a horizontal groove which is extended on each side to outline the sagging pouches below each eye. At the top, the nose forks into two eyebrows which curve around the eyes to terminate as the sagging pouches. A second transversal groove curves below the nose and cheeks to outline a sickle-shaped mouth. Ears are not indicated. The height is 39 cm., the width, 30 cm., and the thickness, 15 cm.

The head, published by Lavachery (1939, Vol. II, Pl. XLII), was found by him in 1934 face down near the opening of the He-u cave in the vicinity of Hanga-o-heo. Its authenticity thus cannot be doubted.

PLATE 155 a (London 1904.5-12.1): Crude excavated head with long, projecting nose and vestiges of eye inlay. A lump of red lava has been modified to resemble a human head, whose form has been partly inspired by the natural shape of the stone. The most prominent features of this carving are the inlaid eyes and a long, snoutlike nose. The eyes are hemispherical concavities with a diameter of approximately 1.5 cm. They were once inlaid with a white, claylike substance reminiscent of the white volcanic ash at Poike. The left eye is still half filled with this material, but only traces of it can be distinguished in the cavity of the other eye. Below the eyes, the face projects like a snout to the base of the long nose, the tip of which forms a fingerlike projection in front of large, wide nostrils. Below the nose there is a gaping mouth with a thick tongue stretched out between two rows of teeth, or perhaps gums since the individual teeth are not indicated by vertical grooves. The tip of the tongue is broken at the left side. Ears are not indicated but a groove of irregular depth and width surrounds the face. Above the projecting forehead there is a partly eroded headband showing remains of transversal grooves. The back of the head is unworked except for a short neck slanting backwards and sideways at an angle to the base of the head.

The height of the head is 30 cm.

The sculpture, which formed part of the collection of Dr. W. E. Crosse, was dug up on Easter Island, presumably in a cave, in 1901–02.

PLATE 155 b (Dresden 18427): Human stone mask covered with vulva symbols and cup-shaped depressions. The material is fine-grained white tuff (teatea stone). An oval head is carved in high relief on a crude block only slightly larger than the face. The large eyes are almond-shaped and slightly sunken with cup-shaped depressions for pupils. The tip of the long and slender nose is broken and a scar leaves only vestiges of a mouth with raised lips. The entire face is covered with vulva symbols (komari) of different sizes. These incisions also occur on parts of the surrounding stone and on the left eye. There is a conical depression on the forehead between the eyebrows, and two other cup-shaped depressions appear on the cheeks on each side of the nose. The diameter of the first is 1.5 cm. and of the two others, 2 cm.

The total length of the stone is 59.5 cm., the width, 31 cm., and the depth, 32 cm.

The sculpture was collected on Easter Island in 1882 by Paymaster Weisser of the Geiseler Expedition and was probably part of the ethnological collection which this expedition obtained from Salmon.

PLATE 155 c (Paris 90.78.2): Goggle-faced stone head with neck. The material is finely grained reddish-gray stone carved on all surfaces. The skull is realistically shaped, but the long and flat nose forks into the common type of eyebrows with their extension into goggle-shaped pouches surrounding the eyes. The oval eyes are outlined by an incision line and have deep central cup-shaped depressions in place of pupils. The mouth is a horizontal groove without lips. Ears are not represented. The chin and skull stand out in relief against a stout peg-shaped neck with a crudely rounded base.

The height is 26 cm.

This sculpture was donated to the Museum by E. Le Tellier in 1890.

PLATE 156 a (Santiago-Hist. 4241): Goggle-faced stone head with mustache and chin beard. The material is the same yellowish-gray Rano Raraku tuff from which all the large, Middle Period statues were made. The nose is flat and probably has its tip broken. The prominent eyebrows continue into equally prominent pouches under the eyes. The large and bulging eye areas are otherwise not outlined. Below the nose are seen a mustache and a chin beard carved in relief. Ears are not indicated. The carving of the
lower part of the face, however, cannot readily be understood and it is possible that the wavy band resembling a mustache is in fact meant to represent a hare-lipped mouth.

The height is 20 cm.
The sculpture was donated by P. Bienvenido de Stella in 1919.

PLATE 156 b (Gothenburg 19.1.333): *Stone head with bulging eyes and topknot*. The material is a yellowish-gray volcanic rock. The nose is a short, vertical semicylinder. The prominent eyebrows run into sagging cheeks in the usual goggle fashion. The mouth is a crude transversal line with vaguely raised lips. The dome of the head is stepped in as if to represent a topknot or some sort of headwear. Clear indications of pecking remain visible on the surfaces. The height is 17 cm.
The head, collected on the island by Professor Carl Skottsberg during his botanical investigations in 1917, was probably of recent manufacture at that time but inspired by earlier carvings.

PLATE 156 c (Berkeley 11-1157): *Round facial relief with small peg-shaped body*. The material is a heavy and dense reddish-brown tuff. The rough shape is that of a cylinder with a rounded top and base from which an oval human mask projects in high relief. The flat nose has narrow alae. The flat forehead is low and projecting and separated from the eye region by a transversal step without the usual curving eyebrows. The eyes are almond-shaped and bulging. The mouth seems to have had slightly raised lips, but these are eroded and a recent attempt has been made to improve the appearance of the sculpture by adding a fresh horizontal groove to the mouth and at the same time improving the outlines of the eroded nose. Ears are lacking. The peg-shaped lower half of the eroded sculpture appears to be a dwarfed body without shoulders, as can be judged from the presence of crude arms with flexed elbows and subsequently eroded hands once carved along the base.
The height of the bust is 31 cm.
The sculpture, which is obviously old although retouched as stated, also has some scratch marks as if hit upon by digging, possibly during treasure hunting in a cave or an old house site. The piece was brought back from Easter Island in 1905 after the visit of the zoologists of the Albatross Expedition and was a gift by courtesy of Professor Alexander Agassiz and Governor J. T. Cooper, the representative of the Chilean Government.

PLATE 156 d (Philadelphia 18056): *Stone head with mustache in place of mouth*. The material is an ochre-colored, fairly dense and yet slightly vesicular volcanic stone. The sculpture represents a crude stone head on which the left face comprising the eye is very damaged. The right eye is bulging and roughly almond-shaped with a deep concave depression as its pupil, which might once have held an inlay. The nose is long, aquiline, and thin with flaring alae. Ears are not represented. What at first appears to be a long, thin mouth in relief lacks, on closer inspection, an incision line dividing the lips, and at each corner it turns sharply down terminating in a point representing a drooping mustache. The back of the head is convex and unworked and narrows behind to a bluntly pointed apex. The head terminates in a short, peg-shaped neck as if intended to be inserted in a hole. The completed surface areas appear to have been darkened with oil, and the nature of the left side surface fractures seems to indicate that the piece has been carelessly recovered from a rubble mound or through excavation.
The height of the sculpture is 22 cm. and its thickness is 15 cm.
The piece, already mentioned on p. 22, was probably collected about 1874-75 by C. D. Voy on a Pacific voyage. It was purchased from Voy for the collection of Professor Edward Cope and was subsequently donated by Provost William Pepper to the University Museum when it was founded in 1891. Voy’s handwritten packing list accompanying the Easter Island specimens mentions this sculpture as “1 Stone-head, supposed to have been the head of an Idol or Image, old spec. from Easter Island S. P.”

PLATE 156 e (Vicenza 20.055): *Egg-shaped head with peg-shaped base and bulging eyes*. The material is a reddish-brown tuff, partly finely grained and partly vesicular. The surface has been colored black by a mixture of oil and charcoal. The rough shape is that of a cylinder with a rounded top and base from which an oval human mask projects in high relief. The asymmetrical eyes are only crudely outlined. The long, slim, flat nose has narrow alae and is split upward into the common goggle-shaped combination of eyebrows and sagging cheeks. The head has crude rectangular ears. Raised lips are separated by a groove. The chin stands out from a peg-shaped neck of the type intended to be set in the ground.
The height is 32 cm., of which 12 cm. represent the neck. The sculpture was obtained on the island by the German Geiseler Expedition in 1882 and was probably part of the ethnological collection obtained from Salmon. The piece was subsequently donated to the Museum in 1884 by Dr. F. Steinadlinder.

PLATE 156 f (Newcastle 27-1951/67): *Lava mask with pegged base, prominent cheeks, and ring-shaped eyes*. The material is vesicular and light lava of a reddish-brown color. Part of the unworked stone with natural concavities still remains on the upper right of the head and particularly at the flattish rear side. The nose is very long, straight, flat,
and slender, arching slightly to the left to terminate in small asymmetrical alae. At its upper end it branches into curved eyebrows wider than the nose, which encircle the eyes and terminate in exceptionally large pouches filling all the cheeks. The eyes are represented as oval rings raised in relief above a sunken almond-shaped base. The right eye ring is eroded to a sharp edge and has been partly damaged recently. The oval mouth has thin, raised lips separated by a groove. Small, oval ears are raised in relief and the broad chin area projects strongly from a peg-shaped neck.

The total height is 33 cm., 16 cm. of which represents the neck.

The history of the piece is obscure beyond the fact that it reached the Hancock Museum from the Wellescome Institute of the History of Medicine in London, the latter being unable to furnish other information than what was written on the label: "HOTEL DROUT, PARIS, 158/2 and 3/vii/1931 (Collection of André Breton and Paul Eluard)." Although nothing is known of the specimen prior to its appearance in Paris in 1931, it has a marked patina with a dark grayish-red surface contrasting the very bright cocoa color of the stone where scratched or damaged.

PLATE 156 g (Leiden 945-14): Stone head with neck, bulging eyes, and straight eyebrows. The material is a dense and heavy volcanic stone, crudely shaped to resemble a round head on a short peg-shaped neck. The nose widens toward the tip but has no alae. Eyebrows are not shown except for a transversal groove on the forehead. The almond-shaped eyes are also outlined by wide grooves which make them appear as if raised in relief like the oval mouth.

The height is 35 cm.

The piece was purchased from J.G.F. Umlauf in Hamburg in 1893.

PLATE 156 h (Valparaíso 42): Highly polished porphyry head decorated with incised figures. The material is an extremely hard and heavy porphyry of a grayish-green or olive color. The sculpture is a remarkably expressive representation of a human head on a long neck. The nose is aquiline with a rounded cross section and realistically flaring alae. The forehead of a smooth, bald head projects above the nose and eyes. Eyebrows are not indicated nor are pronounced sagging pouches on the cheeks. The large almond-shaped eyes with cup-shaped central depressions appear bulging due to the carving of a wide groove around them. The mouth is wide with raised lips compressed together at the center while open at the corners. A particular feature of this head is that the face is depressed at the cheeks and widens out again into a strongly prognathous, bluntly pointed chin. The ears are narrow but highly raised vertical bands which widen at the lobes. The long and thick neck with a flat base is slightly conical, almost cylindrical. The surface of the very hard and dense stone is polished to a shine and a number of symbols are incised in several places on the head. A typical representation of two hunched bird-men, facing each other in a seated position, with their hands below their beaks is incised in the center of the forehead. A single, seated bird-man with one arm stunted and the other touching the leg is incised below each eye. Lower down the cheeks on each side of the mouth is a diamond-headed bird with circular ears. A double-headed bird is incised on the front of the chin. A Make-make mask with eyes, nose, large ears, and sagging cheeks, but without mouth or chin, is incised on the right side of the neck. With the exception of some damaged spots on top of the head, this sculpture is an outstanding example of perfection in the art of shaping and polishing stone.

The height is 49 cm., and the maximum cross section (at base) has a diameter of 25 cm.

This remarkable specimen was first reported by J. Imbelloni (1951, pp. 288-95) and described by him as "the finest sculpture of Easter Island." The sculpture reportedly emerged from hiding in the Anakena Bay area on the east coast in 1934, when no artist capable of such a carving was known on the island. This was the year of the Franco-Belgian Expedition, and yet this carving was not seen by any of its members although the sculpture suddenly emerged during the visit of the Chilean warship in December, when Don Roberto Cabeses Destibeaux tempted the islanders with an unheard of and exceptionally high price for ancestral carvings: a crate of Chilean wine. Even so, Mr. Cabeses was accused by the islanders of theft when he removed the sculpture from the island, only to donate it to the museum in Valparaiso. Referring to objects "brought to light" for trade against the stores of the visiting ship, Imbelloni writes: "This concept of 'bringing to light' requires some explanation. In spite of many and authoritative denials, the appearance from time to time of isolated and sometimes important examples convinces us that there must still exist on the island, in secret places, an uncertain number of objects that pertain to earlier generations and are closely related to the beliefs and the ceremonies of long ago. It is quite certain that the islanders of today pretend to scorn the 'ancient things' and faithfully practice the Catholic commandments, yet at the same time an awe and unconfessed respect for the mana which these objects embody constitute both an inhibition and a defense, particularly the relationship with the cult of the past and the ceremonies of the bird-man, which survived until recently. Naturally, this defense is neither absolute nor eternal and it is liable to weaken both as time goes by and as ever bigger offers of remuneration increase the temptation."

PLATE 156 i (Washington Photo. No. 33810): Lost head fragment of statue with inlaid obsidian eyes. This specimen
is known to the author only from a photograph from the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, that he received as a gift from Dr. Henri Lavachery. The stone head is shown in the photograph as part of an exhibit of Easter Island paddles, clubs, wooden figurines, feather-crowns, and adzes, all assumed to have been brought back by Paymaster W. J. Thomson upon his visit to the island with the U. S. Mohican in 1886. It was impossible to locate this head when the other Easter Island artifacts were examined by the writer at the Smithsonian Institution, and in spite of all subsequent efforts on the part of the staff to find it, it seems to have been lost. The head, of unmistakable Easter Island origin, seems to be of the typical Rano Raraku tuff used for all Middle Period and some Early Period statues. Its almost square outline and aberrant features clearly separate it from the standard Middle Period type of statue. Both its appearance and the fact that it is a fragment that could only have been broken from its body with considerable violence, brings it in line with the many Early Period statue heads found incorporated in Middle Period masonry walls or otherwise scattered around the island. No description can be given beyond what can be seen in the photograph, but attention should be drawn to the apparent circular obsidian inlay in the left eye which seems to be lost in the right eye.

Comparing its size relative to the other known objects in the same photograph, a rough estimate would give it a height of ca. 40 cm. and about the same width. Since this would indicate a statue at least of life-size proportions, it is the largest stone figure on Easter Island to retain an inlay in the deep eye sockets, and it thus strengthens the hypothesis that the large monuments formerly had some kind of inlay in their eyes as suggested on pp. 154–55.

PLATE 157 a (Berlin VI 4937): Crude bust of red scoria partly covered with white paint. The elongated and rounded block of reddish scoria has been carved into a bust with an egg-shaped limbless body. Near mid-length a deep groove separates the large head from the small body and a very crude effort has been made to give the head facial features resembling the eyeless and unfinished large Middle Period statues standing in the silt below the quarries of Rano Raraku. Ears are not indicated however, the cheeks are sagging, and the mouth has been carved as a large transversal groove. A peculiar detail is a thick coat of grayish-white paint which has been daubed across most of the lower face, touching even the tip of the nose and the cheeks. The same kind of paint covers the rounded base up to a height of about 3 cm.
The height is 22.5 cm.
The piece was part of the ethnographic collection brought back from Easter Island by the Geiseler Expedition in 1882. It was possibly carved shortly before as a doorway image of the type seen by the European visitors of that period and illustrated by Pierre Loti (see Fig. 10) ten years before Geiseler’s visit.

PLATE 157 b left (Chicago 273257): Small and crude limbless bust. The material is brownish pumice. This figure and the one in Pl. 157 b right are characteristic variants of a type of Easter Island sculpture well known from excavations (p. 326). It seems that the artist has merely striven for the crudest outline of facial features on a head separated from a dwarfed body section without limbs. In the present specimen the head and body sections are of almost equal size and a very crude effort has been made to imitate the facial appearance of the large ahu images with their low projecting foreheads and deep eye sockets. The back of the head, however, shows what appears to be a rather elongated bun of hair.
The height is 9.6 cm.
The figurine, originally part of the Fuller Collection, was brought from Easter Island together with the one in Pl. 157 b right in 1908 by the early settler P. H. Edmunds.

PLATE 157 b right (Chicago 273258): Small and crude limbless bust. The soft and reddish material resembles eroded tuff although it was identified by the Museum archaeologists as probably unfired clay. The difference in structure of the material from that of the clay heads in Pl. 182 b as well as the fact that the figurine appears to have been carved rather than moulded should, however, be noted. The present specimen is even cruder than the one just discussed and lacks the eye depressions. Crude ears are present.
The height is 10.2 cm.
The figurine, like the previous one, reached the Fuller Collection from P. H. Edmunds, although several years later, in 1918. When the writer met Edmunds in Tahiti in 1956, he claimed to have found a clay figurine by excavating the floor of a habitation cave, probably a reference to the present specimen if not to the clay heads in Pl. 182 b.

PLATE 157 c (London n.n.): Stone bust with goggle-eyes and hands on belly. This figure, carved from coarse grained volcanic tuff has its body and arms carved in the standard way of the Type 4 images, common in both the Early and Middle Periods. The treatment of the head, however, with its short ears, rounded apex, and goggle design around large, bulging eyes brings it into line with Early Period art.
The height is 44 cm.
The piece is simply recorded as a gift from Commander Brooker.

PLATE 157 d (La Rochelle n.n.): Stone bust with narrow base and deep eye cavities. The material is a brownish-gray vesicular lava with harder and denser streaks along the
right side and back. The head, which is larger than the body, is separated from the latter by a broad groove. The vaulted skull projects in front over the eyes which are carved as deep oval depressions with flat bottoms and have almost certainly lost a former inlay. The eyebrows are only slightly raised. The nose is long, narrow, and slightly aquiline with realistic nostrils. The lips are raised and separated by an incision line. The lower jaw is prognathous. The right ear is realistically carved in high relief although very eroded. The lower half of the left ear is knocked off. Recent scars caused by sharp tools are visible in this damaged area as well as on the left shoulder and arm, suggesting that the figure was found by excavation. The back of the head is rounded and in stepped at the neck. The body becomes narrower toward the base, with arms carved in high relief down the sides, separated from each other on the back by a large, vertical natural furrow. Crude, large hands with indistinct vestiges of fingers on the left side meet in front at the base. The naturally pointed base is large and unworked and is probably intended for insertion in the soil since the image cannot balance alone.

The bust is 41 cm. tall.

The image was found in the Rano Raraku crater by the French expedition of La Flore in 1872, and its authenticity cannot be doubted.

PLATE 157a (Santiago-Hist. 4186): Squatting figure with full beard and bulging eyes. The material is a red, fairly soft but compact lava. The head is about the same size as the rest of the figure, all of which is crudely carved with traces of metal tool marks. The eyes are large and bulging, and the nose is rectangular and slightly aquiline without alae. The eyebrows are joined as a straight raised band across the forehead to descend at a right angle at the outside of each eye, as if representing ears. Another similar band runs above these eyebrows to encircle the entire face while assuming the shape of a full beard. The mouth is merely a crude transversal cut. The arms are carved as short, horizontal bands, running forward to the chest. The thighs are drawn up vertically with the knees bent and the lower leg running downward separated from the thigh by a groove. The rounded base of the statuette extends below the stunted legs which lack feet.

The length is 33 cm.

The statuette, which was donated to the Museum by P. Bienvenido de Stella in 1919 was described by Gusinde (1924, p. 208).

PLATE 157f (Los Angeles n.n.): Seated figure of heavy stone. The material is a heavy, dense, and finely grained red tuff. The round head is very large in proportion to the rest of the figure and has a slightly upturned face. The eye regions are deep set and the eyebrows are slightly raised above a projecting forehead. The large, almond-shaped eyes are slightly convex. The nose is low and thin with a rounded triangular cross section. The mouth is small and pouting. There are no pouches below the eyes but the cheeks are convex as if wind-filled. There is no chin and vestiges of small curved ears are barely raised above the surface of the head. The head, which bears a striking resemblance to that of the kneeling statue excavated by our expedition (Pl. 3), is divided from the body by a deep and wide groove. Two small, pecked concavities occur at the back of the neck and are about 2 cm. apart on each side of the mid-line. The arms, which are only vaguely discernible, are flexed with hands terminating in large bumps where the breasts would be. Erosion precludes the observation of details, but the hands were probably meant to clasp female breasts, and a large protruding abdomen seems to indicate a pregnant woman. The figure is sitting on small, realistic buttocks with vaguely discernible thighs and legs stretched forwards and flexed at the knees. The legs, separated in front and underneath by a wide groove, are so short that they do not extend as far forward as the bulging abdomen.

The height is 17.7 cm.

The sculpture, which is obviously old and eroded, was reportedly found in a cave by navy personnel visiting the island during the Second World War.

PLATE 157g (Chicago 273264): Stone image with upturned face and bulging abdomen. The material is a very heavy and dense, grayish basalt. The head is divided from the body by a deep and wide groove and the face is turned upwards, with large eyes carved almost as hemispheres. The forehead is low and protruding. The nose is straight and the mouth, which has possibly been obliterated through erosion, seems to have been secondarily indicated as a groove. In place of ears are a groove and a cup-shaped depression. The figure has female breasts and an extremely bulging abdomen suggesting a pregnant woman. The thick arms are slightly flexed with hands nearly meeting below the abdomen. The eroded hands have been secondarily retouched with fresh grooves representing finger divisions. The buttocks are round and protruding. The rounded base does not have legs, but a groove running from front to back has been recently carved.

The height is 26 cm.

The piece was collected on Easter Island prior to 1918 by Mr. P. H. Edmunds and reached the Museum as part of the Fuller Collection.

PLATE 158a (Oxford Vl. 30): Middle Period Type 4 image with aberrant features. The material is the typical Rano Raraku tuff and the general appearance of the piece is that of a Middle Period ahu statue with a flat apex and long ears, although it is smaller than any known ahu image and has certain aberrant features. Instead of the usual
deep eye sockets of the finished Middle Period ahu images, this sculpture has large and shallow eye depressions. The nose is too damaged for comparison, but the mouth differs from the standard type in being a horizontal depression surrounded by slightly raised lips. The rear of the statue is normal, as is the front of the body, although breasts, navel, and genitals are lacking. The arms, normal in that they are flexed at the elbows with the hands placed near the base of the statue, differ only in being bent at a sharper angle than usual with broad and short fingerless hands, in contrast to the usual Middle Period Type 4 which is characterized by extremely long and slender fingers terminating in sharp nails. The transversally concave base suggests that the image was designed to be set in the ground and not on the stone slabs of an ahu. The eroded figure, which has lost most of the left ear, shows obvious signs of age. The height is 61.5 cm. The width across the shoulders is 35 cm. and the thickness at the stomach is 23 cm.

The statue, brought back from Easter Island by the Routledge Expedition, had reportedly been found in a cave on the bird islet of Motu Nui shortly before their arrival in 1914. The natives gave a name for it, Tiahangā o te Henua (Routledge, 1919, p. 261), which Routledge translated as “The boundary of the land,” adding that a line dividing the islet between the two tribes passed through the cave. However, since the statue was found in the cave, the possibility should not be excluded that it was a hidden doorway image or a guardian of the cave rather than a landmark, something otherwise unheard of on the island.

PLATE 158b (Santiago-Nat. 2557): Bust with T-shaped nose and eyebrows, and hands on abdomen. The material is a very hard and heavy vesicular basalt. A loaf-shaped stone has been divided at mid-length by a deep and wide groove representing the neck and giving the head and body the same size. Facial features are indicated by grooves. The nose is a narrow rectangle set at right angles to a straight band representing eyebrows. The large eyes are rectanguloid with rounded outer corners, and the mouth is a short transversal groove. The ears stand out in relief as narrow rectangles. The flexed arms are represented as on the Type 4 statues, but the hands are indistinct through erosion. The back of the slightly flattened image is transversally convex and plain except for a rectangular depression running up from the neck and filling most of the back of the head.

The height is 25 cm.

In the Museum catalogue of 1915, the piece is listed merely as donated by Carlos E. Porter.

PLATE 159 (Santiago-Nolasco 76): Stone foot. The material is a hard and heavy vesicular volcanic stone. All surfaces are worked to form an elongated object shaped like a stone axe with an oval cross section and a blunt cutting edge, serrated to resemble the toes of a foot. The grooves separating the toes continue over the edge and down the other side, to make a completely bilaterally symmetrical sculpture. The piece shows excellent workmanship and is obviously old with eroded surfaces.

The length is 19.3 cm., the width, 8.5 cm., and the thickness near center, 6 cm.

No information could be obtained from the Museum as to the history of this carving except that it came from Easter Island prior to the arrival of any of the present staff, and that its low catalogue number shows that it formed part of the collection when the college Museum was formed in 1917.

PLATES 160, 161 (Boston 53591): Bearded and painted stone figurine with ribs and inlaid eyes. The material is a fine-grained, light-brown lava, covered all over with red paint, apparently ocher mixed with oil. The head is turned so that the face is looking upwards. A striking feature is the inlay of the eyes. The eye region is vaguely raised and almond-shaped, containing roughly circular cup-shaped depressions. The right eye has a whitish stone disk inlaid which has its central area painted black, giving much the same effect as the bone or shell ring enclosing an obsidian disk on the wooden figures. The left eye has lost its inlay and the unpolished bottom of the socket shows that it was not drilled but carved by means of a crudely pointed tool, probably the customary obsidian chip. The nose is turned up as a ridge forming the upper end of the figure and is straight with a rounded cross section and small alae. It splits upwards in a Y-shape as it continues into two almost straight eyebrows raised, like the nose, in high relief. These eyebrows curve down in diminishing relief around the eyes to merge with the cheeks. The skull is extremely narrow and rounded like a bump on top of the head. The mouth is curved up at the corners in a grin and compressed with raised but very narrow lips. Parallel rows of incision grooves across the inner part of the lips recall the mummylike stitches common on some of the large stone statues as well as some of the smaller figurines. A very long and narrow goatee beard, carved as four ridges separated by grooves, runs from the lower lip in a curve around the chin and down towards the short, stocky neck. The neck has an egg-shaped cross section widest at the front, and on its rear side there is a hemispherical protuberance like the one common on wooden figures although it is not perforated for a suspension string. The chest area is vaulted and covered with grooves to indicate ribs. A slanting step nearly 1.5 cm. deep leads down to the abdominal part of the body which, rather than being emaciated, is bulging almost like a hemisphere. From the abdomen a blunt penis extends downward in high relief against large and round testicles which extend below the level of the small feet. Another unique feature is that the thick, rounded arms are drawn
back so much that, together with the raised shoulder blades and buttocks, they enclose the back as a depressed area or rectanguloid bowl. A raised and rounded band surrounds the central area of each arm suggesting elbows. The shoulder blades are carved as hemispheres raised in higher relief than the round arms. The arms terminate at their lower ends in hemispheres which coincide with the buttocks. The shoulder blades and the buttocks are very similar. A deep wide groove, in the place of the spine, runs down the flat, sunken back, and parallel rows of transversal grooves run sideways to indicate ribs. The legs are extremely short and sharply flexed, the right one only being slightly thicker at its extremity to represent a small foot. Since the rounded testicles form the base of the figure, it is unable to stand.

The height is 21.3 cm., the maximum width (at elbows) is 10 cm., and the maximum thickness (at chest) is 9.1 cm.

This truly unique piece formed part of the old Boston Museum Collection until 1899 when it was transferred to the Peabody Museum.

PLATE 162 (Santiago-Nat. 5520): Plaque showing male with head ornament and cup-shaped depression on stomach. The material is a flat, long, and somewhat loaf-shaped slab of compact and heavy whitish Poike tuff (teatea). The surface is either gray with patina or because it has once been rubbed with oil. A male figure with rounded contours is carved on the slightly vaulted side. The large disk-shaped face has no ears, but a rectanguloid projection extends from the top of the head, curving six centimeters down the edge of the slab. This ornament, which is narrower at its base than at the top, may represent either a feather-crown or a topknot. The nose is flat with flaring alae and separated from the large almond-shaped eyes only by the groove surrounding them. Eyebrows are vaguely raised in an almost straight band across the forehead, and pouches under the eyes are also vaguely indicated. The mouth is a raised transversal band that might have had a transversal groove separating the lips prior to erosion. The pointed and rounded chin, raised in low relief against the chest, seems to indicate a beard. The body increases in width from the chest to the abdomen where a large and deep cup-shaped depression nearly 4 cm. in diameter occurs. Below this depression is a smaller one which seems to mark the navel, and a penis is carved between straddling and stunted legs without feet. Long arms hang down separate from the body to terminate in blunt points merging into the surface of the plaque almost like wings. The figure fills the total length of the plaque.

The plaque is 47 cm. long and 12.5 cm. thick.

This remarkable piece was collected on the island by the Gana Expedition in 1870 and was published in the Museum annals as early as in 1873.

PLATE 163 (Santiago-Nat. 5518): Plaque showing female covered with vulva symbols. The material is white Poike tuff (teatea), gray because it has apparently been rubbed with oil. This sculpture bears considerable resemblance to the previous specimen. The rear side of the plaque is left unworked while a female figure fills nearly the entire length of the front side. Whereas the above described male figure has a round head without ears, this female figure has a rather square head with extended ears that are almost the length of the face. The low forehead is raised in relief above the level of the rest of the face. The nose is similar to that of the previous image, but the raised lips of the present specimen are clearly separated by a groove. The large oval eyes are slightly convex and sunk into the surface of the face. Deep cup-shaped depressions represent pupils. The upper cheeks are slightly swollen to represent pouches under the eyes, but there is no chin since the face runs directly into the neck. The thick arms hang separated from the body with realistic depressions and a slight groove indicating the inside of the elbows. Some incisions, possibly secondary, indicate fingers. The figure is knuck-kneed with stunted legs terminating in small disk-like feet. The genital area has a small central concavity probably representing the vulva. A number of large vulva symbols (komari) occur asymmetrically scattered over the head and body, one above the right eye, one below the left eye, one on the chest above two sagging breasts, a smaller one at its side, and two on the stomach. Surface marks on the plaque show that the sculpture has been made by pecking followed by grinding.

The plaque is 36 cm. long, 21 cm. wide, and 13 cm. thick. The relief is 33 cm. long and 15 cm. wide.

This important specimen was collected, like the previous one, by the Gana Expedition of 1870 and published in the Museum annals as early as in 1873.

PLATE 164 a (Santiago-Nat. 5517): Double head with bulging eyes on peg-shaped base. The material is very hard and heavy vesicular basalt. The sculpture is of the Janus head type and the two heads, separated from each other by a deep groove, are very alike. Each one has the appearance of a mask, is flattened from back to front, and joined to a common neck shaped like a stopper with a rounded end. On each face, the short nose is of a bulging pear shape with a concave bridge, and branches into two curving eyebrows in high relief. On each head the oval eyes are large and bulging and separated from nose and eyebrows by a deep wide groove. The mouth is small with raised, eroded lips, and from its central part a wide band runs like a small beard down to the center of the chin. Traces of aboriginal red coloring, probably made from Puna Pau-type scoria, remain in various protected areas of the surface. Both in material and in style this double head is strongly related to a similar but triple head obtained by our expedition in
1955 (Heyerdahl, 1961, p. 476, Pl. 92) and illustrated here in Plate 215 c. The sculpture is obviously very old and eroded in spite of its hard material. The height is 23 cm., the maximum width (from nose to nose) is 24 cm., and each face is about 19 cm. high and 14.5 cm. wide.

This important sculpture was obtained by the Gana Expedition as early as in 1870, and its authenticity, therefore, cannot be doubted.

PLATE 164 b (Honolulu C.3589.0): Composite sculpture of anthropomorphic head and human bust. The material is a heavy, vesicular basalt of a dark gray color and of a type common on Easter Island. On one flat surface a human figure is carved in relief in such a way that the top of its head coincides with the edge of the block so as to be transversally straight although rounded from the forehead to the apex. The narrow rectangular nose extends down in relief from the projecting straight forehead and, unless represented by two small pits, eyes are not indicated. The low rectangular forehead is wider than the round face, and adjacent to it on each side of the head a ring is carved in relief. These rings might represent outstanding ears, but since they surround cup-shaped depressions, they are rather suggestive of large ear ornaments. The eroded mouth is shown as a depression. The semicircular chin stands out in relief above the short neck and body which is itself carved in lower relief. The body is outlined by, and represented only by, two long slender arms. The upper left arm slants inwards towards the body with the elbow flexed at a sharp angle so that the hand, without fingers, is placed on the chest. The right upper arm is vertical and the elbow only flexed at a blunt angle so that the forearm runs parallel to the other one and the fingerless hand is placed near to what would have been the genital region. The left elbow and the right hand mark the lower limit of the relief. The edge of the block next to the figure’s right arm is carved into an anthropomorphic face at right angles to the relief. The long and narrow face, the flat and narrow upper head, the strongly projecting nose, and the eyes carved as concavities below the forehead are features reminiscent of the Middle Period Easter Island ahu images. The mouth, however, is carved half open with protruding lips which are now partly broken. The lower face terminates in what is either a very long chin or a beard. A deep and wide groove encircles the block and separates the head from the section with the relief figure. Apart from this vertical groove, the flat side of the block opposite the relief figure is left plain. The restricted base of the block is flat and the sculpture can stand erect.

The block is 23.5 cm. high, 21.5 cm. wide, and 8 cm. thick. This sculpture has an amazing history as it was found in Kavewo Bay, Hawaii, in 1931 by J. Nicholas while excavating for an incinerator. There can be little doubt that the sculpture has been carved on Easter Island, especially since nothing similar has ever been known from Hawaii, and since museum specimens from Easter Island have reached Europe and the United States from Hawaii, e.g., the tapa figurine in Belfast (Pl. 21) which was first carried to Hawaii by early nineteenth-century voyagers.

PLATE 165 a, b (London 1920. 5-6.2): Double image with three-fingered hands and double-headed bird in relief. The material is a very heavy dark grayish-yellow tuff. Two busts of almost equal height are joined back to back, their heads separated merely by a deep and wide groove. Both figures are very much alike. Each has a nose carved as a raised, narrow, and straight band, a mouth represented by a horizontal groove and oval eyes outlined by incision lines. Otherwise realistic ears have small deep holes in front above mid-line. Each face has a chin so broad and sharp as to resemble a full beard. Clavicle bones are shown in relief below a thick neck and small nipples are carved on each figure. Both have arms curving in high relief down the sides with hands reaching below the bulging abdomen. On one figure both hands have clearly been carved with only three fingers, whereas on the other figure the fingers are obliterated by erosion. Neither navel nor sexual parts are indicated. On the side of the block linking the two bodies is a relief of a typical double-headed Easter Island bird with a split tail and pointed pendent wings. The split head of the bird has its beaks turned in opposite directions. The base of the sculpture is convex and the double image will not stand without support except in soil.

The taller image is 49 cm. in height, the other, 1.5 cm. shorter. The maximum width of the sculpture (from stomach to stomach) is 27 cm., and the width across the shoulders is 19 cm.

The carving was donated to the Museum in 1920 by W. Scoresby Routledge, and as it was not reported as an excavated piece, it may be assumed that the sculpture, which is undoubtedly old, was obtained from islanders who brought it out of hiding from a cave.

PLATE 165 c (not located): Small, double image with suspension hole and string. The photograph here reproduced was kindly given to the author by Dr. Carl Schuster and is a copy of an original photograph by Professor Ottmar Wilhelm in Concepción, Chile. Dr. Wilhelm, well familiar with Easter Island and Easter Island art from his studies of local blood groups, had originally recognized the sculpture as being of Easter Island origin. In spite of all his efforts, Professor Wilhelm has been unable to relocate the carving in the Concepción museum where the picture had been taken, and no information whatsoever remains available beyond what the photograph shows. There is no doubt, however, that the specimen is a fine example of Easter Island art. The eyebrows of the figures curving into
sagging pouches under the eyes, as well as the entire composition and the suspension cord are typical. To judge from the photograph, this sculpture is either carved from white Poike tuff (teatea) and subsequently rubbed with dark oil (e.g., Pls. 162, 163), or is a dark-painted plaster cast such as is the specimen in Pl. 167. If the latter is the case, it might be understandable that it has disappeared without trace in the museum inventory.

Although the present whereabouts of the original is unknown, this sculpture was published in 1873 in Anales de la Universidad de Chile in an article by Rudolfo A. Philippi, who later became director of the Museum of Natural History in Santiago, Chile. The early year of its publication, combined with the fact that it is illustrated as Fig. 6 on a plate where Figs. 1–5 are all objects brought back by the Gana Expedition in 1870, makes it highly probable that this specimen has the same provenience as the rest of the Gana specimens now preserved in the Museum of Natural History in Santiago.

PLATE 166 (Ratton Coll. n.n.): Black knobly object of basalt with anthropomorphic mask. This extremely interesting and aberrant piece bears a strong relationship to the sculpture of which a cast is shown in Pl. 167, the original of which appears to be the one collected on the island by the Chilean Knoche Expedition in 1911. This latter piece, illustrated by J. Macmillan Brown (1924, Pl. facing p. 142), has subsequently been lost. The general appearance of the present sculpture is that of a knobly tropical fruit with an anthropomorphic mask and flexed arms. The face is carved on one rounded edge of the somewhat flattened stone and represents a typical Makemake mask. Each eye is carved as a raised ring surrounding a cup-shaped depression. The short and broad nose is flat and forks into eyebrows which curve downward and encircle the face in a rounded heart shape. The large mouth is half open, with raised lips which are wider apart at the corners of the mouth than in the center. Near each side of the lower face appears an arm bent double with elbows pointing backwards. Hands are not indicated. The top of the stone is vaulted and left plain, but on the sides and at the back are carved six almost hemispherical bumps of similar size, one on each side and four behind. The base is flattened so that the sculpture can stand. The piece is 12.5 cm. high, 12.2 cm. long, and 7.2 cm. thick. The history of the piece is obscure as it was purchased by M. Ratton in the belief that it came from the West Indies. The extremely close analogy to the piece brought back from Easter Island by Knoche, however, is clear evidence of its origin.

PLATE 167 (Berlin VI 42369): Black painted cast of knobly object with anthropomorphic mask and cup-shaped depression on head. As stated, this sculpture is clearly related to the carving illustrated in Pl. 166. The mask, placed on one rounded edge of the object, is similar in every detail to that of the previous sculpture and the main differences are to be found in the detailed treatment of the rest of the stone. The present specimen is narrower in proportion to its height and thus has a narrower base than the previous one. A much larger number of bumps, 21 in all, is also present and they vary in size from 1.3 cm to 2.5 cm. in diameter. As opposed to the previous piece, these bumps are also placed on top of the carving. Between them, slightly in front of the apex, there is an oval cup-shaped depression with its long axis running forward and slightly toward the left, and its bottom sloping down toward the forehead. This depression is again a repetition of a feature previously described in several carvings and also recurring in several of the stone crania obtained by the Norwegian expedition. Another detail is a raised, club-shaped band running down the upper half of the rear edge of the sculpture with its widest section at the highest point. Finally, the arms which are carved in a narrow U-shape on the previous specimen, are carved on the present sculpture as flattened spirals, also starting near the lower face but curving backward, upward, forward, downward, and backward again and thus unidentifiable as arms if not through analogy with the previous specimen.

The height of the sculpture is 16 cm., the length, 10.5 cm., and the width, 7 cm.

The last to be known about Knoche’s original collected in 1911 is that it was brought to the Museum in 1928 by the painter Walter Bondy of Friedrich Wilhelmstrasse 19, Berlin, to have the cast made. The appearance of the cast, including the scars, concurs with that of the indistinct photograph of the lost original in indicating that this fine sculpture has been carved and polished from the same hard volcanic rock as that in Plate 166, and the authenticity of the two pieces is doubtless. Knobly fruits with animal features are common in ancient Peruvian art (e.g., Pl. 314 h). The edible warty frog of the Peruvian rainforest, the rococo, which is represented in an effigy vessel at the Tiahuanaco museum in La Paz, also has a striking resemblance to the two Easter Island sculptures. The possibility that the inspiration behind the warty creatures in Pls. 166 and 167 derives from the distorted memory of a froglike model is strengthened by the local importance of the peculiar coge motif (pp. 36–37, 235), and a comparison with such carvings as appear in Pls. 172–73, 216–17, 236a, 238–41.

PLATES 168, 169 (Washington 128,773 a): Unwieldy boulder image with goggle eyes and chin beard. The material is heavy, finely grained, light gray tuff, with surfaces stained brown from being in the ground. An irregularly shaped boulder has been modified on some of its natural surfaces to give it an anthropomorphic appearance. A rounded head, flattened at the front, has been carved in
high relief in such a way that the face looks upward from the rest of the boulder. The eyes are carved as large almond-shaped incisions surrounded by a raised gogglelike band. This band is of the usual Easter Island type formed by the flat nose forking into two eyebrows that curve around the eyes to end as sagging pouches under them. The nose has wide alae. The lips are raised in low relief and are separated by a transversal groove. From the lower lip a vertical band runs down in relief to mark a chin beard. Crude ears are carved in relief. The rest of the boulder is left unworked except for short, stunted arms which are crudely outlined as if they are stretched forwards from the shoulders to the chest of the hunch-backed creature. The rest of the body and limbs is lost in the natural curvature of the stone.

The length of the stone is ca. 35 cm.

The specimen is very important in having been collected on Easter Island by Paymaster Thomson in 1886 and illustrated by him (Thomson, 1889, PI. 51.1) as a sample of the local moai mea, or household images of the type belonging to the individual families.

PLATE 170 a (Edwards Coll. n.n.): Horizontal bust with bulging eyes. The material is hard and heavy vesicular basalt. The large head is attached to a body of almost equal size in a zoomorphic position; that is, the face is at a right angle to the body. Both the material and the facial features concur with the masks in Pl. 164 a: the flat nose forks into curving eyebrows, the large eyes are bulging, and the mouth is projecting. Rather than being of the Janus-head type, however, the head is separated from a small body by a wide and deep groove. Flexed arms in relief have hands placed side by side below the throat. The figure is a bust since lower limbs are lacking, and the body, which narrows towards the loins, terminates in a rounded stump.

The length is 37 cm.

The sculpture was reportedly found by an islander, Juan Niare, in two fragments in the vicinity of a pre-European house site (hara paenga) near the Rano Raraku quarries.

PLATE 170 b (Santiago-Nat. 5515): Crouching zoomorphic figure with bulging eyes. The material is the same hard and heavy vesicular basalt as that of Pl. 170 a. Although related in concept and style to the previous specimen, particularly in the position of the head and the facial features, there are some notable differences. The general composition is that of a crouching body superimposed on a cylindrical shaft terminating in the large head of the figure itself. The general form of this composition recalls certain phallic stones (ure) from Easter Island, some of which are very crude (Heyerdahl, 1961, Pl. 81 e, f) and some of which are ornamented with a human mask at the glans penis (this vol., Pl. 204). The head, which again is at right angles in a zoomorphic position to the body, differs mainly from Pl. 170 a in having crude, oval ears carved in relief, a longer nose with more obviously flaring nostrils, less circular and more oval eyes, and a wider mouth with the raised lips split by a long groove. The hands are again placed next to each other below the neck, but the elbows are less flexed and the lower arm is bent in the opposite direction at the wrist. The buttocks are separated and rounded, and the knees almost touch the elbows. Feet are crudely indicated with the heels projecting as much as the toes. The shaft on which the figure is riding continues beyond the figure itself to terminate in a rounded stump.

The length is 24 cm.

This piece, formerly numbered 332, was illustrated by R.A. Philippi in Anales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. XLIII, 1873, and had been collected by the Gana Expedition on the island in 1870.

PLATE 171 a (formerly owned by Mr. Diego Barros Arana): Small, stone head pendant. The present whereabouts of this specimen is unknown. The head is illustrated in the Anales de la Universidad de Chile as early as in 1873 by Rudolfo A. Philippi in his article on Easter Island and its inhabitants. The early date of the Chilean publication, combined with the fact that the other stone sculptures illustrated by Philippi in the same report are all preserved in the Museum of Natural History, Santiago, Chile, and catalogued there as brought back by the Gana Expedition, makes it highly probable that this aberrant Easter Island pendant came with the same expedition. Philippi’s description of the artifact is as follows: “A remarkable little head, which has served as an amulet, and which also belongs to Señor Diego Barros Arana, is figured in half natural size in Plate III. It is very flat; in the center on each side, it has a large depression surrounded by a raised rim in the form of a round ring, which occupies the place of the ear; the rest is plain. The superior and posterior part is occupied by a large braid of hair, resembling the crest of a mane which soldiers’ helmets sometimes have; it shows transversal and oblique incision lines. In front, this crest reaches to the base of the nose, and there are no traces of eyes. The nose is finely worked. The mouth is very big and very open; the upper lip, in the form of a band, is very prominent; the teeth are represented by another band divided by a few perpendicular furrows, and below this the palate protrudes instead of receding, as in nature. Below, the little figure terminates with a horizontal band, which could be considered as a lower lip, and above this there is another oblique band, which is not very prominent, similarly divided by transversal furrows, and which undoubtedly represents the lower teeth. Finally, above this, there is a small protuberance which takes the place of the tongue. At the front corner of the crest on top of the head a raised, curved line begins at each side, whose lower part could be compared to a twisted moustache. At the
edge of the crest at mid-length there is a hole on both sides; both holes end in a common hole in the upper part of the crest, and have been used to hold a thin cord from which this curious little figure was suspended. The material is a very fine-grained, whitish calcareous tuff, but the surface is of a clear ash grey."

There is little to add to Philippi's direct observations apart from pointing out that the large depressions, each surrounded by a raised ring on the sides of the head, are probably meant to represent the lateral eyes of a human head with some obviously zoomorphic aspects.

To judge from Philippi's statement that the pendant is illustrated by him as half natural size, it is about 9 cm. in height.

PLATE 171 b (Santiago-Hist. 14085-A): Naturally twisted piece of lava with Makeana-like mask. The material is an S-shaped, twisted fragment of an extremely hard and heavy blackish-brown lava flow. It is carved at one end to resemble a sort of eel-like monster where natural ridges along the back give a realistic effect. A rectangular nose extends from the forehead in relief, and two circular eyes are outlined by grooves to stand out like buttons. A thin and small mouth projects without separated lips. A few nondescript incision lines on the twisted body section include vulvalike designs (komari) below the head and an inverted crescent combined with irregular lines near the base.

The length is 27 cm.

Although the piece reached the Museum in recent years, the erosion of the mask in the hard material clearly shows that the sculpture is old.

PLATES 172, 173 (Dresden 18426): Anthropomorphic monster with clawed hind limbs only and deep hole on back. The material is an extremely hard and heavy boulder of dense basalt. At the highest part of the thicker end is carved an upturned anthropomorphic face like a mask in high relief. Eyes are carved as large oval depressions below a very low forehead which continues in low relief as a narrow nose without eyebrows. Pouches are clearly indicated below the eyes. The mouth is very eroded and can be recognized only as a slightly bulging area below the nose. Below it, is carved a very long and broad, almost rectangular full beard which is nearly as long as the rest of the head. In spite of much erosion, the ears have a realistic outline in relief on the sides of the head. The area next to the mask is carved to a lower level and left smoothly polished with only hind limbs and a tail standing out in low relief. The tail is short and broad with a rounded tip flanked by the thighs of the long limbs which curve forwards to end in a clawlike hand with three long fingers and a hooked and pointed thumb. In the middle of the back a 9 cm.-deep hole with an oval diameter measuring 4 × 5 cm. appears as a very prominent feature. There is no doubt that this detail had an important functional or magical purpose.

The boulder is 38 cm. long, 37.5 cm. high, and 35 cm. wide.

This extremely important and old sculpture was purchased by the Museum in 1886 from Paymaster Weisser who had collected it on Easter Island in 1882. The sculpture was known to the islanders and was considered by them to be as old as the oldest statue on the island.

PLATE 174 (Honolulu B.3502): Stone turtle. The material is hard and heavy vesicular basalt of a dark gray color. All surfaces are carved except part of the ventral side which was naturally flat. The carving is perfectly symmetrical. The round head has two large, bulging, circular eyes outlined by wide grooves. There are no other features still visible on the eroded head. The body is that of a marine turtle with long flippers turned backward to terminate near a round, blunt tail. A pronounced dorsal ridge runs down the back of the vaulted shield.

The length is 21.5 cm.

The provenience is as for Pl. 96 a, and the authenticity of this clearly ancient sculpture cannot be doubted.

PLATE 175 a (Dunedin 31.1658): Flattish lava head with large circular eyes. The material is a naturally shaped flat block of grayish lava on which two deep, circular grooves representing large eyes have been incised. An essentially natural curved step in the stone resembles a mouth with its corners turned down. Two crude grooves on the irregular chin may indicate a beard.

The height is 30 cm.

This specimen, which corresponds to the crudest type of sculpture known from the island, was obtained by Dr. H. D. Skinner on Tahiti in 1931. According to Dr. Skinner (viva voce) the piece was purchased from S. Russel who had acquired it in the area near Salmon's former Tahitian house where the large basalt statue of Pl. 4 a, the crude animal sculpture of Pl. 178 a, and fragments of obsidian from Easter Island were also found.

PLATE 175 b (Honolulu C.4154): Cock's head of stone. The material is heavy and dense gray basalt. The head, which is very flattened at the sides, has an eye carved centrally on each side, like a ring in relief. A serrated cock's comb fills the upper edge of the head. A realistic beak with a groove indicating the opening, two parallel wattles separated by a longitudinal groove on the ventral side, and a short neck complete the carving. Pecking marks from the carver's tool are visible on most surfaces.

The length of the carving is 16.5 cm.

According to K. P. Emory (viva voce) the provenience is unknown, but it is assumed that the sculpture comes from Easter Island.
PLATE 175 c (Santiago-Nat. 11573); Vesicular stone ball with two opposed Makemake faces. The material is a very hard and heavy vesicular basalt. The sculpture is a sphere with a carved mask consisting of broad incision lines in two opposed hemispheres. These two masks are somewhat asymmetrically placed in such a way that their apexes are closer together than their chins. Each eye consists of a large, crater-shaped ring surrounding a deep central cavity. Between them is a long and narrow nose widening slightly towards the tip, while branching upward into two curving eyebrows that entirely surround the eyes as second rings concentric with the eyes themselves, although terminating near the tip of the nose. The diameter of the carving is 16 cm.

Although donated to the Museum by Father Sebastian Engler as late as in 1937, the piece is obviously ancient.

PLATE 175 d (Honolulu B.3547); Flatish animal head of lava. The material is a grayish-red vesicular lava often occurring among the sculptures encountered on the island. The very eroded head is flattened from both sides, and has rounded contours apart from what is either a projecting muzzle or broken beak. The eyes are asymmetrically placed on each side of the head, the left one being represented as a raised ring surrounding a deep, cup-shaped depression, while the right eye, mutilated by erosion, seems to have been a ring surrounding a disk rather than a depression. What looks like a muzzle was probably a bird's beak, since the tip seems to be broken and only secondarily eroded. Two furrows on the left of the "snout" converge without meeting, but had there been a long beak, they would probably have met at its tip. Two large concavities obscure most of the right side of the head and are probably the result of erosion since it would have been easy to find a more suitable piece of lava if these faults in the stone had been present prior to the carving. The head also has a crude fracture in the neck area below the eyes which may or may not have been the original surface. The head is 10 cm. long, 9.5 cm. high, and 5.3 cm. thick across the eyes.

The provenience is the same as for Plate 96 a and its authenticity cannot therefore be doubted.

PLATE 175 e (Honolulu B.3495); Fish- or froglike stone head. The material is hard and heavy vesicular basalt of a dark gray color. The flatish head is short and wide recalling that of a frog, but a large V-shaped groove on the ventral side seems to represent the gill openings of a fish. The head is bilaterally symmetrical with eyes carved as large protruding disks with convex upper surfaces. A raised area extends from the apex towards the rear, and from it a narrow ridge runs forward between the eyes as if it were a nose, but it gradually merges into the surface at the tip of the snout. The mouth, which is not open at the front, is carved as two independent wide grooves each running backward from the snout to a point below the eyes. This treatment of the mouth recalls the wooden animal heads illustrated in Pl. 126 a. The deep and wide groove on the ventral side is carved as a pointed V opening up toward the neck. The neck is rounded off and enclosed by a semicircular groove.

The length is 9.6 cm., the maximum width and thickness (near center) are respectively 9.7 and 7.2 cm.

The piece, which shows clear evidence of considerable age, has the same provenience as Pl. 96 a, and its authenticity cannot therefore be doubted.

PLATE 175 f (Honolulu C.2469); Simple boulder head with deep eye cavities. The material is a very dense and heavy water-worn stone of black basalt with two deep natural concavities. A bent groove, carved horizontally below these concavities leaves the impression of a crude head with skull-like eye sockets. A small natural perforation penetrates the stone above the right eye opening and could have served for holding a line if the stone has been used as a sinker, although there is no evidence that this has been the case.

The maximum length of the stone (width of the face) is 15.5 cm.

The provenience of this specimen is uncertain although it has tentatively been grouped by the Bishop Museum as an Easter Island object. This provenience seems very probable in view of the great similarity in idea to the two specimens in Pl. 176, and in both material and idea to specimens obtained by the Norwegian expedition, e.g., Pl. 296 a.

PLATE 176a (Honolulu 6354); Whale-shaped animal without tail. The material is a heavy, grayish-black and extremely hard volcanic "bomb." Part of the surface is modified through pecking. On each side there are deep funnel-shaped holes representing eyes slightly above a curved incised groove running around the thickest end of the stone indicating a mouth. Two small depressions in front above the mouth represent nostrils.

The length is 7.7 cm.

Nothing is known about this specimen except that it came from Easter Island and is marked moai atua, moai being the general name for statue or figureine, and atua meaning god.

PLATE 176b (Honolulu B.3554); Whale-shaped animal with perforation at rear. The material is an extremely hard volcanic "bomb" similar to that of the previous specimen and the whole concept is closely related. All surfaces are natural, but deep, funnel-shaped depressions are drilled to represent eyes on each side near the thickest end. Again, a mouth curving down at the corners is incised as a deep groove. Nostrils are not present. Near the opposite, tail
end, which is slightly more pointed, a transversal suspension hole is perforated, and indicates that the piece was either a stone pendant, a plumbing weight, or a sinker. The length of the sculpture is 6.6 cm. The provenience is the same as for Pl. 96a, and its authenticity therefore cannot be doubted.

PLATE 177a (Christchurch E.138.652): Loaf-shaped stone fish. The material is heavy dark-gray vesicular basalt. All surfaces seem to have been worked although the shape may partly be due to the use of a water-worn beach stone. The stone is bilaterally symmetrical with a flat ventral side and a vaulted dorsal side. Both ends are blunt and rounded. One end, slightly broader than the other, is carved into a fishlike head with two eyes projecting as circular bumps, and the mouth is carved as a transversal groove around the head from one side to the other. A wide but shallow groove runs along most of the center of the back.

The length is 32 cm.

This specimen was found on the island under a wall that had fallen during Macmillan Brown’s visit in 1923 (Macmillan Brown, 1924, Pls. facing pp.152 and 166).

PLATE 177b (Santiago-Hist. 11778): Lava “bomb” modified to represent fish. The material is a naturally spool-shaped volcanic “bomb” of a hard and somewhat vesicular lava with natural longitudinal grooves. At one end there is a transversal V-shaped cut representing a fish’s mouth with one eye above it on each side carved as a small, deep pit. The curved gill openings are incised to outline the head. There is no suspension hole.

The length is 13.5 cm. with a maximum height and thickness (at center) of respectively 6.8 and 5.6 cm.

The carving, which is obviously old and eroded, was a gift from Dr. Aureliano Oyarzun in 1937.

PLATE 178a (Dunedin D 31.1657): Zoomorphic head with neck. The material is a natural lump of vesicular grayish-red lava modified only at one end to resemble an animal head. At the extreme end of a naturally shaped mizzle is a deep transversal cut representing an animal mouth and above it, along the crest of the muzzle, is outlined a long, narrow, and aquiline nose with slightly flaring alae. Eyes are represented by two crude indentations which seem partly natural. A wide but shallow groove is carved transversally.

The length of the stone is 36 cm.

The provenience is the same as for Pl. 175a, and the sculpture therefore evidently came from Easter Island in Salmon’s time.

PLATE 178b (London n.n.): Magic fertility stone for poultry. The material is light and very porous red lava.

The base and top surfaces are planes. Four deep cylindrical depressions from 4 to 4.5 cm. in diameter and from 5.5 to 6.5 cm. in depth have been excavated near each corner, with vertical grooves down the outer edges separating the “container” in the form of a four-leafed clover.

The stone measures 15 x 18 cm. across, and it is 8 cm. tall.

Nothing is known about its history except that it came from Easter Island, but stones of the very same type with as many or more holes were not infrequently encountered by the Norwegian expedition. The natives claimed they were honga uhu, or chicken fertility stones, supposed to increase the egg-laying ability of their hens through magic power (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp.452-53; Pl.81d).

PLATE 178c (Santiago-Hist. 14227/38): Fragment of hard stone chicken. The material is a very hard and heavy volcanic rock. A deep and wide groove has been carved around the stone to separate head from body section. A globular snoutlike beak projects from the head on the same axis as the neck. It is probable that a sharper tip has been broken off and the stump subsequently eroded. Two thick flaps separated by a longitudinal groove are carved on the ventral side of the head creating a certain resemblance to the wattles of a chicken. The eyes are carved side by side as two large concentric circles on the upper head rather than laterally which creates an effect somewhat different from that of a bird. On each side of the body there are deep grooves indicating former wings, the tips of which are broken off and lost together with the rear portion of the body. On the vaguely convex back, the wings stand out in relief. All surfaces are old and eroded.

The length of the fragment is 26 cm.

The sculpture reached the Museum from the collection of Raoul Marin Balmaceda in 1946.

PLATE 178d (Antwerp AE.59.2.14): Crude, pounder-shaped sculpture. The material is reddish-brown and very light vesicular lava. The general impression is that of a crude stone pounder with a flat base, but the artifact is not symmetrical. It is somewhat flattened on two sides, one of which is left plain while the rest of the stone is shouldered near the middle. One almond-shaped “eye” is incised on one broad side just above the shoulder. The material used is too soft to permit the artifact to be used as a pounder, and the general aspect of this piece is that of some of the crudest cave stones encountered by the Norwegian expedition.

The height of the specimen is 15 cm., and its maximum width and thickness (near the base) are 12 and 7 cm. respectively.

The carving was a gift from Commander Van de Sande upon his return from the Franco-Belgian Expedition in 1935.
PLATE 178c (London n.n.): Stone pillow with vulva incisions. Water-worn stones of hard and heavy, dense basalt, generally flattened, with rounded edges and oval outline, were the common type of stone pillow at least in the Late Period of Easter Island culture. They are commonly incised with one or more vulva (komari) symbols and the present example is included as a type specimen. Together with thick mats of plaited totora reeds, the stone pillows, ngara‘a or turua, represented the only furniture of the Easter Island houses at the time of European arrival and they are frequently encountered at abandoned house sites and in habitation caves (Heyerdahl, 1961, pp.450–51).

PLATE 1781 (K-T 1071): Stone pillow with three bearded masks. The material is the same as that of the previous specimen, although a less symmetrical stone has been selected. The specimen is an exceptional type in having three bearded human masks shown in different stages of completion, thus demonstrating the artist’s working procedure.

The stone is 37 x 46 cm. in diameter and 9 cm. thick at center.

This specimen was excavated by the expedition in 1956 from the floor inside the door of an ancient hare paenga, known as Hare te Oho, or Oho’s house, near Hotu-iti.

PLATE 179 (Boston 64851): Stone block bird-man relief with vulva symbols. The material is an irregular block of hard, volcanic rock, on whose smoothest side a relief has been carved. The main figure is a bird-man typical of those found on the cliffs of Orongo with a long beak curved at its end, the body in a crouching position with an arched back and human limbs. The circular head is almost filled by the eye which is carved as a dot and circle. The limbs are extremely thick. The anthropomorphic foot has seven toes, and a large anthropomorphic hand held under the tip of the beak shows only a thumb and two fingers since the third finger is covered by a large vulva symbol touching the tip of the beak. Another smaller vulva symbol is carved immediately below. Two more are incised on the arched body of the bird-man, and the largest of them all is hanging down from the seat of the figure. Another pineapple-like incision in front of the arm is probably secondary as might also be the incision lines separating the foot into seven toes.

The block is 46 cm. tall and was a gift of Alexander Agassiz who found it at the southwestern base of the Rano Kao volcano in 1905.

PLATE 180a (London n.n.): Boulder with crouching bird-man holding egg. The material is a natural boulder of hard, dark gray volcanic rock. One side is rough and unworked and the other carved convex and almost filled with the relief of a crouching bird-man. The figure has a human foot without toes, and an egg in the palm of a large open human hand with four fingers and a thumb. The eye is carved as a large incised circle. To make the low relief stand out more clearly, the front surface of the stone, except for the relief itself, has been painted white and so have the incision lines of the eye, beak, fingers, and egg.

The stone is 49 cm. long and 31 cm. high, with the bird-man measuring 36 cm. in length. The relief was brought back from Easter Island by the Routledge Expedition in 1915.

PLATE 180b (Boston 64852): Flattish block with bird-men clasping hands, and vulva symbols. The material is a somewhat flattened block of gray volcanic rock with a relief filling most of one level side. Two crouching bird-men are sitting back to back with their raised hands as well as their feet merging. The crouching bird-men are of the typical type dominating the cliffs of Orongo. However, whereas one has its beak curved at the tip, the beak of the other is somewhat oval. It resembles the large vulva symbol carved in relief to look almost like rabbits’ ears appended to the head of the hook-beaked bird-man. The large eyes are carved as incised circles concentrically placed inside the round head. The joined hands of the two men have six common fingers incised so that their tips touch the point of the hooked beak. The lower legs merge in such a way that it seems as if the feet are crossed. A vulva symbol is incised on the body of the hook-beaked bird-man and another on the neck of the straight-beaked bird-man. Behind the back of the latter figure there is a crescent-shaped relief resembling the lips of a smiling mouth divided by a groove.

The block is 83 cm. long and 56 cm. high. The provenience is the same as for Pl. 179, and like that specimen it was discovered at the foot of Orongo where bird-men reliefs are abundant.

PLATE 181 (Santiago-Nat. 5519): Stone plaque with bird-man and human figure, head to feet, and cup-shaped depressions. The material is a thick flat slab of light gray Poike tuff (teatea) one side of which has been decorated with reliefs. Centrally placed on the somewhat heart-shaped slab is a crouching bird-man of the standard Orongo type with a circular eye incision, long beak hooked at the tip, arched back, and flexed limbs with elbow and knee touching. The five-fingered hand is held just below the tip of the beak and the foot, without toes, has a projecting heel. A large vulva symbol (komari) is incised at the seat of the bird-man. An anthropomorphic figure, slightly smaller than the bird-man, is carved in the pointed corner of the heart-shaped slab, also in a crouching position and with the limbs flexed in precisely the same manner. The egg-shaped head of the anthropomorphic figure, resting on a long curved neck like that of the bird-man, is turned
backward so much that the face is pointing upward. A long, flat nose follows the contour of the upturned face. Below it appears a slight groove indicating the mouth. The eye seems to have stood out in low relief, but is damaged and an incision line above it marks the demarcation line between forehead and lower face. The most prominent feature of the head, however, is an intentionally carved, deep cup-shaped depression, 1.5 cm. in diameter, centrally placed at the side of the head. In the center of the plain area behind the back of the bird-man is another and larger cup-shaped depression 4 x 5 cm. in diameter, clearly pecked into the surface of the slab. Crude cuts and incision lines occur in the same area. Behind the back of the human figure a fish is incised with fine lines, showing dorsal, ventral and tail fins, and a herringbone pattern covering the body.

The slab measures 35 x 48 cm. and is about 15 cm. thick. The height of the bird-man is 27 cm., and the height of the human figure is 20.5 cm.

The plaque, formerly numbered 336, was illustrated by R.A. Philippi in Analecta de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. XLIII, 1873, and was collected by the Gana Expedition on the island in 1870.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (London 1948. Oc 5.3 Easter Is.): Zoomorphic figure with anthropomorphic head. The material is fine-grained yellowish-gray tuff. The head is separated by a wide groove from a roughly rounded body, and set at right angles to it as on an animal. The face is crude, represented by a straight projecting brow from which a rounded rectangular nose extends downward in high relief. Neither eyes nor ears are present, and the mouth is represented only as a slight protrusion with no indication of separated lips. The fore limbs have two large almost circular shoulder blades and curve forward on each side of the breast, ending in paws on which separate digits are not indicated. Each hind limb is roughly outlined by a deep groove at the rear of the body, curving forward on the ventral side to meet the grooves which also outline the fore limbs. The narrow band at the rear, between the hind limbs, may represent a tail curving forward on the ventral side, but this is not obvious.

The length is 15 cm., the width across the shoulders is 9 cm., and the thickness from back to stomach is 8 cm. Although apparently a recent acquisition, the figure has the appearance of being early and non-commercial.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (London n.n.): Crude figurine with flattened head. The material is red scoria. The short head is depressed from above with vaguely protruding vestiges of eroded ears. There are otherwise no traces of facial features apart from a crude pointed chin carved in relief against the body. Arms are flexed with their upper section confused with the ears and with hands placed on each side of the stomach. The only part of the legs that are shown are the hips, which are raised in relief at an angle indicating that the figure is either sitting or kneeling. The base is rounded.

The height is 38 cm., and the width and thickness are 21 and 19 cm. respectively.

Although the circumstances connected with its discovery are obscure and the workmanship is very crude, the carving has the aspect of being old and non-commercial.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (London 1914.2-77.1): Bust with bulging eyes and emaciated belly. The material is coarse-grained and dark grayish-yellow tuff from the Rano Raku quarries. The head and torso are almost of equal height. The apex of the head is slightly concave and slants backward and to the left. The eyebrows and nose are raised as thin ridges. The eyes are large and bulging, outlined by an oval groove. A crude mouth is represented by a horizontal groove. The right ear is barely discernible but the left ear is marked as a raised oval. The neck is clearly defined and very realistic seen from behind. The body terminates below the stomach. The belly is emaciated and sunken in a step about 2 cm. deep below the rib cage. Arms are carved in high relief as bands curving down from the sides with hands meeting in an upward curve at the base of the stomach. The back is carved round and plain. The base itself is unworked and obliquely slanting; the bust cannot stand.

The bust is 46 cm. tall, 21 cm. wide across the shoulders, and 18.5 cm. thick.

The sculpture was donated to the Museum by Commander G. Brooker in 1914.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Gothenburg 406.A-28.4.22): Stone bust with crest on head. The material is a reddish vesicular volcanic stone. The sculpture is a head with a round face carved with the upper section of a round-shouldered limbless torso. A narrow aquiline nose is carved in high relief and joins raised eyebrows to form a T, each eyebrow curving downward to terminate in a point. The almond-shaped eyes are outlined by a groove and a short transversal groove indicates the mouth. Long crude ears are raised as rectangular bands at each side of the head. The most remarkable feature is a large raised crest running from the upper part of the forehead backward across the apex. The rear of this crest was wider and reached down to the neck, but is broken off so that only its base can be seen. There are small holes in a vertical row in the area below the crest and behind the ear. The base is flat and the bust can therefore stand.

The height is 15 cm.

The carving was bought in Valparaíso and donated to the Museum by Gustav Sandström in 1928. Although the sculpture does not seem to be very old, its aberrant nature.
brings it in line with the type of carving encountered by the Norwegian expedition a couple of decades later.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Chicago 273266): Bust with relief on head and vestiges of red ocher. The material is brownish-black basalt carved as a male bust. The face is somewhat realistic with cup-shaped depressions as pupils in almond-shaped eyes. A relief which probably represents a bird is carved on top of the head. The arms are carved in relief down the sides toward a tapering base, the right one being broken with its lower part missing. There are traces of red ocher on the surface. The height is 40.2 cm. and the width, 28.6 cm. The bust was excavated by a native named Capierie and presented to P. H. Edmunds some time during the period 1909-18 when it was purchased by Captain A. W. F. Fuller from whom it reached the Museum in 1958.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu B. 3500): Cylindrical stone with eyes and nose. The material is a very hard and heavy vesicular basalt. A naturally shaped roughly cylindrical stone with oblique ends has had part of its surface removed to leave two large bulging eyes together with a long flat nose with extremely wide and thin alae reaching nearly to the base of the stone and thus leaving no space for a mouth. Apart from the eyes and nose, no other features are shown. The height is 22 cm. The provenience is the same as for Pl. 96 a, and the authenticity of the specimen therefore cannot be doubted.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Oxford n.n.): Archaeologically excavated small and crude limbless bust. The material is the same yellowish-gray tuff as used for carving the large Middle Period statues. Although eroded, it can be seen that the original carving is obviously exceedingly crude, with nothing except a nose and forehead in relief above the face. The face itself is stepped up in relief above the remaining stone which would represent a section of the neck or torso. The height is 11 cm., the width, 7 cm., and the thickness, 5.5 cm.

The interest in the piece lies in the fact that it was found by the Routledge Expedition in 1914 during the excavation of a standing statue outside the Rano Raraku crater. It represents a very crude type of figurine excavated in the same general area by the Norwegian expedition in 1955-56 (Skjösvold, 1961, Pl. 64 a, b) and also strongly resembles the small eyeless figure in Pl. 157 b right.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Honolulu B. 3548): Small crude head with nose and forehead in relief. The material is light, finely vesicular lava of a rusty-gray color. This specimen is strongly related to the previous one, excavated by Routledge, and to other specimens excavated by our expedition. Only a straight forehead extended down into a rectangular nose stands out in relief against the rest of the rather square face, which is very prognathous. There is no trace of a mouth. Ears are represented as vertical rectangles in low relief. Below the broad chin there is a short cylindrical neck section with an unleveled base. The back of the head is unworked and has a large natural concavity. The height is 10.8 cm., and the maximum width and thickness (at chin) are 7.5 and 6 cm. respectively. The specimen, which came to the Museum in 1920, has the same provenience as Pl. 96 a, and its authenticity therefore cannot be doubted.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Chicago 273267): Small head with transversal perforation through eyes. The material is fine-grained brownish-gray basalt. The eyes are carved as large circular grooves enclosing pupils formed by the two openings of a transversal perforation. On the forehead there are two parallel undulating grooves which are U-shaped over the nose. Only slight projections remain as vestiges of nose and mouth, and ears are not indicated. The head might have served as a pendant if not as a net weight. The height is 8 cm. and the width, 5.3 cm.

The specimen is catalogued as having been collected by Mr. Edwards on the island between 1919 and 1925.

NOT ILLUSTRATED (Chicago 273265): Flattened stone head with large eyes. The material is porous gray basalt. The head is flattened from both sides and has a long thin nose on one of the narrow sides. The eyes are large and fill each of the broader sides, carved in the form of two concentric rings surrounded by a third groove in such a way that the latter pair join to form a V on the forehead above the nose. The mouth appears as a vertical rectangular groove. The height is 34.7 cm., and the depth (from face to back) is 25 cm.

The specimen is catalogued as collected by Mr. Edwards on the island between 1909 and 1918.

Some additional art forms

PLATE 182 a (Vienna 22854): Human head carved from the bone of a whale. The material is a thick but flattish piece of Phyceter bone carved on all surfaces to represent a head, the left side of which consists of the vesicular part of the bone. A conical nose with a slightly aquiline profile is carved on one narrow side of the bone below a projecting

326
forehead. The right eye is carved by peripheral grooving to appear somewhat almond-shaped and bulging, whereas in the place of the left eye there is a very deep depression that can hardly be attributed to erosion and seems to be intentional. The cheeks are pronounced and sagging. Two notches across the lower face, which are also extended up the right side of the jaw, form a mustache and full beard running up toward a long narrow ear in high relief. The vesicular left side of the face is so eroded that none of these features is present.

The height of the carving is 15 cm., the maximum width (across eyebrows) is 6 cm., and the depth from nose to the back of the head is 9 cm.

The piece, which was formerly part of the Westenholz Collection, is very old and eroded, and the discoloring of the bone surface on one side suggests that it has been found in a cave or shelter with the left side down and the right side exposed.

PLATE 182 b (Chicago 273255 [left], 273256 [right]): Ball-shaped clay heads. The material is reddish-brown clay and there is no evidence that the clay has been fired. Each of the two almost identical spherical balls has the forehead and nose standing out in relief, the lower face having been pressed into the surface. A crude mouth has similarly been pressed into the clay as a transversal groove. The absence of eyes indicates that the artist might have been inspired by the eyeless statues below the Rano Rakau quarries. Crosswise marks at the rear of both heads indicate that they were placed on a mat or other irregular surface before drying. The head illustrated on the right (273256) has at some time been broken across the eye area and has later been repaired with glue. Its vertical diameter is 9.1 cm., and its horizontal diameter is 7.2 cm., while the corresponding measurements for the other head are 8.8 cm. and 8.4 cm.

These two exceptional clay sculptures were reportedly dug up by an old Easter Islander, John the Elder, near Mr. Edmund's house at Mataveri, and became part of the Fuller Collection in 1907. In 1956 Mr. Edmunds told the writer about his early search for hidden art on Easter Island, recalling then that a "clay figurine" had been found by digging up the floor of a habitation cave.

PLATE 183 a (In situ, Easter Island): Mural painting of weeping eye motif on rear wall slab of stone house R-26 in Orongo. This motif is common in Easter Island mural painting (cf. Figs. 14, 16 c, 20, 25), and is reminiscent even of the ao dance paddles. The distinguishing features are the row of vertical lines extending upward from the head, representing the typical Easter Island feather crown (Pl. 183 d), the round eyes with the nose forking into eyebrows, sagging cheeks, and, unique for Polynesia although diagnostic for Tiahuanaco, long streamers, or tears, that descend from the base of the eyes. The dominant colors employed in mural painting were red and white, although in other instances black, dark blue, and yellow are used, and the durability of the paint is impressive.

PLATE 183 b (In situ, Easter Island): Mural painting of sickle-shaped reed boat with three masts. This vessel, painted on the underside of a large roof slab covering a stone house at Orongo has its crescent-shaped hull outlined by a broad red line, while the rope lashings are painted as a series of crude transversal lines in white. The central mast runs through a red disk, the meaning of which is discussed on p. 238 (cf. Figs. 22, 23, 27).

PLATE 183 c (Washington 129759): Skull with incision on os frontalis. It was a not uncommon practice on Easter Island to incise a symbol on the skull of a deceased relative. The present specimen has a komari-like incision placed longitudinally from slightly above the os nasalis towards the apex of the skull.

The present specimen was collected on Easter Island by Thomson in 1886.

PLATE 183 d (Philadelphia 18055): Feather-crown. Featherwork of various kinds was highly developed and very common on Easter Island, and specimens are preserved in various museums. According to Engler's classification (1948, pp. 228–29), the present fillet with long feathers was referred to by the islanders as a ha'nu vaero. This was the most common type of headdress on Easter Island, and constitutes another analogy to the commercial headwear of peoples in ancient Peru (cf. Pls. 317 m, 320, Fig. 45).

Sculptures obtained in 1955–56

PLATES 184–299: Inherited or privately owned sculptures. All artifacts, including art objects, archaeologically encountered on Easter Island through site surveys or systematic stratigraphic excavations are reported by the individual expedition archaeologists in the two volumes of The Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific (Heyerdahl and Ferdon, Vol. 1, 1961; Vol. 2, 1965). Art objects revealed during the same period as privately owned property, either brought to the expedition camp by the islanders themselves as gifts or barter, goods, or first disclosed in hiding places with secret entrances not known except to the owners, are reported as ethnographica in pp. 90–144 of this volume and illustrated through examples in Pls. 184–299.
Comparisons and possible inspirations

PLATES 300–1: Examples of modern Easter Island art of aberrant forms. Barter with foreigners started with the very first call of the Dutch and the Spaniards in 1722 and 1770. Produce of the land such as sweet potatoes, bananas, and chili peppers were brought to the arriving ships in exchange for European clothing, nails or beads. Only when Captain Cook encountered a famined population in 1774 were wooden paraphernalia and portrait figures also brought forward as objects of barter. This kind of trade was recorded at intervals by visitors until the arrival of the missionaries in 1864, when the large quantity of pagan objects that were not immediately burned or destroyed quickly went into hiding. In the following years many of these same objects emerged from their caches, and were offered for barter to profane visitors for another couple of decades, until the original supplies of toromiro carvings were exhausted. Many of the wood carvings actually disappeared in their hiding places due to disintegration in humid caves. Time was ripe for the initiation of commercial art production which began about 1886 as a direct result of stimuli from the newly-arrived Tahitian settler, Alexander Salmon. Salmon’s collaboration in 1882 with the German Hyäne expedition and in 1886 with the American Mohican expedition constituted the first truly intensive ethnographic investigations carried out on the island. These prolonged visits exhausted dispensable wood carvings and encouraged the carving of fresh replicas which were accepted by subsequent visitors with ever increasing enthusiasm. When commercial mass production began, the replicas were restricted to the standard type of dance accessories, emblems of rank, and such figurines as had been carried about in public, all of which had liberally been passed on to foreigners for over a century. As opposed to this category of sculptures, which represented a common artistic heritage of the entire island community, the strictly private household images of the moai naua class remained in hiding as tabu property which was not for exhibit, but carved purely as magico-religious good luck objects intended to benefit the individual owner or his intimate family. Treasure hunting for other people’s carvings in secret caves was recorded as the favorite pastime of the islanders at the initiation of the twentieth century, and sporadic original specimens even of this category of sculptures left the island from time to time, generally to end in obscurity in some museum storeroom. Commercial duplicates were not in demand and not attempted. In 1955–56, however, time and circumstances were ripe for the next revelation, the disclosure of an old community secret. Many, if not most, Easter Island families still protected heirlooms of pagan nature which they feared and respected but generally did not venerate. Once the spell of the long guarded secret was broken, commercial pieces of completely aberrant forms, carved as replicas or according to hearsay and imagination, went into production as unexpectedly as the emergence of the related specimens from the caves. As with the commercial copies of standard wood carvings which started about 1886, the aberrant carvings in stone which started for the benefit of the Norwegian archaeological expedition in 1955–56 can in most cases be readily distinguished from non-commercial pieces (e.g., Pls. 300–1).

PLATES 302–20: Comparative motifs in extra-island art. It has hitherto been accepted as an axiom that Easter Island culture derived from somewhere in the Marquesas group. For lack of evidence the atolls of the Tuamotu archipelago have occasionally been proposed as an alternative. The possibility of an influence from the other side, from the great continental civilizations that dominated the windward side of Easter Island, has been ignored or overlooked. Although, on a map, equally far from lonely Easter Island as are the said islands of Polynesia, South America is located where the permanent trade winds and the powerful Peru Current set out to bear down upon Easter Island and the distant islands behind. Certain modern scholars unfamiliar with Easter Island have resorted to the now written Easter Island language, Rapanui, and used glottochronology to figure out when the island was first settled. Some have even argued that this method could pinpoint one area or another in Polynesia from where the Easter Islanders came. Such a procedure ignores the fact that the arriving Dutch and Spaniards emphasized in their observations that they found a clearly mixed population on their arrival. Indeed Cook, bringing along a Polynesian interpreter, recorded a list of selected Polynesian words, while specifically admitting that the local language was wholly unintelligible even for his Polynesian aide. Before him, the Spaniards had recorded a non-selective list of Easter Island words, including numerals which were entirely non-Polynesian. A century later the missionaries who were sent from Tahiti, and the rangers Brander and Salmon who followed in their wake, introduced the Tahitian language in speech and scripture. The small population was easily influenced by these new teachers. Once the missionaries had evacuated a large section of the population to Mangareva in Polynesia proper, only 111 individuals all told remained on Easter Island. By then Palmer, in 1868, had already recorded that the language had so much changed that it was impossible to say what it was originally. To judge Easter Island origins only from a study of what we know of the language is, to say the least, highly unrealistic. No scholarly argument has been published to support the theory of an arrival from the Marquesas group, other than the observation that here too anthropomorphic stone statues existed, although few in number and unimpressive
compared to their Easter Island counterparts. Neither the Tuamotu archipelago nor the whole rest of Oceania could muster such an analogy. Today this argument is no longer valid, however, since the two sites with monumental statues in the Marquesas group now have been radio-carbon dated and found to be much more recent than the Early Period statues on Easter Island, post-dating even the first centuries of Middle Period statues. The stepped ceremonial stone platforms of Easter Island have occasionally been compared to those of eastern Polynesia, notably those of the Marquesas group and the Tuamotu archipelago, but the fact has been overlooked that the very same type of structures were equally characteristic of ancient South America. The exceedingly specialized stone fitting and megalithic dimensions of the blocks in the oldest Easter Island temple platforms bring these structures much closer to those of ancient Peru than to anything found in Oceania. It has long been recognized that the other architectural features of the Easter Islanders, including the cylindrical stone towers and ceremonial and secular house types, together with the bird-man cult and other beliefs and customs, set them clearly apart from other branches of the Polynesian family. Yet little attention has been paid to the remarkable fact that all these non-Polynesian elements were characteristic of the maritime cultures to the windward side of Easter Island since Tiahuanaco and Mochica times. Easter Island art reflects better than any other part of the culture the essence of local beliefs and customs. A survey of this most heterogenous art emphasizes its marked contrast in almost every aspect to the monoform tiki masks and conventionalized geometric patterns typifying Marquesan art. Easter Island art has been found to differ from that of all other Polynesian areas as well, but nowhere so markedly as from that of the inhabitants of the Marquesas and Tuamotu groups. Since Oceania in general, and the two nearest island areas in particular, fail to furnish an explanation of the array of aberrant and outstanding cultural manifestations on Easter Island, which represents the Oceanic outpost nearest to South America, it seems permissible and even warranted to include the windward side of this island into a survey of possible origins and inspirations. Both working material and artistic style vary from area to area inside Polynesia as well as inside ancient Peru, being dictated from place to place by geographic limitations and established local rules and traditions. A comparative survey must therefore look for the basic concepts in motifs and symbols wherever apparent behind a superficial camouflage of local decor. Such a comparison is attempted with the inclusion of the extra-island material illustrated in Pls. 302–20.
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INDEX

Aberrant sculpture (aberrant art), 18–19, 21 ff., 46–47, 85–87, 93, 97–150 passim, 217 ff., 252 (see also Early Period; specific aspects, developments, figures, kinds, motifs, objects, uses); modern, Pls. 300–1 (see also Imitations); Monument Types, 153–55 (see also Monument Types); possible origins and outside influences, 168–75, 226–44, 328–29; wood carvings, Pls. 60–147 (see also Statuettes, wood; specific images, kinds, motifs, objects); wood and stone, general description, 217–44 ff. (see also specific kinds)

Ablepharus boutonii, 194

Acosta, Father, 212

Adams, A., 42, 43

Admiralty Museum, Russian, 42, 190

Adobe, use of, 172

Adze, stone, 81, 159

Aeolian dust, 24–25

Agriculture, 39, 101, 166, 170, 210–11, 246, 248. See also Garden plots; Plant motifs; Plants; specific motifs, objects, products, uses

Aguera, F. A. de, 36, 37, 176, 207

Ahu, 14, 30, 31, 34, 41, 55, 60–61, 66, 85–150 passim, 156–57, 160–62, 246 ff., Pls. 8–10 (see also individual ahu); destruction of, 32–34, 249, 250; possible origins and outside influences, 170–75, 246 ff.; purpose of, 165–68, 251; rebuilding of, 164–65, 247; transportation and erection of statues and, 89–90, 160–62

Ahu Akahanga, 61, Pl. 10

Ahu Haahuora, 61

Ahu Hanga Pounkura, 164

Ahu Hekii, 87

Ahu Oha, 60–61

Ahu Rikiriki, 61

Ahu Tepeu, 74, 76, 87, 116, 129–30

Ahu Te-pito-te-kura, 66, 87, 166, 167

Aiguirre, Captain, 44

Aku-aku, 25, 67–68, 74–80 passim, 91, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 105, 106, 109, 113–14, 117, 119, 122, 127, 131, 140, 150, 189, 218, 252, 253, Pls. 64–65, 104, 146. See also Ancestor guardian; Gods; Household images; Spirits; specific aku-aku, images, motifs, objects, uses

Albatross, 12, 241

Alcalde, 125

American Museum of Natural History (N. Y. C.), 44

Americans (United States). See United States (Americans)

Anakena, 23, 81, 89–90, 91, 92, 94–95, 96, 107, 112, 131, 141, 142, 253

Ana miro, 123

Ana Okahi, 135

Ancestor cult (ancestor spirits), 47, 66, 67–68, 74, 80, 93, 97, 165–68, 251, 252. See also Aku-aku; Doorway guardians; Household images; specific figures, images, kinds, motifs, objects

Ancon, 212

Andes (Andean region), 172–73, 174, 212, 213, 214, 234, 237. See also specific locations, people

Andree, K., 44, 59

Anga, 199

Angata (prophetess), 68, 90, 91

Angels, 14, 76. See also Guardian spirits

Animals (animal motifs), 12, 13, 34, 50, 51, 59, 61–62, 105, 112–13, 114, 193–95, 306 (see also Fauna; specific figures, kinds, motifs, objects, uses); in aberrant sculpture, 222–23, 225, 235, 236, 242, Pls. 141–42, 176, 226–58 (see also specific kinds, motifs)

Anthropomorphic birds, 308, Pls. 105–6

Anthropomorphic figures, Pls. 22, 113–14, 134, 164, 166, 172–73, 222, 236

Ar, 20, 48, 58, 123, 139, 141, 200–2, 224, 248, Color Pl. XIV. Pls. 54–57, 273

Apapa. See Roads

Araki, Juan, 77, 93, 95

Araki, Leviante, 132–36, 146, 147

Arika, 201, 210

Ariki, 166

Ariki-paka, 121

Arms, treatment of, 139, 187, 188, 221, 233. Pls. 107–8. See also Hands; specific figures

Arup, P., 48, 50

Asia, 17, 29, 88, 229. See also specific locations, people

Astrology, 211

Astronomical orientation. See Astronomy; Sun-oriented temple

Astronomy, 84, 87. See also Sun-oriented temples


337
Atan, Esteban, 98–101, 102, 103, 112, 114, 117, 126–27
Atan, José Abraham, 101, 126
Atan, Juan, 98, 113, 118, 126–27, 128, 129–31, 144–45, 146
Atan, Victoria (Tahu-tahu), 92, 98, 99, 102, 103, 104, 111, 117, 118, 121, 123, 127, 128–30, 137
Atan family, 23, 88, 110, 112, 125, 159, 163, 186, 249. See also individual members
Ature-iuki, 89
Authenticity. See Fakes; Imitations
Patina
Aymara Indians, 170, 212, 243
Azucer, 172

Bäckström, K., 70
Balfour, H., 191
Ball-shaped pendant. See Tahonga
Bananas, 58, 59, 86, 89, 107, 118–19, 147, 210–11, 212; leaves, 147, 209, 210–11
Bandelier, A. F., 172, 216, 230
Banks Islands, 178
Barbados, 170
Bark cloth. See Tapu cloth; specific figures, motifs, objects, uses
Barrow, T. T., 228
Barthel, T. S., 101, 125, 205–6, 207–8, 275
Basalt. use of, 29, 30, 74, 153, 154, 246, 251. See also specific objects, uses
Beaglehole, J. C., 11
Beasley, H. G., 52
Beechey, F. W., 42
Behrens, C. F., 34–35, 37, 115
Belcher, E., 42
Belfast Municipal Museum and Art Gallery, 43, 178
Belgian. See Franco-Belgian Expedition (1934)
Bells, 237. See also Girdles
Bennett, W. C., 173–74, 194, 212, 234
Benson, E. P., 193, 243
Berlin, 57, 179, 180, 188
Bird hoisting shear, use of, 161
Bird masks. See Birdd-men; Birds; Masks Bird-men, 20, 51, 84, 222, 234, Pls. 38–41, 105–6, 113–14, 136–39, 179–81, 213–14, 261–67, 310–11. See also Birds (bird cult, bird motifs); Moai tangata muma
Bird's tail, male figure with, Pl. 92-93
Bismarck archipelago, 178–79
Blas Valera, 211
Bleecker, J. V. B., 43, 279
Blood groups, 318
Boat and beast composition, 225, 241; Pls. 288–89
Boat pectoral. See Rei-miro
Boats (boat motifs), 12, 83–84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 97, 114, 129, 143, 144, 146, 195–97, Pls. 278–89. See also specific kinds, motifs, objects, uses
Boat-shaped houses, 14, 32, 83, 84. See also Hare paenga; specific kinds
Boat travel, 170. See also Boats; Navigation; specific kinds, people, places
Body build. See Stature (body build)
Body painting, 12. See also Tattooing
Bone, use of, 15. See also specific objects, motifs, uses
Bone head, Pl. 182
Boston Museum, 43, 154. See also Peabody Museum
Bottles, ceramic. See lipumaenga; Pottery (ceramics)
Bounty mutineers, 170
Boustrophedon script, reversed, 204, 206, 207, 212
Bowls, 105, 112, 127, 224, 239, Pls. 15, 274–75
Bowl-shaped depression. See Cup-shaped depression
Brander, J., 53, 57, 64, 101, 181, 204, 209, 328
Brazil, 179
Breastplates. See Rei-miro
Bremen. See Übersee-Museum (Bremen)
British, the, 37–39, 50–52, 64–65, 67–69, 78–79, 250. See also specific expeditions, individuals
British Museum, 15, 38, 44, 155
Brown, J. M., 66, 70, 72, 80, 185, 186, 221
Brown University Collection (Rhode Island), 43
Buck, P., 157, 168, 169, 171, 206
Burial, 25, 66, 68–69, 78, 85, 109, 110, 114, 124–25, 133–34, 142, 143, 160–68, 177, 207, 210, 253. See also Mummies
California, 201
California Academy of Sciences, 204
Canine species. See Dogs
Cannibalism (cannibal ceremonies), 66, 149, 250
Canoes, 80, 195–96, 201, 202, 241
Carbon-14 dating. See Radiocarbon dating
Carrol, A., 205
Casma Valley, 172
Cattia Indians, 212
Cats, 46, 75, 222, 223. See also Felines
Cattle, 46, 68, 223
Caves, 13–14, 18, 24–25, 33, 35, 36, 38–39, 40–41, 46, 47, 48, 60, 62, 65, 68, 75–81, 90–150, 249–50, 252, 253, 328, Color Pls. XI–XII; disclosures to Norwegian Archaeological Expedition (1955–56), 90–150; historic records of, 78–81; modern imitations and, 144–47 (see also Imitations; specific kinds, individuals objects); origin of, 148–50; secrecy and (see Secrecy)
Cayman, 194
Central America, 172, 187, 211. See also specific locations, people
Early Chimu, 34, 202. See also Moche culture

Early Period (Early Period art), 29–31, 33, 34, 60–61, 84 ff., 145, 202, 217–44 ff. (see also Aberrant sculpture; specific aspects, developments, motifs, objects); masonry, 29–30, 84 ff., Pls. 2–7, 307–8 (see also Masonry); as model for Middle Period statues, 157–58, 246–47 ff.; monolithic art, 153–55, 157–58, 164–67 (see also Statues, stone); Monument Types, 153–55, 246 ff., Pls. 2–5 (see also Monument Types); possible origins and outside influences, 168–75, 246 ff., Pls. 320–20 (see also under specific objects); temples, 164–65, 166, 167, 246 (see also Ahu); transition to Middle Period, 246 ff.

Earplugs, 186, 199, 201, 220, 230–31, Pls. 15, 31, 88–89

Ears, 153, 158, 171, 173, 200–1, 205, 220, Pl. 216 (see also Earlobes; Earplugs; Long-ears; Short-ears; specific figures); extended, 155, 172, 181, 182, 185, 199, 216, 230–31, 249 (see also Earplugs; specific figures)

"Earth-mother," 188, 189, Pl. 28

Earth ovens, 25, 74, 77, 80, 83, 90, 249. See also Umu (earth ovens; Umu takapu)

Ecuador, 173, 193, 227, 241

Edmunds, P., H., 65, 67, 69, 327

Eels, 107, 223, 307, Pls. 127, 252

Egg-shaped pendant. See Tahonga

Emaciated appearance, as characteristic of figures, 14, 181, 185, 251. See also Moai kavakava

Emory, K. P., 171, 200, 207, 227

Englert, S., 13, 48, 76–81, 86, 87, 89, 92, 93, 97, 101, 105, 107, 116, 117, 120, 121, 125, 129, 131, 137, 138, 141, 156, 160, 182, 185, 195, 208–9, 210, 223, 248, 252, 253

English, the. See British, the; specific expeditions, individuals

Ensign (emblems of rank), 12, 48, 200–2, 217, 218, 252. See also specific kinds, motifs, objects, uses

Sedona, 168

Equinox. See Astronomy; Sun-oriented temples

Erosion, imitations and, 146, 147

Escolan, T., 46

Esperanza, 44

Evil, belief in, 13, 67. See also Demons (devils); Superstition

Eyebrows, 182–83, 219, 220, 229, Pls. 83–85, 165


Eyraud, E., 43–44, 45–46, 47–48, 76, 78, 176, 203, 204, 253

Faces, treatment of, 229 (see also Heads; specific figures, images, parts); heart-shaped, 221, 231–32, Pls. 166, 167; interlocking, 221, 226, 243–44, Pl. 215; Monument Type 1, 153; Monument Type 3, 154; Monument Type 4, 154, 156; relief, Pl. 156; varieties, Pl. 114; working technique, 158


Fauna, 34, 36–37, 41, 46, 183, 194, 206, 215, 224, 235, 236–37. See also Animals (animal motifs); specific kinds, motifs, objects, uses

Feather-cloak, Pl. 291

Feather-crown, 177, 202, 214, 215, 216, Pls. 78, 183, 186

Feathers (feather-work), 81, 177, 190, 214, Pls. 132, 133, 183. See also specific kinds, motifs, objects, uses

Feather-sticks, 207

Feather-strings, 207, 214, 216

Federova, I. K., 101

Feet, treatment in aberrant sculpture of, 221, 233, Pls. 95, 159, 201–2. See also Legs; Toes

Felines (feline motifs), 97, 146, 180, 193, 205, 206, 215, 221, 222, 235 (see also specific kinds, motifs, figures); in aberrant sculpture, 221, 222, 235, 236, 243; Pls. 59, 230, 231, 233

Female "flat figure." See Moai papa

Ferdon, E. N., Jr., 18, 25, 29, 30, 32, 61, 70, 82, 87, 149, 153, 158, 165, 168, 169, 170, 201, 209, 221; and Norwegian Archaeological Expedition (1955–56), 82, 83, 84, 85, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 115, 118, 126, 127, 131, 133, 134, 139, 141–42, 143, 144–45, 146

Fertility stone, magic chicken, Pl. 178

Feuds. See Huri-moai period; Wars (warfare)

Figueroa, G., 82, 95, 122, 127, 131–33, 134, 146

Figurines. See Statuettes; specific images, kinds, material, motifs, uses

Fiji, 237

Fingers, treatment in aberrant sculpture of, 30, 38, 221 (see also Hands); long, 30, 38, 283; nails, 180, 244, Pl. 94; three, 205, 213, 214, 216, 221, 233, 244, Pls. 27, 165

Fireplaces. See Umu

Fire rubbing (fire-rubbing devices), 222, Pl. 144

Fires, ceremonial, 247. See also Umu; Umu takapu

Fish (fish motifs), 12, 14, 50, 59, 61, 77, 125, 128, 182, 195, 197, 206, 212, 214, 215, 216, 242, Pls. 27, 48, 49, 52, 119, 124–25, 175, 177, 250–51, 305, 306 (see also Marine animals; specific kinds, motifs, objects, uses); in aberrant sculpture, 222, 224–25, 227, 235, 250–51

Fishermen, 89, 121, 166, 201; good-luck charms, 14, 70, 73–74, 80

Fishhooks, 20, 21, 52, 64, 65, 81, 92, 144, 164, 167

Fishing lines, 36

Fish nets, 36, 87

Fish stones, 70, 73–74, 80

"Flat figure." female. See Moai papa

Flora, 170, 211–12, 246 (see also Plants; specific kinds, motifs, objects, uses); and use of wood, 168–69, 170

Folk art, commercial, 64. See also Commercialized art
Food, 39, 58, 69 (see also Agriculture; Food plants; Garden plots; specific kinds, uses); offerings, 57, 59, 74, 75, 77, 80, 113–14, 145 (see also Umu; Umu takapu; specific kinds) Food plants, 248. See also Agriculture; Garden plots; specific kinds, uses Forster, G., 37, 38, 40, 166, 294, Forster, J. R., 38 Franco-Belgian Expedition (1934), 11, 12, 13, 70–76, 80, 252. See also specific individuals Frank, V. S., 66 Franks, A. W., 44, 288 Frauds, 21. See also Fakes; Imitations French, the, 39–41, 42–43, 53–56, 70–76, 80, 252. See also Franco-Belgian Expedition (1934); specific individuals Frescoes, 63, 248. See also Relief (relief carvings) Frigate bird, 234, Pl. 79. See also Mahoe Frogs (toads), 36–37, 58, 79, 220, 222, 231, 235, 319, Pls. 175, 216–17, 238–41 Fruit. See Knobby (fruit) monsters Galapagos, 235 Gamboa, Sarmiento de, 211 Gana (I. L.) Expedition, 53, 67 Garden plots, 86, 89. See also Agriculture; specific products Gateway of the Sun, 213–16, 236, 242 Geiseler, Commander, 57–58, 59, 64, 79, 81, 156, 181, 217, 251 Genealogy, 31, 98, 101, 104, 125, 158, 248 Genitals, 65, 109, 154, 156, 251. See also Komori; Penis; Phallus; Vulva Geography, 17, 29, 30, 32, 83, 249, 263, Pl. 1. See also Navigation Germans, the, 57–60, 79, 217, 251. See also specific expeditions individuals Ghosts, 74–75. See also Demons (devils); Spirits Gibbs (G. J.) Collection, 44 Gilbert, J., 31 Gilles, Dr., 42 Girdle, 215, Pl. 32. See also Belts Gissing, E., 82, 95 Goatee beards (goatee-bearded figures), 74, 80, 87, 108, 169, 174, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 195, 220, 229, Pls. 31, 64, 160. See also Beards; specific figures Goats, 41 Gods (deities), 35, 57, 59, 60, 62, 67, 74–75, 76, 79–80, 85, 157–58, 188, 190, 217, 218, 248, 251. See also Aku-aku: Demons (devils); Religion; Spirits; specific gods, motifs, objects Gonzalez, F., 12, 31, 35–37, 207 Good-luck charms. See Charms; specific kinds, motifs, objects Gourds, 237 Grasso, Ibarra, 212 Gretzer, W., 179 Guardian spirits, 14, 54, 55, 58, 68, 74, 77, 79, 94, 96, 99, 110, 145, 148, 251, 252, Pl. 212. See also Aku-aku; Doorway guardians Guayaquil, 172, 244, Pl. 310 Hair, 133–34, 143, 144, 163, 176, 179, Pls. 35, 70, 80, 97. See also Beards; Headress, Mustaches Haua epe. See Long-ears Haua momoko. See Short-ears Hand picks. See Picks Hands, treatment of, 221, 225, 233, 242, Pl. 94, 202–3 (see also Fingers); in aberrant sculpture, 221, 225, 233, 242; with cutting tool motif, 225, 242, Pl. 203; three-fingered, 205, 213, 214, 216, 211, 233, 244, Pls. 27, 165 Haaza Hemu, 132 Hanga-o-teco, 78, 105, 106–7, 108, 131 Hangaraoa, 23, 31, 34, 42, 46, 64, 66, 77, 79, 82, 83, 94, 96–97, 100, 112, 131, 147 Hanga-tepeu, 131, 146 Hanga-tecengo, 142 Hani-hani, 86, 146 Haa, 248 Haa, Andrés, 116–21, 147 Haa, Juan, 116, 117–21, 127–28, 140, 147 Haa, Marta, 140, 147 Harappa, 206 Hare Kai Hiva, 98, 104, 126 Hare paenga, 87, 248. See also Boat-shaped houses; Paenga; Pole-and-thatch houses Hare paepae, 86 Harlez, Bishop de, 206 Harms, H., 212 Harris, Dr., 207 Hartmark, A., 82 Hats. See Headress (headwear) Hatui, 105, 108 Hau, 178. See also Hibiscus tiliaceus Haua (god), 57 Haua-moana tribe, 132 Hawaii, 43, 171, 191, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 235, 236, 237, 238, 244 Headress (headgear, headwear), 38, 118, 163, 178, 180, 202, 214, 215, 216, 222, 237, 238, Color Pl. IX, Pls. 16–20, 21, 22, 23, 77. See also specific kinds, e.g., Feather-crown; Topknots Heads, 58, 62–63, 73, 79, 80, 86, 219–21, 222, 223, 228, 231–32, 251, Pls. 27, 148–56, 175, 182, 185–200, 213–16, 292–93 (see also specific figures, kinds, motifs); double (see Double-headed figures); heart-shaped, 221, 231–32, Pls. 190, 194; interlocking, 135, Pl. 215; opposed. Pls. 98, 213, 278; stone, Pls. 148–56; triangular-shaped, 232 Heart-shaped head, 221, 231–32, Pls. 190, 194 Heine-Geldern, R. von, 207, 212 Hei iki, 228, 232, 233 Helliolatry, 165–66. See also Sun worship Hens. See Chickens Hermaphrodite figures. Pls. 67–68, 121 Hervé, J., 37 Heterogeneous animal combinations, in aberrant sculpture, 225, 242, Pls. 122, 124, 244, 299. See also specific figures, kinds, motifs He-u, 74 Hevesy, G. de, 206 Hey, Ramon, 96 Heyerdahl, A., 82 Heyerdahl, T., 11, 13–14, 15, 18, 19, 23, 29, 30, 32, 34, 52, 61, 82, 153, 168, 169, 170, 172, 179, 227, 229, 231, 235, 236, 238, 240; and Nor-
Hibiscus

Heyerdahl, Horaie, Hitika-pura, Hikueru, Hongaa, Hittites, Hotu, Hoisting

Hotu-iti, Household, Huri-moai, Huki, Ideograms, (1955-56), caves, tifs, PI.

Picture objects, also 500-502, 185, 140-41, 121, 147, 109, 154, 209-10, 37, 64, 73, 78, 101, 109, 163, 196, 204-5, 206, 210, 224

Jaguar. See Felines

Janus, 223, 226, Pls. 97, 103, 164, See also Double-headed figures

Jars. See Pottery (ceramics)

Jaussen, Bishop, 44, 47, 48-50, 53, 64, 73, 78, 101, 109, 163, 196, 204-5, 206, 210, 224

Judas figure, 176

Jugs, ceramic, 224, 237, Pls. 276, 277, See also Ipu maengi; Pottery (ceramics)

Kaimoko, King, 44

Kaiinga, King, 138

Kalasasaya temple platform, 171, 173-74

Karau-karau, 88

Kasimiro, 90, 143-44

Kava, 248

Kekepu, 223, 235, Pl. 232

Keputepu. See Kepepu

Kings (chiefs, royalty), 44, 101, 121, 166, 167-68, 169, 172, See also specific individuals

Kio'e. See Rats

Kneeling figures, 13, 30, 87, 137, 154, 169, 174, 304-5, Pls. 3, 79, 208, 303

Knobby (fruit) monsters, 237, 319, Pls. 166-67

Knoche, W., 22, 57, 66, 208, 221, 319

Knorozov, G. V., 101, 205, 212

Kohau rongo-rongo. See Rongo-rongo written tablets

Ko Kava Aro, 117

Ko Kava Tua, 117

Konari, 187, Pls. 46, 91, 183, See also Vulva

Kondratov, A. M., 101, 117, 205

Königswald, G. H. R. von, 191, 206

Kon-Tiki, Jr., 13, 98, 118, 120, 170, 253

Kon-Tiki Museum (Oslo), 13, 191, 224, 238

Kon-Tiki Viracocha. See Viracocha

Koromaké, 68

Kotatake Mountain, 61

Ko te Umu o te Hanau Eepe, 88, See also Poike ditch

Kotzebue, O. E., 42

Kumara, 227-28, Pl. 272. See also Sweet potatoes

La Flore, 53

Lagenaria. See Gourds

Lake Titicaca. See Titicaca, Lake

Lanai. 191

Langostas, 125, 223, Pl. 255. See also Lobsters

Language, 35-36, 88, 98, 249, 250-51, 252, 328. See also Rongo-rongo written tablets; Rapanui language; Tahitian dialect

Lapelin, Admiral de, 53

La Pérouse, J. F. G. de, 12, 39-41, 42, 176

La Pérouse Bay, 123-24

Late Period, 30, 31-34, 35, 36, 37ff., 81, 82-87, 157, 159, 160, 168, 171, 208, 248ff. (see also specific aspects, developments, objects);
origin of secret caves in, 148–50; and tapa figures, 176–80 (see also Statuettes, tapa); wars and destruction in (see Huri-moaï period)
Lava, use of, 12, 14, 15, 24, 50, 218. See also specific kinds, motifs, objects, uses
Lavachery, H., 11, 15, 25, 71, 83, 89, 93, 129, 148, 177, 206, 220, 224, 255, 270; Foreword by, 11–15, 25; and Franco-Belgian Expedition (1934), 11, 12, 70–76, 80, 252
Legs, treatment of: in aberrant sculpture, 170, 221, 233, Pl. 206 (see also Feet; Toes); legless busts, possible origins and outside influences and, 170, 172, 174, Pl. 206; in moai kava-kava, 184–85; in moai papa, 187
Leningrad Ethnographic Museum, 42, 53, 103, 190
Lepidodactylus lugubris, 194
Lichen, 13
Lima Museum, 233, 243
Linton, R., 199, 227–28, 233
Lips, treatment of, 183, 185, 186, 188, 220, 221, 231, Pls. 80, 154 (see also Mouths); pouing, 168
Lisjanski, U. F., 42, 190
Living art, Pls. 297–99
Lizards, 34, 50, 59, 109, 183, 193, 194, 220, 231, 234, Pl. 216, 241
Llamas, 141, 142, 223, 235, Pl. 234
Lobsters, 125, 126, 148. See also Langostas
Long-ears (long-cared figures), 88–89, 92, 100, 140, 161, 163, 172, 181, 185, 186, 203, 209, 216, 218, 230, 249, 251, Pls. 184, 188 (see also individual figures, e.g. Moai kava-kava on rongo-rongo tablets, 203, 209)
Lopez, Commander, 53
Loti, Pierre. See Vlaut, Julian (Pierre Loti)
McCall, G., 44
Machaa, 209
Madonna-and-Child motif, 111, 253, Pl. 219
Maea ika (fishing charms). See under Fishermen
Maea matariki, 153. See also Tufi, volcanic, use of
Maengo, 35. See also Pottery (ceramics); specific objects
Magic, 47, 251, 253 (see also Mana); charms, 73–74 (see also Charms); depression, 222, 234 (see also Cup-shaped depression)
Mahute, 248
Makemake, 21, 57, 59, 62, 69, 79, 101, 190, 215, 216, 192, 220, 247, 248, 251; masks, Pls. 166, 171, 175
Makohu (frigate bird), 177. See also Frigate bird
Malay Archipelago, 206
Mallets, grooved, 248
Mammals (see also Animals; Fauna; specific figures, kinds, motifs): in aberrant sculpture, 193, 206, 215, 222–23, 235, Pls. 140–42, 226–35
Mama, 13, 47, 94, 97, 104, 117, 128, 218, 252. See also Magic
Manabi, 172
Manai'a, 234, 236, 242
Mangareva, 45, 46, 53, 168, 191, 228, 238, 328
Mani (god), 48
Manuscripts, 98–101, 117–19, 127, 136, 141. See also Rongo-rongo written tablets
Manu-ura, 70–72, 73, 74
Mauri, 200, 228, 229, 231, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 242
Mauri (learned men), 44, 100
Marae-toe-hau, 209–10
Marine animals, in aberrant sculpture, 223, 235, Pls. 35, 52, 125–31, 174, 246, 253–54. See also specific figures, kinds, motifs, objects
Markham, C. R., 171
Masks, 12, 14, 15, 21, 36, 70–72, 74, 80, 81, 85, 95, 103, 104, 105, 109, 113, 114, 120, 130, 146, 190–91, 193, 215, 216, 224, 225, 238, 247, 251, Pls. 38–41, 154, 155, 156, 166, 171, 175, 190–94 (see also specific figures, kinds, images, material, motifs, objects, uses); in aberrant forms, 220–21, 225, 226, 228, 238, 243; bird, 190–91, 193, Pls. 40–41 (see also Moai tangata mana)
Masonry, 21, 29–30, 60–61, 164–65, 246, Pls. 1–15 (see also Ahu; Dwellings; specific aspects, kinds, motifs, periods, places, structures); Early Period, 29–30, 84–87, 164–65, 166, 167, 246, Pl. 7; Middle Period, 30, 84–87, 157ff., 247 (see also under Middle Period); possible origins and outside influences, 169ff., 246ff., Pls. 306–7
Matan, 32, 36, 87, 103, 199, 224, 225, 249, Pl. 203. See also Obsidian; Spears
Mataa kao-kao, 275
Matai ana ("cave opener," "cave key"), 99, 110
Matamea, 102
Mata-ke-paina, 140
Mata varavara, 146
Mataveri, 45, 46, 65, 77, 116
Mating figurines, in aberrant sculpture, 223, 236, Pls. 220, 221, 222, 247
Mats, reed. See Reed mats
Maude, H. E., 44
Melanesia, 178, 179, 191, 197, 226, 227, 228, 239, 231, 234, 237, 238, 240, 242, 244
Melagris gallopavo, 244
Metoro, 204–5
Métraux, A., 12, 13, 20, 22, 43, 60–61, 70, 72–74, 76, 80, 87, 95, 129, 136, 157, 163, 168, 171, 177, 183, 185, 187, 190, 191, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 206, 208, 209, 223, 224, 252
Mexico City, 228, 234
Micronesia, 169
Middle Period, 30–31, 33, 36, 60, 79, 87, 145, 150, 153, 156–74, 219 (see also specific developments, images, objects); dates of, 202; Early Period model behind statues of, 246–47ff.; masonry, 30, 84–87, 157ff., 247; Monument Type 4, 156–57, Pls. 6, 157–58; origins and function of art in, 157–58; possible origins and outside influences on art of, 168–75, 246ff.; purpose of ahu images, 165–68; and rebuilding of
altu, 164–65, Pls. 7, 10; and rongo-rongo written tablets, 203–16; transition from Early Period to, 246ff.; wars and end of, 248ff.; working techniques in quarries of, 158–60
Miklukho-Maklaj, N. N., 53, 115
Miro, 195
Miro munga erua, 160
Missionaries, 13, 22, 32, 34, 43, 64, 65, 176, 217, 328 (see also Christianity; specific developments, individuals); early observations of, 45–50, 53; Englert and re-establishment of, 76–81; expulsion of, 53, 56, 57, 58, 115; influence of, 48–49, 248, 250, 251ff., 252 (see also specific aspects, developments); and pagan art in secret caves, 148–49, 252; and rongorongo written tablets, 46–52, 203, 204, 217
Mnemonic function of Easter Island art, 11, 203, 207, 253
Moa. See Chickens
Moai, 48, 49. See also specific kinds
Moai kavakava (“ribbed figure,” male), 20, 21, 24, 43, 64, 65, 93, 156, 181–86, 218, 219, 221, Pls. 24–27, 60–63, 100, 102, 107, 113, 114; double-headed, Pls. 100, 107
Moai maea, 57–58, 59, 66, 81, 218–19, 251–52, 254, Color Pl. X (see also Household images; Statuettes, stone); aberrant, 219ff.
Moai mata pupuku, Pl. 207
Moai medio cuerpo, 20–21, 24, Pl. 301
Moai papa (pa’a-pa’a, “flat figure,” female), 20, 64, 65, 186–89, 217, 219, Pls. 28–31
Moai tangata (“human figure,” male), 189, 217, 218, 219, Pls. 32–37. See also specific images, kinds, motifs
Moai toromiro, 57–58, 251–52. See also Statuettes, wood
Mochica culture, 15, 34, 191, 192, 193, 202, 230, 231, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 241, 243, 248, 255, 329; Color Pl. XIV, Pls. 312–13, 315
Modern sculpture, 144–48, Pls. 294–95, 300–1. See also Imitations; specific motifs, objects
Mohenjo Daro, 206
Mohican, U.S.S., 60–63, 217, 251
Molina, C. de, 211
Mollusk, 195, Pl. 128. See also Shells
Monsters, in aberrant sculpture, 223, 236, 240. Pls. 36, 104, 108, 110, 115–18, 167–69, 172–73, 221, 236. See also specific kinds, motifs, objects
Montesinos, F., 211–12
Montillon, A., 66
Moon pectoral. See Rei-miro
Moorca, 227 n
Moriori, the, 232, 233
Motifs, duplications of, Pls. 294–95. See also Imitations; Modern sculpture; specific kinds
Motilone Indians, 212
Motu-ittu, 84
Motu-kaokao, 84
Motu-nui, 68, 84, 90
Motu-tautara (island cape), 134
Motu Tavake, 108
Mouths, treatment of, 220–21, 231, Pl. 69. See also Lips; specific images
Mulloy, W., 32, 70, 76, 82, 85, 86, 87, 110, 128, 129–30, 131, 133, 135, 146, 147, 153, 161, 165, 167, 205
Mummies (mummification), 25, 133, 167–68, 221, 228
Münchener Museum, 179
Mural painting. See Painting
Musas paradisiaca, 212. See also Bananas; Plantain
Musée du Cinquantenaire (Brussels), 155
Musée National de Historia Natural (Santiago, Chile), 53
Musée Naizionale Preistorico Etnografico “Luigi Pigorini” (Rome), 45
Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin-Dahlem), 57, 179, 180, 188
Mustaches, 135, 220, 226, 229, 231, 244
Mythical creatures, Pls. 246, 288–89. See also specific kinds, motifs, objects
Nahoe, Juan, 117, 118, 119, 120–21, 139–40, 146
Nancy, 43
National Museum, United States. See Smithsonian Institution (United States National Museum)
Natural features, sculptures of, Pl. 296
Navel, 187
Navigation (routes), 44, 170, 171, 178–79, 193, 201–2, 209–11, 212. See also Geography; specific developments, people, places
Nazca, 34, 238, 242
Neck, treatment of, 221, 232
Necker Island, 227 n
Needles, 36, 81, 248
Nepeña Valley, 172
Nerita, 307
New Britain, 178
New Hebrides, 178–79
New Mexico, 243
New Zealand, 15, 43–44, 170, 199–200, 217, 226, 227, 228, 229, 232, 233, 238, 240, 244
Ngauru Hiva Aringa Erua, 138
Ngari a. See Pillows, stone
Ngartu tribe, 140
Niáre, Juan, 320
Nordenskiöld, E., 207
Nose ornaments, 220, 229, Pls. 185, 187, 216
Noses, treatment of, 156, 173, 188, 215, 220, 229, Pl. 79; aquiline (hooked), 181, 220, 229, Pl. 79 (see also specific images); split, 229
Nukuhiva, 169
Numerals, 35–36
Obsidian, 32, 36, 44, 66, 81, 87, 182–83, 185, 186, 194, 198, 204, 209, 249. See also Mataa; specific motifs, objects, uses
Octopus, 12, 14, 73, 114, 223, 307, Pl. 129
Oediddy (Tahitian native), 12
O'Higgins, 53
Oho, 143. See also Hair
Oliva, P. A., 172
Olivier, P., 44
Omohi, 108
Ornaments, 11, 72, 73, 214, 248 (see also specific kinds, objects, material, uses); nose, 220, 229, Pls. 185, 187, 216; pectoral (see Rei-miro; tahonga (see Tahonga)
Ororoina, 88, 89, 126
Otago Museum (New Zealand), 170
Outrigger boats, 195
Ovens. See Earth ovens; Umu
“Overthrow-of-statues” period. See Huri-moai period
Ovoid boards with short handles, 205
Owls, 193, 237, 243

Pa’a-pa’a. See Moai papa
Paca-mama (“Earth-mother”), 188, 189
Pachacamac, 228
Pachacuti Inga Ypanquí, 211
Paddles, 19, 20, 65, 224, 248, Pls. 54–57; in aberrant sculpture, 224; dance (see Ao; Rapa)
Paenga (house-foundation stones), 30, 32, 113, 114, 176, 249. See also Ha'e paenga
Paganism (pagan art and cults), 13–14, 18, 50, 53, 55, 66, 76–77, 79–80, 203, 217, 250, 252, 253 (see also specific aspects, cults, developments, motifs, objects); missionaries and (see Missionaries); secret caves and, 148–58, 252, 253
Patina, 36, 45, 72, 73, 176–80, Pls. 16–21 (see also Statuettes, tapa); ceremony and feast, 176–77; possible origins and outside influences, 178–82
Painting, 12, 14, 61, 75, 85, 201, 238, 327 (see also specific kinds, motifs, objects); on ao and rapa (dance paddles), 200–2, Pls. 54–57; body, 12 (see also Tattooing); polychrome mural, Pl. 183; weeping-eye motif (see Weeping-eye motif)
Pakarati, Aron, 111–12, 121, 125, 127
Pakarati, Domingo, 111–12, 125
Pakarati, Ósteban, 23, 92–97, 112, 126, 131, 141, 145
Pakarati, Juan Atan, 92
Pakarati, Nicolás, 66, 67, 71, 89, 90–91, 124
Pakarati, Santiago, 123–25, 126, 130, 132, 147
Pakarati, Santiago Secundo, 128
Pakarati, Timoteo, 91, 111, 122–23
Pakarati brothers, 89. See also specific individuals
Pakarati Potahí, Nicolás, 111
Pakarati II Atan, Juan, 137–38
Pakomio, María, 138–39
Pakomio, Nicolás, 138
Palmer, J. L., 50, 51, 52, 79, 115, 171, 250–51, 275, 328
Palm wood, 168
Panama, 169, 170, 193, 207, 211, 212, 242
Paoo (short-handled club), 20, 93, 199–200, Pls. 53, 273
Paoo, Rosa, 128, 140
Paoo, Simon, 140
Papeete Museum (Tahiti), 190
Papua-Melanesia, 229
Paracas, Peru, 44
Pare, 36
Paté, José, 90, 91
Paté, Joseph, 141, 146
Paté, Pedro, 135, 140–44, 145, 147
Patina, authenticity and, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24–25, 29, 93, 97, 108, 131, 147, 148, 253
Pate, 200
Paved ways. See Roads
Peabody Museum (Salem, Mass.), 43, 44, 154, 178
Pectorals, 48, 188; rei-miro (“boat,” “moou,” or “wooden”), 20, 43, 45, 48, 73, 195–97, 224, 306, Pls. 44–50, 270

Peg-shaped (pegged) bases, 30, 155, 156–57, 164
Pendants: ball-shaped or egg-shaped (see Tahonga); conch, 127; Janus heads, Pl. 97; stone, Pl. 171; turtle, 126, Pls. 130, 131
Penis, 181, 183, 195, Pl. 74 (see also Genitals; Phallus); and circumcision, 185, 194–95, 269; on moai kavakava, 181, 183
Petit-Thouars, Admiral du, 42
Petroglyphs, 11, 12, 14, 15, 70, 71, 159, 190, 191, 214, 216, 219, 221, 238. See also Relief (relief carvings); specific motifs
Phallus, 73, 130, 222, Pls. 122, 144–45, 204–5. See also Genitals; Penis
Philippi, R. A., 319, 320–21
Picks, hand, 158, 159, 160
Picture writing, 212, 231. See also Ideograms
Pigeons, 46
Pigs, 41, 46, 127, 128, 223, 235
Pillows, stone, 81, Pl. 178
Pinart, A., 12, 56
Pinto, 24, 108, 112, 127
Pitcairn Island, 169, 170, 173
Plantain, 211–12. See also Bananas
Plant motifs, 12, 246, 248; in aberrant art, 224, 236–37
Plants, 246, 248 (see also Flora; Plant motifs; Trees and shrubs; specific kinds); food, 248 (see also Agriculture; Garden plots; specific kinds)
Poike ditch, 31, 87–89, 246, 249
Poike Peninsula, 31, 32, 88–89, 246, 249
Poi pounder, 236, 248
Pole-and-thatch houses, 32, 87, 248.
See also Reed houses
Pollen deposits, 17, 18, 29, 168–69, 246
Polygononum acuminatum, 168, 169

Poma, A., 212
Population, 37, 56
Pora, 42, 89, 105. See also Reed boats
Porotu, 161
Potsherds, 116, 119–20. See also Pottery (ceramics)
Pottery (ceramics), 15, 35, 45, 62, 97, 115–16, 119–20, 130, 139–40, 149, 180, 193, 202, 215, 224, 227, Pls. 52, 274–77 (see also Ipu marango; Jugs; specific kinds, motifs, objects); aberrant, 224, 227, 233, 237, 240
Pounders, 236, 237, 248, Pl. 178
Pre-Inca cultures, 30, 170, 171, 180, 185, 195, 200, 201, 202, 211–16, 232, 246, 248, Pl. 314. See also Moche culture; Tiahuanaco
Prescott, W. H., 212
Priests. See Ivi-atiia (priests)
Puamau, 235
Pueblo Indians, 243, Pl. 311
Puha, 139
Pukao. See Topknots (pukao)
Pumas, 213, 215, 235, 243
Puna-marenga, 74
Puna Pau crater, 102, 162–63, Color Pl. VIII

“Raft boats.” use of term, 195
Raiatea, 205
Rain and rainbow symbols, use of, 159
Raivavae, 156, 169, 170, 173
Rank emblems. See Ensignia; specific kinds, motifs, objects, uses
Rano Kao, 61, 77, 83, 157, 164, 168, Color Pl. VIII
Rapa, 20, 48, 200–2, Pl. 57
Rapahango, 74
Rapanui language, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 115, 117, 128, 132, 208, 328; names, 152
Rapati, 168
Rapu, Alejo, 133–34, 135, 137, 142, 146
Rapu, Era, 135–37
Rapu, Martin, 133, 137, 146
Rats (rat motif), 34, 93, 96, 109, 126, 183, 193, 194, 222, 235, Pls. 140–42, 226–29
Raymondi monolith, 243
Reading and writing, 17, 203–206, 211. See also Rongo-rongo written tablets
Red hair, 163
Reed (rushes), use of, 91, 169, 170. See also Totora; specific figures, objects, uses
Reed-and-tapa images, 72. See also Puna; Statuettes, tapa; specific kinds, motifs, objects
Reed boats, 42, 84, 87, 89, 105, 121, 130, 141, 148, 149, 160, 170, 192, 193, 196, 197, 202, 247–48, 249, 253, Color Pl. XV, Pls. 183, 178–89; in aberrant sculpture, 224, 238–40, 241, Pls. 278–89
Reed hats, Pl. 77
Reed houses, 130, 169. See also Pole-and-thatch houses
Reed mats, 25, 81, 114, 119, 124–25, 128, 129
Rei-miro (re-i-marama, “wooden-“ or “boat-pectoral;“ “moon-pectoral“), 20, 43, 45, 48, 73, 195–97, 224, 306, Pls. 44–50, 270
Relief (relief carvings), 14, 15, 21, 61, 63, 66–67, 73, 74, 79, 80, 107, 129, 137, 138, 145, 159, 184, 190, 191, 218, 224, 237, Pls. 162, 163, 179–81, 191–92, 209–11, 242, 250, 264–70. See also specific kinds, motifs, objects

Religion, 13–14, 53, 57, 58–59, 60, 66, 67–68, 76–77, 191–92, 246, 247ff., 255 (see also Christianity; Missionaries; Paganism; Supernatural beliefs; Superstition; specific aspects, developments, images, motifs, objects); atu images and, 165–68, 246ff.; Middle Period statues and, 157–58, 247ff., and origin of secret caves, 148–50; rongo-rongo written tablets and (see Rongo-rongo written tablets
Reproductions. See Fakes; Frauds; Imitations; Motifs, duplications of Reptiles (reptile motifs), 200, 234–35, Pls. 218, 242. See also Moko; specific kinds, motifs, objects

Resolution, 12
Reversed boustrophedon writing system. See Boustrophedon script, reversed
“Ribbed figure,” See Moai kavakava
Ribas, treatment in aberrant sculpture of, 183, 185, 187, 221, 233. See also Moai kavakava

Ringrim, 230
Riroroko, Benecido, 139
Riroroko, Simeon, 139
Roads, transportation and erection of statues and, 31, 160–61, 249. See also Transportation and erection of statues
Rochebrune, A. T. dc, 212
Roggeveen, M.J., 11, 17, 34–35, 166
Rongo (god), 248
Rouchouze, E., 43
Sacrifice, food offerings and, 14, 35, 59, 74, 75, 77, 80, 113–14, 145. See also Umu; Umu tapapu; specific foods

Sailboats, 84, 87, 88, 89, 109, 141, 143, 144, 148, 159–60, 196, 224, 228, 253, Pgs. 279–287

Sala-y-Gomez, 210

Salem Museum. See Peabody Museum (Salem, Mass.)

Salmon, A. P., 57–58, 60, 64, 101, 103, 181, 187, 209, 217, 251; and introduction of commercial art, 64–66, 251, 328

Samoa, 227

San Agustin, Colombia, 236, 244

Sanchez, E., 123, 142, 143

Sanne, J., 133–34

Santa Clara Island, 172

Sauer, C. O., 211–12

Savoy, G., 170

Schjerven, E. J., 82, 128

Schoolhouses, rongo-rongo, 86, 208–9

Scirpus tatora, 169, 170. See also Totora

Scoria, use of, 29, 30, 31, 86, 153, 154, 251; for topknots, 162–63

Script. See Reading and writing; Rongo-rongo written tablets

Sea lion motif, 97

Secrecy (secret knowledge, secret caves), 41, 94, 97, 144–50 (see also Caves); disruption of, 131–40; origins of, 148–50

Seignelay, 56

Selling, O. H., 168, 169

Serpents, 244. See also Moko; Reptiles; specific images, kinds, objects

Sewing, 248

Sharks, 50; teeth, 204, 209

Sheep, 41, 46, 53, 64–65, 68, 76, 223

Shells (shell motifs, shellwork), 12, 53, 128, 177, 185, 186, 192, 194, 195, 223, 228, 235, 307, Pgs. 47, 127, 128

Short-ears, 31, 88–89, 185, 186, 249, Pgs. 37, 60, 184

Skinner, H. D., 200, 206, 232, 233, 321

Skjolsvold, A., 29, 30, 32, 70, 82, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 124, 153, 157, 159, 168, 170, 174, 205, 209

Skottsberg, C., 70, 181

Skulls, 14, 99, 103, 104, 111, 113, 114, 120, 121, 132, 139, 141, 146, 166, 177, Pgs. 96, 183, 195–200; in aberrant sculpture, 219, 221, 233–34

Slaves (slave period, slave raids), 42, 43–44, 101, 203, 209, 250; Peruvian raids (1862), 44–45

Smith, C. S., 29, 30, 70, 82, 87, 88, 113, 153, 165, 205

Smithsonian Institution (United States National Museum), 43, 60, 62, 116

Snakes, 107. See also Moko; Reptiles Society Islands, 171, 227, 235, 238

Solar boat, 84

Solar observatory, 84, 87, 246, P1. 2

Solomon Islands, 191, 197

Solstice. See Astronomy; Sun-oriented temples

Song (singing), 58

Sooty tern, 247

Sophora toromiro, 20, 181. See also Toromiro wood; specific objects, uses

South America, 17, 30, 32, 53, 168, 169, 170–71, 172–73, 179, 185, 188, 189, 193, 210–16, 226, 233, 234, 235, 237, 246, 247, 248, 249, 328, 329. See also specific people, places

Spaniards, the, 35–37, 78, 170, 171, 207, 229–30, 250, 328

Spearthrowers, 32, 81, 224, 249, P1. 203. See also Mataua; Obsidian

Sphinx, 222, P1. 237

Spirits, 25, 60, 74–75, 76–77, 247, 251, 252 (see also Aku-aku; Demons; Household images; specific functions, images, kinds); origins of secret caves and, 148–50

“Spirit stones,” 60

Squatting figures, Pls. 86–90, 157

Staffs, ceremonial, 48, 199–200, 214, 231. See also specific kinds, motifs, objects, uses

Star motif, 182, 206, Pl. 27

Statues, paina, 176–80, P1s. 16–21. See also Paina

Statues, stone, 11–15, 17, 18–19, 21–22, 23, 30, 31, Color Pl. VI, P1s. 2–14 (see also Quarries; specific developments, motifs, places); Early Period (aberrant), 18–19, 21–23, 29–31, 84–150 passim; 153–55, 157–58, 246ff., P1s. 2–5, 305; Early Period model for Middle Period, 157–58; imitations, 144–48 (see also Imitations); Middle Period, 153, 156–74, 246ff.; Monument Types, 153, 157, P1s. 2–6 (see also Monument Types); origins and significance of, 157–58, 165–68; overthrow and destruction of, 31, 32, 159 (see also Huri-moai period); possible origins and outside influences, 168–75, 226ff., 246ff., P1s. 302–5; rebuilding of ahu and, 164–65; size, descriptions, weight, 30, 160, 163, 166, 247; superimposed topknots, 162–63, 247 (see also Topknots); transportation and erection of, 31, 32, 89–90, 97, 99, 160–62, P1s. 9, 13; working (manufacturing) techniques, 158–60, 247, 251, P1. 9

Statues, wood, 181

Statuettes, stone, 14, 18, 24–25, 50, 52, 57–59, 60, 65, 66–81, 251, P1s. 157, 160–61, 208 (see also specific functions, images, kinds, motifs, objects); aberrant forms, 217–44 ff. (see also Aberrant sculpture; specific kinds, objects); hidden in Late Period caves and disclosures of, 32–34, 91–150 passim; possible origins and outside influences, 168–75, 226–44

Statuettes, tapa, 36, 43, 72, 73, 176–80, Color Pl. IX, P1s. 16–23; catalogue of, 264–69; possible origins and outside influences, 178–80

Statuettes, wood, 12, 14, 18–24 passim, 31, 38, 43, 46–47, 48, 50–52,
56, 57–58, 59, 60, 64, 65–68, 154, 156, 181–95, 251–52, Pls. 24–57 (see also specific functions, images, motifs, kinds); aberrant, 21–23, 217ff. (see also Aberrant sculpture; specific kinds, motifs, uses); destruction of, 46–47; imitations and reproductions, 18–21, 23–24, 145 (see also Imitations); possible origins and outside influences, 168–75, 226ff.; wood used, 20, 31, 251 (see also specific kinds)
Stature (body build), 37–38 (see also individual features, images, motifs); aberrant sculpture and, 221, 232–33 (see also specific images, kinds); moai kavakava, 183–85; moai papa, 187, 188; Monument Type 2, 154, 169, 173, 175; Monument Type 3, 154, 169, 172, 174, 175; Monument Type 4, 154–57, 170, 173–75; possible origins and outside influences, 169–70, 173–75 (see also individual images, people, places)
Stealing (theft), 34–35, 39, 45, 46, 63, 64–65, 67, 83, 90, 131, 149–50, 250
“Steal trading.” 25, 150. See also Stealing (theft)
Stele, 172, 269
Stephen-Chauvet, Dr., 52, 56, 206, 308
Stolpe, H., 50
Stone, use of (see Masonry; specific aspects, developments, images, kinds, motifs, objects, uses); techniques, history of, 29ff.
Storage caves. See Caves
Sumatra, 191, 206
Sun, 159, 191, 216, 238, 239, 240. See also Sun god (solar deity); Sun-oriented temples; Sun worship
Sun god (solar deity), 84, 157–58, 197, 216, 220, 231, 235, 241, 243, 246, 247, 248. See also Sun; Sun worship
Sun-oriented temples, 30, 84, 87, 157, 164, 165–66, 175, 246, 247. See also Astronomy
Sun worship (sun cult, sun symbols), 84, 87, 165–66, 191, 206, 216, 220, 238, 239, 240, 241, 246, 247. See also Sun; Sun god
Supernatural beliefs, 13–14, 67–68. See also Paganism; Religion; Superstition; specific beliefs, images, motifs, objects, practices
Superstition, 13–14, 19, 60, 67, 74–75, 76, 79–80 (see also Religion; Supernatural beliefs; specific motifs, practices); secret caves and, 25, 91–92, 93–94, 148–50, 252
Suspension strings, 181, 188, 194, 195, 198, 221, 232, Pls. 80, 82, 129, 165
Sweet potatoes, 57, 77, 80, 101, 102, 113, 119, 170, 176, 197, 224, 237, 248, 250. See also Kumara
Sword (saber), wooden, 20
Swordfish, 118
Tabiri, 99
Tablets, inscribed. See Rongo-rongo written tablets
Taboo. See Tapu
Tahiti, 38, 53, 57, 98, 171, 197, 204, 228, 236, 237
Tahitian dialect, 251, 328
Tahonga (ball-shaped or egg-shaped pendant), 19, 20, 48, 73, 198–99, 224, Pls. 51–52, 105, 106, 271–72
Tahu, 98, 113. See also Atan, Victoria Taidaha, 199–200
Taipi, 169
Takapu, 117
Talismanic designs, 80. See also Charms; specific images, kinds, motifs, objects, uses
Tane (god), 248
Tangaroa, 248
Tangata-mana, 20, 103–4, 136, Pls. 38–41, 136. See also specific images, motifs
Tapa beater, 248
Tapa cloth, use of, 22, 36, 38, 43, 70–72, 73, 81, 177, 179, 224. See also specific images, objects, uses
Tapa figurines. See Statuettes, tapa Tapa, 90, 95, 97, 110, 127, 131
Taraco, 174
Tare, 75
Taro, 248
Tassel symbol, use of, 193, 194, 225, 242, Pl. 143
Tautane, 67–68, 76
Tattooing, 12, 14, 15, 34, 36, 72, 180, 201, 235, Pl. 21
Teao, Miguel, 113
Teao Huki, Horacio, 138
Tear marks. See Weeping-eye motif
Teave, Ana, 122, 132–33, 134, 135–36, 146
Teave, Anatola, 122–23, 146
Teave, Andres, 78, 105
Teave, Juan, 132–33
Te Matumotu-o-te-ahi-o-te-okoro, 43
Tenth Pacific Science Congress (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1961), 17
Tepeano, Jorge, 144, 146
Tepeano, Juan, 70–72, 73, 75, 76, 303
Tepeano family, 91. See also individual members
Tepihu Tori, Alberto, 139–40
Tern, sooty, 247
Theft. See Stealing (theft)
Thomson, G. A., 43
Thomson, W. J., 12, 20, 32, 57, 60–63, 64, 79, 154, 202, 208, 209–10, 215, 217
Three-fingered hands, 205, 213, 214, 216, 221, 233, 244, Pls. 27, 165
Tiki ana (cave guardians), 110. See also Guardian spirits
Tiki (god), 248
Tiki-Tiki a Taranga, King, 104
Timotoka, 303
Titahanga-o-te-henua, 68, Pl. 158
Titicaca, Lake, 86, 172, 174, 209, 212, 226
Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti, V, 211
Toads. See Frogs (toads)
Toa-Toa, 134–35
Toes, treatment in aberrant sculpture of, 221
Tomenika, 140
Tonga, 227
Tools. 158, 204, 246, 248. See also specific kinds, material, uses
Topaze, H. M. S., 50–52, 275
would otherwise be stolen by enemies or destroyed by arriving missionaries.

Heyerdahl tells the whole extraordinary story of how the Easter Islanders gradually came to entrust their secrets to him and finally brought him and his companions into the hitherto unknown storage caves filled with bizarre lava sculptures. His survey of the newly discovered cave art—and of corresponding museum pieces, many of which have been deposited in storerooms and never made public—illuminates the two categories into which Easter Island art falls. One consists of talismanic images secretly owned by individuals and endlessly varied in motif and style. The other category is represented by standard monments, ceremonial objects, and public paraphernalia—all of remarkably homogeneous types that are demonstrated by Heyerdahl to be clearly of South American inspiration, unknown elsewhere in Oceania.

The Art of Easter Island, in its text and its voluminous illustrations, presents in depth the substance of the adventures that Heyerdahl related in his popular book Aku-Aku. The detailed results of the professional excavations are recorded in two scholarly monographs, Archaeology of Easter Island and Miscellaneous Papers, which make up the two-volume Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific.

Thor Heyerdahl was born in Norway in 1914 and got his formal academic training as a biologist at Oslo University, where he later obtained a Ph.D. honoris causa in anthropology. Turning permanently from biology to anthropology upon his first expedition to the Marquesas Islands in Polynesia in 1937–38, he organized and led the Kon-Tiki Expedition by balsa raft from Peru to Polynesia in 1947; the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to the Galapagos Islands in 1952; the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island in 1955–56; and the Ra voyages by papyrus bundleboats from North Africa to tropical America in 1969–70. For his scientific contributions he has received the highest recognitions available in the field of anthropology, including the Vega Medal of the Royal Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography and the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society in London. He is a member of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences and a Fellow of the New York Academy of Sciences. Apart from his many scientific volumes and papers he has published a number of purely popular books on his adventures, notably Kon-Tiki, Aku-Aku, The Ra Expeditions, and Fatu-Hiva, all translated into many languages.

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