The Hancock Museum's Moai Maea

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In 1963, when I had accepted an offer of a professorship at the University of Kentucky, I decided that, to keep open my dream of returning later to do Polynesian linguistics and anthropology on a remote island, I'd better visit that part of the world first. So, after consulting with Sam, I took a trip of 73 days in which I visited key Polynesian areas (Tahiti, Tuamotu, Samoa, new Zealand), as well as Micronesia (Truk, Pohnpei, Guam, Yap and others), and Fiji, Australia, Indonesia, and South East Asian countries as far as Burma. I had served in Japan in connection with the Korean War.

It was in 1970-71, ten years after preparing for it by studying Hawaiian with Sam, that I took a year's sabbatical leave and spent it in the South Pacific doing linguistics and anthropology. Again, Sam’s advice was helpful. I began by visiting in three months all the Micronesian areas again, and Tonga, Nauru, Saipan, as well as Australian Aboriginal tribal areas, New Guinea, the Solomons, Vanuatu and other places, but Polynesian was still my first love. I settled on Tuvalu for the greater part of the year, after a months work in Samoa and a visit to Margaret Mead’s T’a’u (same name as Sam’s outlier). Mead’s husband, Gregory Bateson, had taught me anthropology. Mead had done her work in Samoa the year before I was born, and her book on it had inspired me to work with Polynesians. Sam’s Hawaiian course had given me a 500 word vocabulary that was good in Tuvalu (with certain consonant changes which were partly predictable), but the syntax differed. When I had problems with the syntax, I’d write Sam and he’d give me the answer. Only once was he mistaken. I wrote him that I suspected there was a connection between the use of the preverbal “clitic” pronouns (kau series) and the use of the Cia/ina suffix. Sam replied that he didn’t believe the two were related. But a Nanumanga man, Puleisili, told me, in English: “Yes, they are related. Neither the pronouns (kau series) nor the suffix on the verb can be used with an intransitive verb.” San can’t be faulted as the Nanumanga fact is not true at all in the Samoic-Outlier languages.

The only real error that Sam made was failure to recognize the first person singular “kau” pronouns such as in Rennell. That language has no non-singular pronouns in that series, nor second or third person pronouns of that series. Doubtless that’s the reason why Sam offered another explanation: that “kau” in that language is a contraction of the conjunction “ka” (“and”) and the disjunctive first person singular pronoun “au”. Another linguist who worked on that island told me it’s from pronoun series in Samoic-outlier languages, nonsingualr disappear first, then third person singulars, then second person singulars, leaving “kau” as the last temporary survivor before it disappears (Richard Feinberg lists the survivors for all the outlier languages, in a personal communication.)

At the 6th ICAL in Honolulu, in 1991, I telephoned Sam. He said his health was too poor to allow him to attend the meeting. That was the last time I spoke with him. I heard from him only once more, when he wrote to say that he disagreed with the Langdon-Tryon proposal that Rapanui, Rennell, East Uvea and East Futuna form a linguistic group. The world has lost a worthy man. A true scholar and a brilliant contributor to his field. And a very thoughtful human being who was always ready to give generously of his time and knowledge to help people who could use it. I am one of those who will miss him.

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Leslie Jessop, Hancock Museum, UK

OVER THE PAST 200 YEARS the Hancock Museum in New­castle, England, has slowly built up an ethnographic collection that now includes some 4500 items. Although there has never been a curator specializing in ethnography, it is interesting to look back and see how a succession of geologists and biologists (of which I am the latest in the series!) have fallen under the spell of these artworks. My own interest came about when I decided to spend an afternoon determining how much of the founding 18th century collection still survives. Five years later, and an Anthropology Ph.D. almost within sight, I am still burrowing into the material.

One of the Hancock’s items, catalogued as NEWHM: C172 is a carving in pinkish tufa of a head on a short conical neck. The photograph shows the carving of the face very clearly. The tufa has a slightly blackened surface patina, which is obvious where small chips show the underlying lighter stone. The overall height is 35 cm, and the head is 20 cm high. Maximum circumference is 51 cm. The carving formed part of a collection owned by André Breton and Paul Eluard, sold by auction at the Hotel Drouot in Paris in 1931 (Anon. 1931). It was acquired by the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in London, and passed by them to the Hancock Museum in 1951 (1).

For a long time I thought little of C172. Not only because it is not part of the 18th century collection but also because I somehow had it mentally marked down as a tourist piece. After all, in my imagination “real” Rapa Nui carvings were either giant heads or carvings in toromiro. My suspicions that it might be something more interesting were aroused when I acquired a copy of Métraux’s Ethnology of Easter Island (Métraux 1940). He figured a moai maia from the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde Vienna that is not dissimilar to C172. My ears metaphorically pricked up when I read of small stone images being scarce and ‘probably ancient for they were collected before the curio industry was fully developed on the island’.

Looking further into the situation, I turned to Volume 1 of the Archaeology of Easter Island (Heyerdahl and Ferdon,
1961). The several passages indexed as “Statuette, stone” give a broader picture. Some portable stone images are again said to be extremely rare. The main Western encounter with them was in 1872 during the visit of the French vessel Le Flore. Pierre Loti, who was aboard, figured two small stone figures with torsos (not heads with conical necks) flanking the entrance to a chief’s hut. A number of stone heads were purchased by the Flore’s officers and brought to Europe.

A stone head was seen by Geiseler in 1882 in the wall of an Orongo stone house and a sketch made at the time (Heyerdahl and Ferdon: Figure 12) shows an expression similar to that of C172. Other records noted in the Heyerdahl volume give an overall picture of moai maea in the context of households rather than separate religious sites, suggesting they were part of religious practices at a family and private level rather than as part of mass, group or tribal ceremonies.

It is tempting to think of C172 as being brought to Europe on Le Flore, turning up 60 years later in the Hotel Drouot auction. However, I am still not convinced that it is not a tourist piece. Heyerdahl noted that when his expedition was on Rapa Nui in 1955-56 a considerable number of ‘crude stone heads’ was produced for trade, and that was only 25 years after the Breton-Eluard sale. On the other hand, given the number of fakes known to be generated to suit the Paris “Art” market in the early 20th century, C172 might even have been made in Europe for sale to Breton or Eluard (which then begs the question of where did the faker obtain red tufa).

Since I do not have the more recent and specialist literature at hand I cannot easily pursue the research further. Given the wide interest in Rapa Nui, I cannot believe that moai maea have gone unstudied: are there any recent papers on the subject? Someone somewhere may have a file listing the corpus of known examples. If that person has long wondered about the fate of the Breton/Eluard example, then this note has served one purpose. If moai maea are indeed a neglected area of study, then it is surely time the situation was rectified: in which case this note may serve a much more useful purpose!

FOOTNOTE

1 C172 is currently on loan to the Captain Cook Birthplace Museum in Middlesbrough (England) and forms part of a display of items from places visited by the Yorkshire-born circumnavigator.

REFERENCES

