

CAROLINE VAN SANTEN

## Adorning the Ears: On Marquesan Ear Ornamentation

### Abstract

*This article explores historical developments in ear adornment on the Marquesas Islands by examining their descriptions in historical sources—both written and pictorial—and ear ornaments in museum collections. From the first historical records onwards, Marquesan men and women were reported to have pierced earlobes, but the extent to which outsiders observed they wore ornaments in their ears changed over time. Four main types of ear ornaments are discussed and placed in a historical perspective. Large, oval-shaped wooden ones (*kouhau*) were worn by men of rank and S-shaped ear ornaments made of turtle shell (*uuhei*) were worn by women. Oval-shaped ear ornaments made from whale tooth (*haakai*) were worn by certain women and men in a ritual context. The last type, composite ear ornaments with a shell front (*pūtaiana*), of which a typology is presented, seems to have changed both in appearance and gender-use over time; initially they were worn by a few men, later on more men wore them, and finally, around the 1840s, they were worn by both men and women.*

**Keywords:** *Marquesas Islands, material culture, body adornment, ear ornaments, Polynesia, museum collections, ethnography*

Many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century accounts on the Marquesas Islands—which consist mostly of travelogues by short-term visitors such as explorers, whalers, and traders, and narratives by long-term residents such as missionaries—include references to ear adornments. With their relatively small size and their decorations—of anthropomorphic figures (*tiki*) and, less commonly, geometric motifs and zoomorphic figures—they were popular collectibles among foreign visitors.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch navy officers who visited the Marquesan island of Nuku Hiva in May 1825—the encounter I examined in my PhD research—were no exception; in their writings they made remarks on ear adornment, drew ear ornaments, and collected examples. In this article I will examine Marquesan ear adornment in a historical framework to provide a chronology of the types of ear ornaments and the ways in which they were used over time.



Figure 1. John Hall, after a drawing by William Hodges, *Opperhoofd van het Eiland St. Christina* [Chief of the Island of St. Christina], 1777. Engraving, 150 x 109 mm. From J. Cook, *Reizen rondom de waereld* (Leiden, Amsterdam & 's-Gravenhage: Honkoop, Allart & van Cleef, 1795-1803), pl. XLIV. Derived from an engraving in J. Cook, *A voyage towards the South Pole* (London, 1777), pl. 36. Courtesy of Caroline van Santen

To provide the reader with some context, I will first give a general description of Marquesan ear ornaments. In museum collections—and in the wider literature on Marquesan material culture<sup>2</sup>—four main types of ear ornaments are distinguished:

- Kouhau: made from a single piece of lightweight wood, consisting of a large, relatively thin, and flat (slightly elongated) oval disc worn in front of the ear, with two spurs at the back, between which it was secured to the ear (see Fig. 1 for frontal view)

- Uuhei: made of an S-shaped strip of tortoiseshell decorated with bunches of dolphin teeth and glass beads (see Fig. 4)
- Haakai/hakakai: generally made from a whale tooth, consisting of a large, thick, oval-shaped disc worn in front of the ear, with a spur at the back (see Fig. 11)
- Pūtaiana/pūtaiata: made from shell with additional materials; the front consists of a shell cap with a spur at the back generally made from boar tusk, human bone, or whale ivory (see Figs. 2 and 5, among others)<sup>3</sup>



Figure 2. Artist unknown, Pūtaiana type 1a, before 1774. Shell, wood, 33 x 74 x 29 mm. Courtesy of Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, inv.no. 1886.1.707

The different types of ear ornaments are described as having been worn by men, women, or both. With haakai and pūtaiana, in particular, sources are not in agreement on their gender-specific use. Also, relatively few ear ornaments have information about when and where they were collected in the Marquesas Islands and by whom. Therefore, while examining ear ornaments for my doctoral research, I paid particular attention to those museum pieces with early collection dates to

see if more could be learned about possible changes in the appearance of ear ornaments over time.

When I closely studied (parts of) pūtaiana, I discerned differences regarding their physical appearance, the materials they were made from, and the way in which they were attached to the ear. Pūtaiana consist of a “cap,” the front part made of shell, and a “spur,” which is worn at the back of the ear and can be made from different materials. With these distinctions, I developed a typology based on the cap type and the shape and ornamentation of the spur. In Table 1, two main types are differentiated, each having two subtypes, and a third type is also distinguished. Pūtaiana type 1 have a hollow cone-shell cap filled with a wood substance and either a spur with hardly any or no decoration (type 1a; Fig. 2), or spurs ornamented with (generally) two figures (type 1b; Figs. 4 and 5). Pūtaiana type 2 have a relatively small, solid cap carved from a thick piece of shell material, such as the lip of a helmet shell. The spurs of this type are either roundish and ornamented with two or three figures (type 2a; Fig. 7), or flat with at least three connected figures (type 2b; Figs. 9 and 10). Type 3 are ear ornaments made from a solid piece of shell (instead of having a cap and spur made from different materials) that are similar in appearance to composite pūtaiana (Fig. 8). This typology will be used throughout this article as I explore the historical developments in ear adornment. Table 1 also includes the dates of the earliest-known illustrated or collected examples of the different pūtaiana types.

The main question this article addresses is what can be learned from historical sources, including physical objects, about Marquesan ear ornamentation? My premise is that in order to understand Marquesan ear adornment and the developments therein, all available sources—the physical objects themselves, details about their collection, and written and pictorial historical accounts regarding the ornaments’ appearances, their users, and the circumstances surrounding them—need to be considered in connection with one another. Consequently, I discuss in chronological sequence information on ear ornamentation obtained from a number of historic visits by Europeans and Americans to the Marquesas: late eighteenth-century visitors (1774–1799), traders and other visitors prior to the region’s occupation by the French (1800–1842), French officers and traveling collectors (1842–1875), and field researchers (1897–1921).<sup>4</sup> To assist the reader, Table 2 provides a schematic overview of the visits and related narratives, images, and objects discussed. Based on these sources, I conclude by summarizing the historical developments of ear ornaments from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century and their gender-specific use. With regard to pūtaiana, the hypothesis

of this study is that the broadening of their gender-defined use coincides with the development of a new type of pūtaiana in the 1840s: pūtaiana type 2.

PŪTAIANA		Shell cap type	Spur materials and appearance	Earliest-known example(s)
Type	Subtype			
1	a	hollow	plainish wood, bone, boar tusk, whale tooth or bird's beak	Collected in 1774 by Johann Reinhold and George Forster
1	b	hollow	ornamented boar tusk or whale tooth	Depicted in Porter, 1815; collected in 1825 by the Dutch
2	a	solid	roundish ornamented boar tusk or whale tooth	Donated in 1841 by Favarger
2	b	solid	flat ornamented whale tooth or (human) bone	Collected in 1874 by Voy; possibly preceded by Loti in 1872
3		made out of one piece of solid shell		Collected in 1792/93 by Hewett (plain); collected between 1840–44 Pierre-Alphonse Lesson and De Ginoux de la Coche between 1843–48 (decorated) <sup>5</sup>

Table 1. Types of Pūtaiana and their Earliest-Known Depicted, Collected, or Donated Examples

*Visit to the Marquesas Islands	**Date of visit /stay	Mentioned/ Described	Depicted	Collected (still traceable)	Kouhau	Uuhei	Haakai	Pūtaiana	Other
<b>1774–1799</b>									
Second voyage of James Cook (James Cook, Johann Reinhold & George Forster)	1774	x	x	x	x			x	

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Expedition Étienne Marchand (Claret de Fleurieu)	1791	x							
George Hewett	1793			x				x	
William Pascoe Crook	1797–1799	x			x	x	x	x	
<b>1800–1842</b>									
Krusenstern expedition (Von Krusenstern, Von Langsdorff, Lisiansky, Tilesius)	1804	x	x	x	x			x	x
Edward Robarts	1798–1806	x					x		
David Porter	1813	x	x		x	x	x	x	
John Shillibeer (Benjamin Rotch)	1814	x			x			x	x
	1800–1815			x			x		
Nathaniel Page	1816			x		x	x		
Camille de Roquefeuil	1817–1818	x					x		
Johan Adam Graaner	1819	x					x		
(Alexandre Isidore Leroy de Barde)	(1825)			x				x	
Dutch navy visit (Cosijn, Eeg, Van Haersolte, Singendonck)	1825	x	x	x	x	(x)	x	x	x
Hiram Paulding	1825	x						x	x
Frederick Debell Bennett	1835	x						x	
London Missionary Society (Stallworthy, Darling/Thomson)	1834–1841	x		x			x	x	x
Expedition Dumont d'Urville (Du Bouzet, Dumont d'Urville, Jacquinot, De Roquemaurel)	1838	x	x	x	x		x	x	x

Mathias Gracia	1838–1842	x							x
(Frédéric Favarger)	(1841)			x				x	
<b>1842–1875</b>									
Jean-Benoît-Amadée Collet	1842–1844			x	x				
Jean Daniel Alphonse Rohr	1842–1844			x	x		(x)	(x)	(x)
Pierre-Alphonse Lesson	1840, 1843–1844			x			x	x	x
French missionary	1845			x				x	
Edmond de Ginoux de La Coche	1843–1848	x		x	x		x	x	
Julien Viaud (Pierre Loti)	1872			x				x	
Charles David Voy	1874			x			x	x	
Wyville Thomson	1875			x				x	
<b>1897–1921</b>									
Karl von den Steinen	1897–1898	x	x	x			x	x	x
American Bayard Dominick expedition (Edward S. Craighill Handy, Ralph Linton)	1920–1921	x			x	x	x	x	x

Table 2. Visits by Europeans to the Marquesas Islands, Their Related Narratives' Mentions and/or Depictions of Ear Ornaments, and their Collection

\*Names in brackets are the recorded donors of ear ornaments to a museum collection, not those of actual visitors to the Marquesas Islands.

\*\*Dates in brackets are recorded dates of ear ornaments entering museum collections.

### Early Visitors, 1774–1799

Although the Spanish visited the Marquesas Islands in 1595, the first written references regarding ear ornaments date to April 1774 when, on his second voyage to the Pacific, James Cook called at Tahuata. In his travelogue, Cook mentions that everyone there had pierced ears, but that none were wearing earrings.<sup>6</sup> However, his publication includes a portrait of hakāiki (chief) Honu wearing a pair of wooden ear ornaments (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> Scientist George Forster described them as consisting of oval-shaped flat pieces of light wood which had been painted white with lime.<sup>8</sup>

These ear ornaments are now known as kouhau. While there is no record of any member of Cook’s crew collecting kouhau, Forster and his father, fellow scientist Johann Reinhold Forster, did collect another type of ear ornament, now at the Pitt Rivers Museum: a pūtaiana type 1a with a shell front and a wooden spur at the back (Fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> The collection of the British Museum contains a very similar ornament without accession information, which might also have been collected during the 1774 visit.<sup>10</sup> These are the only known pūtaiana with wooden spurs.

In June 1791, Étienne Marchand, commander of a French commercial expedition, visited Tahuata. To date, no objects have been traced to this particular visit, but the expedition’s chronicler, Claret de Fleurieu, made a number of observations on ear adornment. He relates that both women and men had their ears pierced—the holes being “three to four lines [7 to 9 mm] in diameter”—but that no men wore ear ornaments all the time and that very few women wore them.<sup>11</sup> However, both women and men would wear other items they valued in their ears, such as nails.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to note that between 1774 and 1791, the wearing of ear ornaments was apparently not yet a common practice—or at least it was not a common practice in Vaitahu, the bay on Tahuata visited by both Cook and Marchand—even though both women and men had pierced ears. The large wooden ear ornaments which were noted during Cook’s visit do not figure in Claret de Fleurieu’s account.

Nine months after Marchand’s visit, in March 1792, the HMS *Daedalus*, the supply ship for the exploratory voyage by George Vancouver of the northwest coast of North America, docked at the Marquesas for the first time; it came again on its return journey in February 1793.<sup>13</sup> During these visits, surgeon’s mate George Hewett acquired several Marquesan objects, including a small ear ornament made from a solid piece of shell with a round front and tapered point—a plain pūtaiana type 3 (see Table 1).<sup>14</sup>

During the period 1797 to 1799, William Pascoe Crook, a missionary with the London Missionary Society (LMS), stayed on Tahuata and Nuku Hiva for nineteen months. In the elaborate written account of his stay, he describes several types of ear ornaments, though he does not identify the wearers. In addition, Marquesan words for types of ear ornaments are included in a Marquesan-English dictionary that he co-authored in 1799. In it, Crook is the first to record Indigenous names of some of the types of ear ornaments, such as the “hekkaki,” which closely resembles the present-day name haakai/hakakai.<sup>15</sup> He describes it as consisting of “a flat Oval Ornament, made of a Sperm Whale’s tooth, cut cross-wise” attached to a bone with a hole in it through which “the rib of a Cocoa Nut leaf is thrust” for fastening.<sup>16</sup> It is interesting that his description seems to refer to a composite

haakai, whereas most haakai were cut out of a single whale tooth. Another ear ornament Crook mentions is an S-shaped one made of turtle shell or coconut shell and decorated with dolphin teeth.<sup>17</sup> These are named “ouhwe” in his dictionary and are presently called uuhei.<sup>18</sup> All the uuhei that I have seen in museum collections thus far are made of turtle shell. Additionally, Crook also refers to kouhau (wooden ear ornaments)—“kofáou” in the dictionary—and to “a pearl Shell, fastened to a reed.”<sup>19</sup> The latter is rather puzzling, as this may refer to pūtaiana with a front made from a cone shell, but this type of shell does not have mother-of-pearl. In the dictionary, the term “hekkaki” is also used for ear ornaments made from shell, which might mean that both ear ornaments made of shell and of whale ivory shared the same name at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Apart from the pearl-shell ear ornament, the other ear ornaments Crook describes are clearly recognizable by both his descriptions and their relation to names which are still in use at present. Also, he is the first to describe both uuhei and haakai, which means that these ear ornaments must already have been in use prior to 1800.

### Traders, Explorers, and Long-term Visitors, 1800–1842

In his 1813 travelogue, A. J. von Krusenstern, who visited Nuku Hiva in May 1804 as part of a Russian expedition, provides a clear description of the construction of pūtaiana type 1:

. . . they adorn their ears with large white muscles [*sic*] of a circular form, filled with a hard substance like sand, to which a perforated boar’s tooth is affixed for the purpose of fastening it to the ear; a small wooden peg that passes through the tooth, serving as a clasp to prevent its falling out.<sup>21</sup>

The substance described as being “like sand” is, in fact, wood, which is used to fix the spur to the shell cap. As the wood is covered with a layer of sawdust in resin, it has the appearance of hard sand.<sup>22</sup> Another expedition member, the naturalist Tilesius, notes in his sketchbook and in his unpublished journal that “Putayata” was the Marquesan name connected with shell ear ornaments, which resembles one of the spelling modes of the present-day name.<sup>23</sup> He also identifies the round shell parts as belonging to a type of sea snail called *Conus marmoreus*.<sup>24</sup> Lisiansky, commander of the expedition’s second ship, makes a specific remark in his travelogue about the piercing in women’s ears: “It is astonishing that women . . . do not

tattoo [*sic*] themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.”<sup>25</sup>

Drawings and images in this expedition’s travelogues show several Nuku Hivans wearing ear ornaments, mostly pūtaiana type 1 (Fig. 3).<sup>26</sup> It is noteworthy that none of the women depicted wear ear ornaments, although some wear a flower or a feather through an earlobe. The travelogues of Von Langsdorff and Lisiansky also show illustrations of just ear ornaments.<sup>27</sup> Several members of the Krusenstern expedition collected ear ornaments and, of these, twenty-one can be located. They include fifteen pūtaiana type 1a, with spurs made from various materials such as bird’s beaks, boar tusks, and whale ivory; four kouhau; and two small ear ornaments made entirely from whale ivory.<sup>28</sup> Surprisingly, none of the expedition members collected or referred to large oval-shaped ear ornaments made from whale teeth. However, one of the expedition’s informers, the stranded Englishman Edward Robarts, mentions haakai ear ornaments one time in his extensive journal recounting his stay on the islands from 1798 to 1806: when describing women’s dance costumes during funerary rites.<sup>29</sup>



Figure 3. Hermann Ludwig von Löwenstern, A Nuku Hivan man (detail), 1804. Watercolor drawing, dimensions unknown. Courtesy of the National Archives of Estonia, Arch. No. EAA.1414.3.3:95

In October 1813, US Navy Captain David Porter arrived on Nuku Hiva to stay for about six weeks. In his travelogue, he describes kouhau and haakai worn by a particular group of men, namely warriors, as part of their regalia.<sup>30</sup> Regarding women, he mentions them wearing uuhei—made from darkish wood decorated with beads, teeth, and mother-of-pearl—as well as haakai.<sup>31</sup> He does not specify when these were worn, but provides the following reference:

. . . it [a song] was the history of the loves of a young man and a young woman of their valley: they sung their mutual attachment, and the praises of their beauty; described with raptures the handsome beads and whales' teeth earrings with which she was be-decked . . .<sup>32</sup>

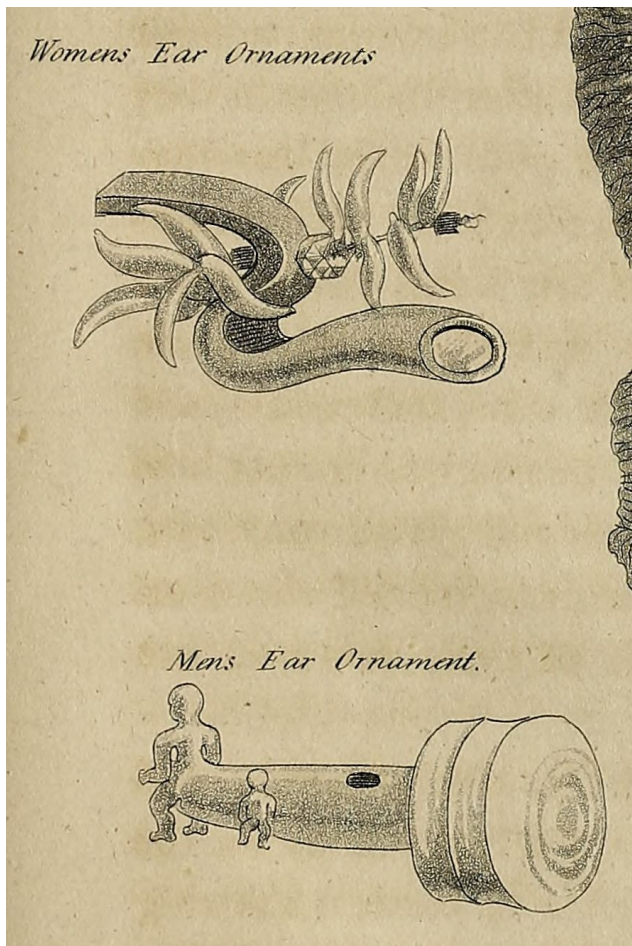


Figure 4. W. Strickland, untitled (detail) showing uuhei and pūtaiana type 1b ear ornaments. From David Porter, *Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the United States Frigate Essex, In the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814, Vol. II* (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1815), between 118–9. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Libraries

Although Porter's travelogue includes a few images of Marquesans wearing ear ornaments, it does not include any wearing haakai or any examples of these ear ornaments. However, his image of the pūtaiana type 1b is most likely the first depiction of one with a spur decorated with small tiki figures (Fig. 4).<sup>33</sup> The ornamentation of pūtaiana spurs seems to have begun around 1800, as suggested by Ivory and Thomas.<sup>34</sup> The execution of the example in Porter's travelogue with its well-defined figures suggests that this trend may have been well established by 1813. Porter's image of the uuhei ear ornament (Fig. 4) is also the first depiction of this type.<sup>35</sup>

A year after Porter's visit, Lieutenant John Shillibeer visited the Marquesas for four days with the HMS *Briton*. In his published journal, he mentions that Marquesans wear ornaments in their ears: men made them from shell or whitened wood, while women would wear flowers.<sup>36</sup> Shillibeer does not mention uuhei—which, according to Porter, were worn by women—and neither does he mention haakai, possibly because Shillibeer was only on the Marquesas for a short time, during which there may have been no special events.

The Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts (USA), holds two pairs of ear ornaments which were probably collected in the Marquesas by Captain Nathaniel Page in 1816, when he visited the islands with the ship *Indus* to collect sandalwood for the Chinese market.<sup>37</sup> He donated them to the East India Marine Society in 1817. Both pairs, haakai and uuhei, are the oldest of their type known to have been collected.<sup>38</sup> However, the haakai may have been preceded by a pair in the Bristol Museum & Art Gallery, which were donated by whaleship owner Benjamin Rotch in 1824 and were possibly collected between 1800 and 1815.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, this pair of composite haakai is made entirely from elephant ivory instead of whale ivory.

In his travelogue, Camille de Roquefeuil, captain of the French navy ship *Le Bordelais* (which called at the islands from December 1817 to February 1818), provides an explanation of how elephant ivory could have arrived in the Marquesas. Drawing on information he learned from an American interpreter named George Ross, De Roquefeuil states that a Captain Rogers had been in the Marquesas in 1810 to collect sandalwood and realized he could acquire quite a large amount of this wood in exchange for a whale tooth. When returning to the Marquesas from China to collect more sandalwood, Rogers brought with him ivory pieces that had been shaped into the form of whale teeth. Initially, he was successful in using these fake whale teeth for exchange, but soon Marquesans realized that this was not their preferred type of ivory and showed no further interest.<sup>40</sup> The fake whale teeth were most likely made from elephant ivory, which

was readily available in China. Although at first glance elephant ivory and sperm whale teeth may look quite similar, those familiar with these materials find it relatively easy to discern the differences.<sup>41</sup>

De Roquefeuil also refers to ear ornaments in his travelogue, mentioning that on specific occasions, women wore ones made from whale teeth, to which he adds that “the largest are the handsomest; there are some above two inches in diameter, but those usually worn are not above half that size.”<sup>42</sup> In the French version of his travelogue, he describes these whale teeth ear ornaments as “false, perpendicular ears.” He provides an explanation of how these ear ornaments were affixed to the ear and mentions that men also wore them. However, the way in which De Roquefeuil describes the fastening seems to correspond more with the wooden kouhau, which has two spurs at the back, than with the one-spurred haakai.<sup>43</sup> Other writers mention that kouhau were only worn by men, so it is possible that De Roquefeuil got the two types mixed up. Another practice he remarks upon, as is also noted by Lisiansky, was that some women were tattooed around the ear perforation.<sup>44</sup>

Just over a year after De Roquefeuil left the Marquesas, Johan Adam Graaner made a six-day stopover in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, as a passenger on the British merchant ship *Rebecca*. He spent quite some time with interpreter George Ross. Graaner noted that both women and men wore several types of ear ornaments and that both genders wore ear ornaments consisting of a large, oval-shaped disc at the front with a spur on the back—in other words, haakai. However, his observations may have been influenced by the fact that he was in Taiohae during a feast, about which he also writes.<sup>45</sup> Neither De Roquefeuil nor Graaner seem to have collected ear ornaments during their stay, at least none that can be traced today.

In 1825, the Musée Boulogne-sur-Mer (France) acquired a large collection—the museum’s founding collection—of natural history specimens and ethnographic objects from artist and collector Alexandre Isidore Leroy de Barde. The collection contained a pair of pūtaiana type 1a with undecorated pieces of bone as spurs. De Barde had lived in London from 1792 to circa 1814, where he made drawings of natural history specimens in the Leverian Museum and visited many public auctions. It is likely that he acquired the pūtaiana during his stay in London; it is unknown when these were collected on the Marquesas.<sup>46</sup>

The same year in which the museum in Boulogne-sur-Mer acquired its collection, two Dutch navy ships visited the Marquesas en route from South America to Indonesia. In May 1825 they stayed in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, for twelve days. Several crew members wrote short comments about ear adornment, mostly referring

to pūtaiana worn by men.<sup>47</sup> A Nuku Hivan man drawn by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte also seems to wear a pūtaiana.<sup>48</sup> Willem Carel Singendonck describes an ear ornament made from black wood worn by women (which may refer to uuhei) and Jacob van Wageningen mentions that foreign objects were used as ear ornaments, such as buttons by women and nails and cigars by men.<sup>49</sup> Commander Christiaan Eeg observes that some men wore shell ear ornaments, but that most women and men hardly wore any adornment.<sup>50</sup> The Dutchmen collected three pairs of pūtaiana type 1b, including ones with spurs decorated with small tiki figures, which so far are the oldest known collected examples of this type that can still be traced today. One of these pairs was collected by Adrianus Cosijn (Fig. 5), who also made a drawing of one of the pūtaiana and of a kouhau, an ear ornament type that does not seem to have been collected by the Dutch. However, Van Haersolte did collect a pair of quite small haakai.<sup>51</sup>



Figure 5. Artist unknown, Pūtaiana type 1b, before 1825. Shell, wood and boar tusk, 30 x 59 x 26 mm. Collection Museum Volkenkunde inv.no. RV-1474-12. Photograph courtesy of Wereldmuseum Leiden

Later in 1825, the USS *Dolphin* anchored in several different bays on Nuku Hiva. In his travelogue, Lieutenant Hiram Paulding describes how, on leaving Comptroller's Bay, a chief from Happah gifted him his neck ornament and a pair of pūtaiana, of which the spurs had a carved image.<sup>52</sup> Just like Eeg, Paulding noted that both women and men did not wear many ornaments and that women often only wore a small flower in the ear.<sup>53</sup>

At the beginning of March 1835, Frederick Debell Bennett—the ship surgeon on a British whaling ship—stayed for about a week in the Marquesas, particularly on Tahuata. In his book recounting his experience, he provides a detailed description of a pūtaiana type 1b. He is probably the first to identify the likely materials used for the filling of the shell front, namely breadfruit wood and resin. Also, he is the first to clearly describe how ivory spurs are decorated with humanoid figures. Moreover, Bennett is the first to mention specifically that pūtaiana were worn by women and men.<sup>54</sup>

Between 1834 and 1841, the LMS had a mission post on Tahuata. The missionary George Stallworthy acquired seven ear ornaments, a haakai and six ear ornaments that originally were attached to a card with descriptions presumably written by Stallworthy. Four were described as “taiana” and two as “hakakai,” although as the latter were made out of a whale tooth and have a rather atypical shape for a haakai, they are more like pūtaiana type 1. The “taiana” ear ornaments are most likely all pūtaiana type 1b, although only one still has a shell front. Even though the card includes written information on how the ornaments were worn, it does not provide information on the wearers.<sup>55</sup> Four relatively small and simple haakai were also collected by LMS missionaries in the same period, probably by either David Darling on Tahuata or by Robert Thomson on Nuku Hiva.<sup>56</sup>

The French expedition ships *Astrolabe* and *Zélée* stayed on Nuku Hiva from late August to early September 1838. The expedition’s commander, Jules Sébastien César Dumont d’Urville, published an extensive journal of the voyage in which he incorporated writings from fellow officers. First Lieutenant Gaston de Roquemaurel (*Astrolabe*) mentions acquiring a pair of ear ornaments from a Marquesan man in exchange for a razor blade. He most likely meant a pair of pūtaiana, as he describes Marquesan men as wearing “pendants made with a shell and a carved fish tooth.”<sup>57</sup> He collected one pair of these and a pair of haakai as well.<sup>58</sup> Besides Dumont d’Urville, who describes the spurs of pūtaiana as finely carved and at times decorated with small human heads, other officers also remark upon the decoration.<sup>59</sup> Charles Jacquinet mentions a pūtaiana spur decorated with “a sculpted human figure.”<sup>60</sup> Eugène du Bouzet provides another layer by observing that the figures represent “Atoua or God.”<sup>61</sup> The *Atlas pittoresque* accompanying Dumont d’Urville’s travelogue includes several portraits of Nuku Hivan males wearing pūtaiana (Fig. 6).<sup>62</sup> A large funerary scene, which may well have been an imaginary reconstruction, drawn by the expedition’s artist, Ernest Goupil, also shows Marquesan men wearing ear ornaments. The men either seem to wear kouhau or pūtaiana. None of them wear haakai, which are also not mentioned by any of the expedition members, although these ornaments were available, as the pair

collected by De Roquemaurel proves. From both the descriptions and the images, it is not clear if the pūtaiana concerned were types 1b and/or 2a. However, it is notable that no mention is made of any women wearing ear ornaments, and the only image of a Marquesan woman with ear adornment in the pictorial atlas shows her wearing a flower.



Figure 6. Bayot after Louis le Breton, *Naturels de Nouka-Hiva. (Baie Anna Maria)*, 1846. Engraving, dimensions unknown. From Jules Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l'Océanie sur les corvettes l'Astrolabe et la Zélée, Atlas Pittoresque, Tome Premier* (Paris: Gidé, 1846), plate 60. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg

One of the first Catholic missionaries in the Marquesas, Father Mathias Gracia, recorded many observations he made during his residency between 1838 and 1842 in letters that were published in 1843. Besides a few vague remarks regarding ear ornaments, he describes an event that concerned the piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter, which required a human sacrifice. However, he imagines there may also have been another reason for the sacrifice, namely establishing the girl's role as a priestess. This is the first time that the act of ear piercing, necessary before ear ornaments can be worn, is mentioned. In this specific case, it was part of a ritual, but unfortunately it is not clear if Gracia was of the opinion that ear piercing was always part of a ritual or if this was an exceptional case.<sup>63</sup>

In January 1841, Frédéric Favarger, a native of Neuchâtel, Switzerland based in Valparaiso, Chile, donated a large collection of objects from the South Pacific to the scientific society in his hometown. While a considerable number of these objects originate from the Marquesas, there is no evidence that Favarger ever visited the islands, so he may have amassed the collection from one or more of the numerous ships that harbored at Valparaiso.<sup>64</sup> Another possibility is that Favarger acquired the Marquesan objects in Lima, Peru, from a Peruvian captain returning from the Marquesas.<sup>65</sup> Favarger's donation contains four pūtaiana—three of them are pūtaiana type 1b and one is a pūtaiana 2a, which to date is the oldest of its type known in a museum collection (Fig. 7).



Figure 7. Artist unknown, Pūtaiana (type 2a), before 1841. Shell and boar tusk, 17 x 50 x 16 mm. Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel, Switzerland, inv.no, V.26. Photograph by Caroline van Santen. Courtesy of Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel

### French Colonial Officers and Traveling Collectors, 1842–1875

From 1842 to 1875, when France occupied the Marquesas, French administrators and officers collected Marquesan objects when stationed on the islands. A number of these collections found their way into French museums. The collection acquired by Captain Jean-Benoît-Amadée Collet, the first supreme commander of the islands, includes four kouhau.<sup>66</sup> Between 1842 and 1844, one of his subordinates, Second Lieutenant Jean Daniel Alphonse Rohr, also assembled a considerable collection comprising, among others, two kouhau, four shell ear ornaments, and two whale-tooth ear ornaments, all of which he donated to his hometown of Colmar, France, in 1845.<sup>67</sup> The Musée Hèbre (Rochefort, France) holds a number of objects collected by medical officer Pierre-Alphonse Lesson either in May 1840, when he visited the islands with the *Pylade*, or between October 1843 and June 1844, when he headed the medical service in the Marquesas. This collection contains a pair of haakai, a pair of smaller whale ivory ear ornaments, four pūtaiana type 1b, and three pūtaiana type 3.<sup>68</sup> Besides officials, other foreigners were present in the Marquesas as well, including French missionaries. The collection of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge University holds two pūtaiana type 3 which were bought at an auction in 1923 and which were reportedly collected by a French missionary on the Marquesas in 1845 (Fig. 8).<sup>69</sup>

French journalist Edmond de Ginoux de la Coche visited the Marquesas several times between 1843 and 1848 and collected a considerable number of objects, including ear ornaments.<sup>70</sup> In a catalogue he compiled in 1866, he makes several observations that are not mentioned in earlier writings by other visitors. Regarding wooden ear ornaments, which he calls “Kouhaou” (kouhau), he remarks that they were worn on days of combat or feasts, and that by wearing them warriors enhanced their tattoos.<sup>71</sup> Of the four pairs of kouhau he collected, three pairs can still be traced.<sup>72</sup> Referring to “Hakaé” (haakai), De Ginoux de la Coche observes that these “luxury ornaments” were worn by women and men on feast days.<sup>73</sup> The third type of ear ornaments he remarks upon are “Poutaüana-Kétou” (pūtaiana), everyday ear ornaments for men and women that are part sperm whale ivory and part shell (speckled cone).<sup>74</sup> He describes them as having a delicately carved figure of a tiki (which he calls a “domestic genius”) on the less visible part that is worn behind the ears. He collected ten pairs of this type, one pair of which was made entirely of shell, which is the first written reference to pūtaiana type 3.<sup>75</sup>



Figure 8. Artist unknown, Pūtaiana (type 3), before 1845. Shell, 22 x 38 x 15 mm. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge University, inv.no. 1923.114 B. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge University



Figure 9. Artist unknown, Pūtaiana (type 2b) with flat spur, before 1874. Whale tooth and resin, 18.5 x 46.5 x 7 mm. Penn Museum, inv.no. 18023K. Courtesy of the Penn Museum

From approximately the 1870s onward, scholars and collectors began making voyages around the Pacific that, in contrast to many earlier expeditions, had a salvage ethnographic character.<sup>76</sup> Either for institutions or for their own private collections, many of these professional travelers called at the Marquesas. During their stays, which were generally three to four weeks, they would visit several islands, where they often acquired a considerable number of objects. American naturalist Charles David Voy was one of these traveling collectors. He visited the Marquesas in 1874 and acquired a collection of both older and contemporary objects.<sup>77</sup> The ear ornaments Voy collected are six haakai—one of which is made from elephant ivory—and six pūtaiana. Of the pūtaiana, all consist of type 2 caps, but only two still have their spurs, both of which are elaborately carved flat spurs (Fig. 9). These pūtaiana type 2b spurs are, so far, the earliest collected to be identified.<sup>78</sup> It is possible that French navy officer Julien Viaud, better known as Pierre Loti, collected a similar flat spur pūtaiana two years earlier. However, the attribution of this ear ornament in the collection of Maison de Pierre Loti to both collector and collection date is not definite.<sup>79</sup> In 1875, a year after Voy's visit, the HMS *Challenger* called at the Marquesas. Aboard was naturalist Wyville Thomson, who also acquired a pair of pūtaiana type 2b with flat decorated spurs (Fig. 10).<sup>80</sup>

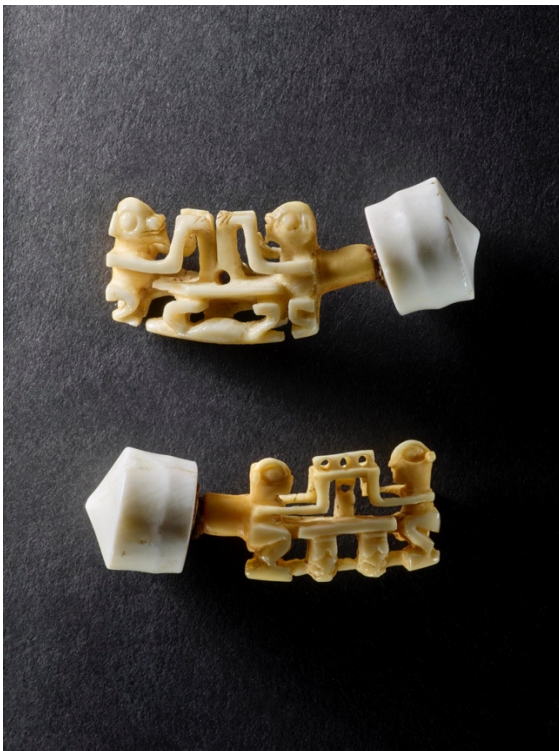


Figure 10. Artist unknown, Pūtaiana (type 2b), before 1878. Shell, whale tooth, pith, 19 x 50 x 15 mm and 19 x 53 x 15 mm. British Museum, inv.no. Oc,+592.a-b. Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum

### Field Research, 1897–1921

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the first scientific fieldwork was undertaken on the Marquesas. One of the first fieldworkers on the islands was German ethnologist Karl von den Steinen. He stayed in the Marquesas from August 1897 to February 1898 to obtain Marquesan objects for the ethnological museum in Berlin, for which he also gathered information on objects' uses and meanings. Among the objects he acquired were two pairs of haakai, a considerable number of pūtaiana type 2b, and some pūtaiana type 2a, as well as a few other types of small ear ornaments. For most of the objects, the location where he collected them is known, and with one pair of haakai even the name of the last Marquesan owner, a woman named Tetuaatuoho, is known, as well as the name of her ancestor (tupuna kakiu), Mahuettee, to whom they originally belonged.<sup>81</sup> It is quite unusual to know the name of a former owner/wearer of ear ornaments; so far, no other such records have been found.

Von den Steinen also addresses ear ornaments in his publications on Marquesan art, which he published decades after his fieldwork. Regarding ear ornaments' construction, he recognizes two main types: simple and composite. Simple ear ornaments are made from one piece of material such as whale tooth, boar tusk, shell, or wood. He divides this category in two subgroups: small knobs with a front similar in appearance to pūtaiana, which he refers to as okaoka, and large disc knobs made out of whale teeth—haakai. He assumes that kouhau were used as substitutes for haakai. The second type Von den Steinen defines are composite ear ornaments with a shell front and a spur of a different material—pūtaiana. Into this group he places older ones with relatively plain spurs (pūtaiana type 1), as well as newer ones with richly ornamented spurs, most of which have solid caps (pūtaiana type 2).<sup>82</sup> Von den Steinen subdivides spurs that are decorated with three or more figures into two categories. The first group he calls “Indifferent comrades”: ones with figures that are situated next to or behind each other but do not seem to be interacting. The second group he denotes as “Tiki having relationships with each other,” of which he recognizes four representations: “Embrace,” “French kiss,” “Childbirth,” and “Girls swing.” Of pūtaiana with a “Childbirth” spur, he notes these were only worn by women.<sup>83</sup>

In 1920 and 1921, as part of the American Bayard Dominick Expeditions, a research team including anthropologist Edward S. Craighill Handy and archaeologist Ralph Linton was sent to the Marquesas. In 1923, Handy published a study on Marquesan culture based on information from missionaries, foreign residents, and Marquesan people. Adding to the information recorded by Gracia, Handy

relates that ear piercing was performed on children ages six to ten. With boys, he learned from Linton, it was performed at the same time as their circumcision. Ear piercing was generally done in groups at a sacred place but often without much ceremony; only for children of high-ranking individuals were ceremonial ear-piercing feasts organized. The piercing was performed by a *tuhuna* (specialist).<sup>84</sup> Regarding *haakai*, Handy mentions that they were worn by women and men and that the most valuable ones were considered special family possessions. Just like Von den Steinen, he considers *kouhau* to be substitutes for *haakai*. Additionally, Handy groups larger composite shell ear ornaments under the name *haakai*, a similar term to the one used by Crook et al. in 1799. Of the smaller *pūtaiana*, Handy mentions that the spurs were made from ancestral limb bones and were only worn by women. They were handed down in the female line. Contrary to Von den Steinen, Handy is of the opinion that *okaoka* is the general term for ear ornaments.<sup>85</sup>

In his publication on Marquesan material culture, Linton distinguishes ear ornaments worn by women and men. According to him, the S-shaped turtle shell ear ornaments were used by women, as were *pūtaiana* with solid caps of white shell and thin spurs richly ornamented with figures made from human bone—allegedly made from ancestral human remains—or sometimes from boar tusk. However, of these *pūtaiana* type 2b, a fair number of spurs are also made from whale ivory. According to Linton, “The most highly prized of the men’s ear ornaments were the *ha’akai*,” which he bases on the 1904 version of Dordillon’s dictionary.<sup>86</sup> This is interesting, as Handy believes that both women and men wore them. The 1931 revised edition of Dordillon’s dictionary does not specify that *haakai* were only worn by men.<sup>87</sup> Linton also refers to other types of male ear ornaments—wooden ones or *kouhau* and shell composite ones (*pūtaiana* type 1)—but only by quoting earlier visitors to the Marquesas. He also recognizes that certain ear ornaments were worn by women and men equally, such as those for keeping “open freshly perforated holes in the ears” and what he calls “intermediate” ear ornaments placed in between “*taiana* and *haakai* types.” From the examples in museum collections that he refers to, he seems to describe several ear ornaments that could be considered as *pūtaiana* type 1, which were likely no longer in use when he was on the Marquesas.<sup>88</sup>



Figure 11. Artist unknown, Two haakai, before 1871. Whale tooth, 76 x 83 x 47 mm and 75 x 82.5 x 48.5 mm. British Museum, inv.no. Oc.7279.a-b. Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum

## Conclusion

In records from 1774 onwards, both men and women in the Marquesas are reported to have pierced earlobes, but the actual wearing of ear ornaments is hardly mentioned. Reviewing observations on adorning the ears, there seems to be a gradual shift from only a few high-ranking men wearing ear ornaments in the late eighteenth century, to most men and some women wearing them by the early nineteenth century, and to reports in the 1840s of both men and women generally wearing them. However, the fact that pierced earlobes were prevalent among both men and women suggests that wearing ear ornaments must already have been a common practice by 1774, but likely reserved for special occasions.

Several developments in Marquesan ear ornaments can be discerned from historical accounts. I will consider these by returning to the four different types of ear ornaments mentioned in the introduction. The earliest accounts describe large, lightweight wooden ear ornaments made of a flat piece of whitewashed wood with two spurs at the back. Visitors to the Marquesas repeatedly record seeing this type from 1774 to the 1840s and they are known to have been collected from 1804 to the 1840s, and possibly later. There seems to be general agreement that these were worn by men of a chiefly rank and probably not on a daily basis. Only field researchers in the period 1897 to 1921 consider these to be

substitutes for whale tooth ear ornaments. In 1799, Crook et al. are the first to provide the Marquesan name for this type of ear ornament, “kofáou,” and in the 1840s De Ginoux de la Coche names them “Kouhaou,” resembling the current spelling, kouhau.

The second type of ear ornament, uuhei, which was mentioned by Crook between 1797 and 1799, is the S-shaped ornament typically made of a strip of turtle shell adorned with dolphin teeth, and later with glass beads. Porter and others mention that uuhei were uniquely worn by women. Crook et al. provide the name “oúhwe” for this type of ear ornament.<sup>89</sup> Dordillon’s dictionary gives the name “uuhe,” which is quite close to the present name of uuhei.<sup>90</sup> Although Porter produces an image of this type of ear ornament in 1815, and the first pair in a museum collection that can be traced were probably acquired on the Marquesas in 1816, it is interesting to note that to date no images of Marquesans wearing this type of ornament have been found.

Crook observed a haakai—an ear ornament made from a large tooth of a sperm whale—during his stay between 1797 and 1799. In his account he does not provide a name for them, but in Crook et al. the name “hekkaki,” relatively close to the present-day haakai/hakaki, is used for both ear ornaments made from ivory and from shell. This raises the question of whether terminology has changed over time—as during the 1840s De Ginoux de la Coche notes the name “Hakaé” only for whale tooth ear ornaments—or if there are different perspectives on the name, as Handy also uses the term “hakakai” to refer to both whale tooth ear ornaments and composite shell ear ornaments in 1923. From the earliest accounts, it can be deduced that haakai were worn by women and men during feasts, either high-ranking or fulfilling a certain role in rituals. It is therefore remarkable that in quite a number of catalogues haakai tend to be described as male ear ornaments. The reason for this may be that Ralph Linton (of the 1920s Bayard Dominick Expedition) writes in his publication on Marquesan material culture that “the most highly prized of the men’s ear ornaments were the ha’akai,” implying they were exclusively worn by men.<sup>91</sup> This assumption seems to be incorrect and needs rectification, as the historical accounts do not support this.

Composite shell ear ornaments, or pūtaiana, are first mentioned in the accounts of the missionary Crook relating to the period 1797 to 1799, but as one with a wooden spur was collected during Cook’s visit, they must already have been in use by 1774. Over time, the spur came to be made of other materials such as boar tusks and whale ivory. The spur also became decorated, which seems to have been a development starting around 1800, as was also suggested by Ivory and Thomas, most likely due to the availability of metal (precision) tools.<sup>92</sup> The image

in Porter’s travelogue, which is the first known example depicted—as was also noted by Von den Steinen—suggests this may have been well established by 1813.<sup>93</sup> The earliest pūtaiana type 1b that are found in a museum collection were collected during a Dutch navy visit to Nuku Hiva in 1825. Whereas pūtaiana type 1 have a hollow cone-shell cap filled with a wood substance, pūtaiana type 2 have relatively small solid-shell caps. The first example of a pūtaiana type 2a was donated by Favarger in 1841. This pūtaiana type may well be a transitional variety between types 1b and 2b. The earliest flat spurs belonging to pūtaiana type 2b seem to be the ones collected by Voy in 1874, or possibly the one collected by Loti two years earlier. Following others and in contrast to Von den Steinen’s categorization, I have placed ear ornaments completely made of one solid piece of shell in my pūtaiana typology as type 3.<sup>94</sup> The first plain pūtaiana type 3 was already collected in 1792/1793 and the first decorated ones in the 1840s. As for the naming of composite shell ear ornaments, the historic term closest to the present-day name of pūtaiana is “Putāyāta,” noted by naturalist Tilesius in 1804. Initially, pūtaiana appear to have been solely worn by men, but from the 1840s female wearers were also being observed. Later opinions differ on who wore them, which is probably due to an indiscriminate use of the term pūtaiana for a broad range of similar ear ornaments. The shift in observations of women wearing pūtaiana may well have coincided with the shift in cap form. Therefore, this study hypothesizes that the broadening of gender-defined use coincides with the development of pūtaiana type 2.

This paper has shown that although the common term pūtaiana for Marquesan composite shell ear ornaments may imply a uniformity, as it is applied generally to this particular type of ear ornament, a critical reading of both historical sources and objects reveals that there are more differences in these ornaments’ forms and uses than previously assumed. Such an examination widens the understanding of a form of material culture and the changes therein over time.

*Caroline van Santen earned her PhD from the Sainsbury Research Centre, University of East Anglia, in Norwich, United Kingdom, in 2022. She is curator at the Zeeuws Museum, a regional cultural history museum in Middelburg, the Netherlands, and works as an independent researcher on the material culture and history of the Marquesas Islands.*

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This article is an elaborate version of the paper I presented on September 14, 2022, at the 2022 Pacific Arts Association–Europe Conference “Gendered Objects in Oceania,” held at the Musée du quai Branly—Jacques Chirac, Paris. It is primarily derived from a case study in my PhD thesis in which I explore a Dutch navy visit to the Marquesan island of Nuku Hiva in May 1825. In my thesis, I did not set out to look for the gender-specific use of ear ornamentation, but when the conference theme was presented, I realized that gender was a considerable factor in my historical analysis. Caroline van Santen, “Nuku Hiva 1825: Ethnohistory of a Dutch-Marquesan Encounter and an Art-Historical Study of Marquesan Material Culture” (PhD diss., University of East Anglia, 2021), 165–97, <https://ueaeprints.uea.ac.uk/id/eprint/85985/>.

<sup>2</sup> See for example: *Trésors des îles Marquises* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995), 50–1, 110–1; Eric Kjellgren, *Adorning the World: Art of the Marquesan Islands* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 53, 74–80; Anthony Meyer, “Ornements d’oreille ha’akai et taiana” and “Ornements d’oreille kouhau,” in *Art ancestral des îles Marquises*, ed. Nadine Bertheliet et al. (Chartres: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Chartres, 2008), 76–85; Tara Hiquily and Christel Vieille-Ramseyer, *Tiki* (Tahiti: Au vent des îles/Musée de Tahiti et des Îles–Te Fare Manaha, 2017), 166–9, 179–80, 210–3.

<sup>3</sup> The spelling of the Marquesan names of the ear ornament types is based on the dictionary on the website of the Académie Marquisienne, <https://www.academiamarquisienne.com/index.php/dico>, and the glossary in *Matahoata: Arts et société aux îles Marquises*, ed. Carol Ivory (Paris: Musée du quai Branly/Arles: Actes Sud, 2016), 302–3. For both haakai/hakakai and pūtaiana/pūtaiata, two variants of the Marquesan name are in use; the first name mentioned is commonly used in literature and will be used from this point forward.

<sup>4</sup> I have attempted to include as many as possible known/recorded visits in my study, but I do not claim that my research is exhaustive.

<sup>5</sup> The ones collected by Lesson seem to be in an unfinished state.

<sup>6</sup> James Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole, and Round the World*, Vol. I (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777), 310.

<sup>7</sup> Kjellgren, *Adorning the World*, 50–53.

<sup>8</sup> George Forster, *A Voyage Around the World*, Vol. II (London: B. White et al., 1777), 15–6.

<sup>9</sup> Pitt Rivers Museum inv.no. 1886.1.707.

<sup>10</sup> British Museum inv.no. Oc1980,Q.1064.

<sup>11</sup> C. P. Claret de Fleurieu, *Voyage Around the World Performed During the Years 1790, 1791 and 1792, by Étienne Marchand*, Vol. I (London: T. M. Longman and O. Rees, 1801) 154–5.

<sup>12</sup> De Fleurieu, *Voyage*, 154–5, 161, 190.

- <sup>13</sup> George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World; in which the Coast of North-west America has been Carefully Examined and Accurately Surveyed*, Vol. III (London: John Stockdale, 1801), 142–59; Greg Denning, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774–1880* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 106.
- <sup>14</sup> British Museum inv.no. Oc,VAN.400. Although originally listed as an ear ornament, McKinney, in her study of the Marquesan collection of the British Museum, describes it as an ear piercer. Natascha R. McKinney, “The Marquesan Collection at the British Museum, London: Genesis, Growth and Stasis” (master’s thesis, Massey University, 2012), 135. However, this object is most likely an ear ornament, as Govor et al. also argue. See Elena Govor, Nicholas Thomas, Maia Nuku, et al. “Tiki: A Catalogue of Artefacts from Nuku Hiva Collected or Recorded by Members of the Krusenstern Expedition,” in *Tiki: Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition*, ed. Elena Govor and Nicholas Thomas (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 134.
- <sup>15</sup> William Pascoe Crook, Samuel Greatheed, and Tima`u Te`ite`i, *An Essay Toward a Dictionary and Grammar of the Lesser-Australian Language, According to the Dialect Used at the Marquesas (1799)*, ed. H. G. A. Hughes and S. R. Fischer (Auckland: Institute of Polynesian Languages and Literature, 1998), 22. Académie Marquisienne (<https://www.academimarquisienne.com/index.php/dico>) and Ivory, *Matahoata*, 302.
- <sup>16</sup> William Pascoe Crook, *An Account of the Marquesas Islands, 1797–1799*, ed. Greg Denning et al. (Papeete: Haere Po, 2007), 58.
- <sup>17</sup> Crook, *An Account*, 59.
- <sup>18</sup> Crook et al., *An Essay*, 38.
- <sup>19</sup> Crook et al., *An Essay*, 29; Crook, *An Account*, 58–9.
- <sup>20</sup> Crook et al., *An Essay*, 22.
- <sup>21</sup> A. J. von Krusenstern, *Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, & 1806, by Order of his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First* (London: John Murrey, 1813), 157–8.
- <sup>22</sup> This observation was made by restorer Carolin Binninger of the Museum Fünf Kontinente (Munich) while inspecting one of their ear ornaments from the Krusenstern expedition collected by Von Langsdorff. Carolin Binninger, personal communication, June 8, 2017.
- <sup>23</sup> Wilhelm Tilesius von Tilenau, *Skizzenbuch des Hofrath Dr Tilesius v. Tilenau Naturforschers der Krusensternischen Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803–1806*. Russian State Library, Manuscript Department (Moscow, Russia), fond 178, M 10693b, f. 8, cited in Govor, et al., “Tiki: A Catalogue,” 133.
- <sup>24</sup> Govor et al., “Tiki: A Catalogue,” 133. The exact species according to Govor et al. is *Conus marmoreus suffusus*.

<sup>25</sup> Urey Lisiansky, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 4, 5, & 6: Performed by Order of his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the Ship Neva* (London: J. Booth/Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1814), 85.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, A. J. von Krusenstern, *Atlas zur Reise um die Welt: unternommen auf Befehl seiner Kaiserlichen Majestät Alexander des Ersten auf den Schiffen Nadeshda und Neva unter dem Commando des Capitains von Krusenstern* (St. Petersburg: Schnoorschen Buchdruckerey, 1814); Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt In den Jahren 1803–1807* (Frankfurt am Rhein: Friedrich Wilmand, 1812); and Herman Ludwig von Löwenstern, “Anmerkungen, die ich zur Reise mit Capitain Krusenstern gemacht habe,” manuscript, National Archives of Estonia: Arch.No. EEA.1414.3.3, 1803–1806.

<sup>27</sup> Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen*, plate 12; Elena Govor, “From Nuku Hiva to Europe: The Collections’ Histories,” in *Tiki: Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition*, ed. Elena Govor and Nicholas Thomas (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 56 (fig. 2.1 b/d).

<sup>28</sup> Govor et al., “Tiki: A Catalogue,” 133–40. These can be located in museums in Russia (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg and Museum of Anthropology of Moscow State University), Estonia (Estonian History Museum in Tallinn and the Estonian National Museum in Tartu), Switzerland (Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich), and Germany (Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich).

<sup>29</sup> Edward Robarts, *The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts 1797–1824*, ed. Greg Denig (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974), 59.

<sup>30</sup> David Porter, *Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the United States Frigate Essex, In the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814*, Vol. II (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1815), 12, 27.

<sup>31</sup> Porter, *Journal*, 65.

<sup>32</sup> Porter, *Journal*, 87.

<sup>33</sup> Porter, *Journal*, plate between 118–9.

<sup>34</sup> Carol Ivory, “Marquesan Art in the Early Contact Period 1774–1821,” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1990), 240; Nicholas Thomas, “Tiki, Mana, History: Reflections on Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition” in *Tiki: Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition*, ed. Elena Govor and Nicholas Thomas (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 107.

<sup>35</sup> Porter, *Journal*, plate between 118–9.

<sup>36</sup> John Shillibeer, *A Narrative of The Briton’s Voyage, to Pitcairn’s Island* (London: Law and Whittaker, 1817), 46.

<sup>37</sup> “Indus (Ship) Logbook, 1815–1817,” Internet Archive, 90, 92, 120–1, 123, <https://archive.org/details/log111indus>; R. Gerard Ward, “An Intelligence Report on Sandalwood,” *Journal of Pacific History* 3 (1968): 178–9.

<sup>38</sup> Ernest Stanley Dodge, *The Marquesas Islands Collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1939), 13–4; Christina Hellmich Scarangelo, “The Pacific Collection in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts,” *Pacific Arts* 13/14 (1996): 69–72; Ivory, “Marquesan Art,” 159–60, 404.

<sup>39</sup> Bristol Museum & Art Gallery inv.no. E1189. Information about these haakai was related to me by postgraduate researcher Rachael Utting. Rachel Utting, personal communications, May 21, 2021; July 6, 2021; June 25, 2022.

<sup>40</sup> Camille de Roquefeuil, *A Voyage Round the World between the Years 1816–1819* (London: Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1823), 52–3. According to Dening, George Ross was an American stationed on the Marquesas from 1813 to 1822 to assist in the collecting of sandalwood. Dening, *Islands*, 122, 302.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Schames and Mayer Schames, “Law and the Identification of Ivory in Tribal Art,” *Tribal Art* 80 (Summer 2016): 132–41.

<sup>42</sup> Roquefeuil, *A Voyage*, 55.

<sup>43</sup> Camille de Roquefeuil, *Journal d’un voyage autour du monde pendant les années 1816, 1817, 1818 et 1819*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Ponthieu, Lesage, Gide 1823), 305.

<sup>44</sup> Roquefeuil, *A Voyage*, 55–6.

<sup>45</sup> Brita Åkerrén, “Nuku Hiva in 1819,” *Pacific Studies* 7, no. 1 (1983): 34–5, 48, 51.

<sup>46</sup> Roger Boulay, “Les collections océaniques du musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer,” *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 90, no. 1 (1990): 29–30; Adrienne Kaeppler, *Holophusicon: The Leverian Museum. An Eighteenth-Century English Institution of Science, Curiosity, and Art* (Altenstadt: ZKF Publishers, 2011), 31; Marie Hoffmann, “Appréhender les collections ethnographiques dans un musée au début du XIXe siècle: le cas de Boulogne-sur-Mer,” in *Arts premiers dans les musées de l’Europe du Nord-Ouest* (Belgique, France, Pays-Bas), ed. Thomas Beaufiles and Chang Ming Peng (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Publications de l’Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion, 2018), n.p., <https://books.openedition.org/irhis/3246>.

<sup>47</sup> Willem Anne de Constant Rebecque, “Dagboeken, delen I–IV,” manuscript, National Archives of the Netherlands: Collectie 066 De Constant Rebecque, Entry 2.21.008.01, Arch.No. 70–73, 1824–1828, [16]; Johan Christiaan van Haersolte, “Brieven aan Coenraad van Haersolte en Louise Hora Siccama van hun zoon Johan Christiaan van Haersolte tijdens zijn reizen in dienst van de Marine. Met bijlagen,” manuscript, Historisch Centrum Overijssel: Entry 0237.1, Arch.No. 76, 1824–1834, letter 09-1825.

<sup>48</sup> Johan Christiaan van Haersolte, “Journaal gehouden op eene reis rondom de wereld, door JCHvH,” manuscript, Historisch Centrum Overijssel: Entry 0237.1 Haersolte, familie Van, tak Haerst, den Doorn en Zuthem, Arch.No. 129, 1824–1826.

<sup>49</sup> Willem Carel Singendonck, “Beschrijving van een reis naar Indië over Kaap Hoorn met ZrMs “Maria Reigersbergen” en “Pollux”, loopende van Mei 1824–Aug 1825,” manuscript, Het Scheepvaartmuseum inv.no S.1539 [nr 0001], 1824–

1825 [31]; Jacob van Wageningen, “Verhaal eener reis om [Kaap Hoorn] naar de Oost Indien in de jaren 1824–1827,” manuscript, Private collection, 1824–1827, 66–7.

<sup>50</sup> Christiaan Eeg, “Generaal Journaal van Z. M. Korvet Pollux over de Jaren 1824, 1825, 1826 en 1827. Scheepsjournalen, 1813–1995,” manuscript, National Archives of the Netherlands: Entry 2.12.03, Arch.No. 3601, 1824–1827, [174].

<sup>51</sup> See also: Caroline van Santen, “Nuku Hiva in 1825: Artefacts collected during the voyage of the Maria Reigersberg and the Pollux,” in *Tiki: Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition*, ed. Elena Govor and Nicholas Thomas (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 85–102; Ear ornaments: Tropenmuseum inv.no. TM-1322-248 (one spur is missing) and TM-4847-14 collected by Van Haersolte; Museum Volkenkunde inv.no. RV-360-7180 and RV-1474-12 collected by Kist and Cosijn. Drawing Cosijn: Museum Volkenkunde inv.no. RV-0o-500. Singendonck also collected two ear ornaments, most likely haakai, but unfortunately the present whereabouts of these objects are unknown. Koloniaal Museum, “Note regarding donation 366,” manuscript, Archive TM: Arch.No. NL-KIT-7846\_48, 1877.

<sup>52</sup> Hiram Paulding, *Journal of a Cruise of the United States Schooner Dolphin among the Islands of the Pacific Ocean; and a Visit to the Mulgrave Islands, in Pursuit of the Mutineers of the Whale Ship Globe with a Map* (New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1831), 45–6.

<sup>53</sup> Paulding, *Journal*, 1831, 68.

<sup>54</sup> Frederic Debell Bennett, *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe from the Year 1833 to 1836*, Vol. I (London: Richard Bentley Bennett, 1840), 311–2.

<sup>55</sup> Museum of Anthropology, *Robert Stallworthy’s Pacific Collection, Collected by Reverend George Stallworthy 1809–1859* (Vancouver: Museum of Anthropology, 2017), 11, 12; Museum of Anthropology at UBC inv.no. 3254/7 to 3254/13.

<sup>56</sup> McKinney, “Marquesan Collection,” 58; British Museum inv.no. Oc1980,Q.1060.a to Oc1980,Q.1060.c and Oc1982,Q.674.

<sup>57</sup> Jules Dumont d’Urville, *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l’Océanie sur les corvettes l’Astrolabe et la Zélée*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Gidé, 1842), 229–30, 445.

<sup>58</sup> Stéphanie Leclerc-Caffarel, “The Oceanic Collections of Gaston de Roquemau-rel,” *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 26 (2013): 124, 130–1; Muséum de Toulouse inv.no. ETH AC MA 23, ETH AC MA 24 and ETH AC MA 25.

<sup>59</sup> D’Urville, *Voyage*, Vol. 3, 229.

<sup>60</sup> Jules Dumont d’Urville, *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l’Océanie sur les corvettes l’Astrolabe et la Zélée*, Vol. 4 (Paris: Gidé, 1842), 268.

<sup>61</sup> D’Urville, *Voyage*, Vol. 4, 277.

<sup>62</sup> Jules Dumont d’Urville, *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l’Océanie sur les corvettes l’Astrolabe et la Zélée, Atlas pittoresque*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Gidé, 1846).

<sup>63</sup> Mathias Gracia, *Lettres sur les Iles Marquises, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'étude religieuse, morale, politique et statistique des îles Marquises et de l'Océanie orientale* (Paris: Gaume Frères, 1843), 66–7.

<sup>64</sup> Société des Sciences Naturelles, “Nouvelles acquisitions du musée,” in *Mémoires de la Société des Sciences Naturelles de Neuchâtel* 3, no. 5–13 (1846): 7; Musée d’Ethnographie de Neuchâtel inv.no. V.21, V.22, V.25 and V.26.

<sup>65</sup> Patrick O’Reilly, “Note sur les collections océaniques des musées d’ethnographie de la Suisse,” in *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 2 (1946): 121–2. It is unclear on which source O’Reilly bases his assumption that Favarger acquired the objects in Lima from a Peruvian captain. I would like to thank Roland Kaehr, the museum’s retired curator, for bringing this information to my attention.

<sup>66</sup> Musée de quai Branly–Jacques Chirac inv.no. 71.1909.19.22.1 Oc, 71.1909.19.22.2 Oc D, 72.84.227.1 and 72.84.227.2.

<sup>67</sup> Madeleine Jehl, “Inventaire de la collection des îles Marquises du Muséum d’histoire naturel et commentaire,” *Bulletin de la Société d’histoire naturelle de Colmar* 53 (1969): 28, 30; Stéphanie Sears, *Catalogue de la Collection des Iles Marquises ramené par Jean-Daniel Rohr en 1845* (Colmar: Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle de Colmar, 1993), 18, 19; Musée d’Histoire Naturelle et d’Ethnographie de Colmar inv.no. 999-468 to 999-475. From the database information which was provided by director Claire Prêtre on July 23, 2020, it was not feasible to deduce for certain what specific type of pūtaiana Rohr collected, but possibly they were ones made entirely out of solid shell.

<sup>68</sup> Claude Stéfani, “La collection Lesson du musée Hèbre de Rochefort: essai d’une reconstitution historique,” *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 152 (2021): 65, 72; Musée Hèbre inv.no. E 22-182.1 to E 22-187.

<sup>69</sup> Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge University inv.no. 1923.114 B.

<sup>70</sup> His collection is now in the Musée des explorations du monde in Cannes, France.

<sup>71</sup> Edmond de Ginoux, *Edmond de Ginoux: Ethnologue en Polynésie française dans les années 1840*, ed. Frédéric de La Grandville (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2001), 82.

<sup>72</sup> Musée des explorations du monde inv.no. inv.no. 2002.21.1 to 2002.26.1.

<sup>73</sup> Ginoux, *Edmond de Ginoux*, 174; MEM inv.no. 2013.0.139.1 and 2013.0.139.2.

<sup>74</sup> Ginoux, *Edmond de Ginoux*, 175; According to Jacques Pelleau, ‘Kétou’ probably stands for the Marquesan verb ketu which means to push/lever. Jacques Pelleau, personal communication via email, September 11, 2021.

<sup>75</sup> Ginoux, *Edmond de Ginoux*, 175. Of the twenty pūtaiana, twelve remain in the museum collection today, one of which is made of solid shell. Musée des explorations du monde inv.no. 2008.0.312.1, 2008.0.312.2, 2009.0.507, 2009.0.508.1, 2009.0.508.2, 2009.0.509.1/2, 2009.0.510.1, 2009.0.510.2/3, 2009.0.511, 2009.0.512, 2009.0.513 and 2013.0.143. Database information provided by director Théano Jaillet.

<sup>76</sup> Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995 [1985]), 50. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, emerging and revitalized museums in Europe and North America were looking for ways in which to add to existing collections or to establish new collections of ethnographic materials from around the globe, especially with regard to the Northwest Coast of North America. There was, according to Cole, “the realization that civilization was rapidly destroying the subject of that interest.”

<sup>77</sup> Henry A. Pilsbry and Edward G. Vanatta, “Mollusca of Flint and Caroline Islands, in the Central Pacific,” *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 57 (1905): 291; Ivory, “Marquesan Art,” 71, 198; Carol Ivory, “Shifting Visions in Marquesan Art at the Turn of the Century,” in *Gauguin, Polynesia*, ed. Suzanne Greub (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2011), 327; Jeremy Coote, “Notes on a Marquesan Tiki Headed Ke’a tuki popoi (Breadfruit pounder) in the founding collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 124, no. 3 (2015): 306, 311–2. In 1891, Voy’s collection found its way into the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (now Penn Museum).

<sup>78</sup> Penn Museum Archives; Penn Museum inv.no. 18005A to 18005F (haakai), 18023K and 18023L (pūtaiana spurs) and 18023M to 18023R (pūtaiana caps).

<sup>79</sup> Alain Quella-Villéger and Bruno Vercier, *Pierre Loti : Dessinateur. Une œuvre au long cours* (Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule: Bleu autour, 2010), 144–55; Caroline van Santen, “Un personnage à figure hideuse,” in *Et Julien Viaud devint Pierre Loti. Le voyage de la Flore dans le Pacifique, 1872*, ed. Claude Stéfani (Rochefort: Musée Hèbre, 2023), 90–1; Claude Stéfani personal communication via email November 28 to December 1, 2022; Maison de Pierre Loti inv.no. MPL TRB 82. Database information provided by curator Claude Stéfani on November 29, 2022.

<sup>80</sup> McKinney, “Marquesan Collection,” 129–30. Thomson donated these pūtaiana to the British Museum in 1878; British Museum inv.no. Oc,+592.a-b.

<sup>81</sup> Karl von den Steinen, *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst; Studien über die Entwicklung primitiver Südseeornamentik nach eigenen Reiseerlebnissen und dem Material der Museen, Band II: Plastik* (Berlin: Verlag Dietrich Reimer/Ernst Vohsen, 1928a), 23–6, 137–48, 261; Karl von den Steinen, *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst; Studien über die Entwicklung primitiver Südseeornamentik nach eigenen Reiseerlebnissen und dem Material der Museen, Band III: Die Sammlungen* (Berlin: Verlag Dietrich Reimer/Ernst Vohsen, 1928a), βP–βR. Most of these are still in the collection of the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin (information provided by curator Dorothea Deterts).

<sup>82</sup> Steinen, *Marquesaner . . . Plastik*, 260–2.

<sup>83</sup> Steinen, *Marquesaner . . . Plastik*, 136–48.

<sup>84</sup> E. S. Craighill Handy, *The Native Culture in the Marquesas*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 9 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1923), 91.

<sup>85</sup> Handy, *Native Culture*, 286, 289.

<sup>86</sup> Ralph Linton, *The Material Culture of the Marquesas Islands*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (5) (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1923), 430–2.

<sup>87</sup> René Ildéfonse Dordillon, *Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue des Îles Marquises: Marquisien-Français* (Paris: Institute d’Ethnologie, 1931), 137.

<sup>88</sup> Linton, *Material Culture*, 430–2.

<sup>89</sup> Crook et al., *An Essay Toward*, 38

<sup>90</sup> Dordillon, *Grammaire*, 432.

<sup>91</sup> Linton, *Material Culture*, 431

<sup>92</sup> Ivory, “Marquesan Art,” 240; Thomas, “Tiki, mana,” 107.

<sup>93</sup> Steinen, *Marquesaner . . . Plastik*, 137.

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, Hiquily and Vieille-Ramseyer, *Tiki*, 211.