COLLECTING IN THE SOUTH SEA

The Voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux 1791-1794

edited by
BRONWEN DOUGLAS, FANNY WONU VEYS
& BILLIE LYTHBERG

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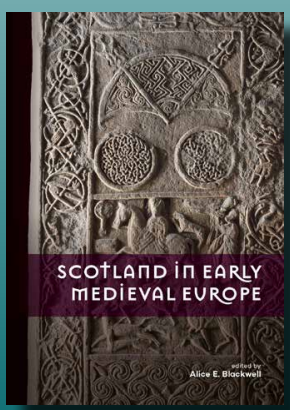

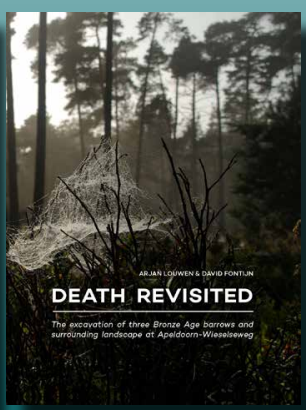

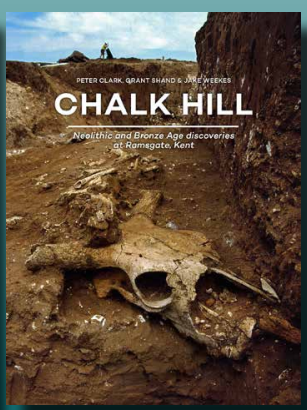

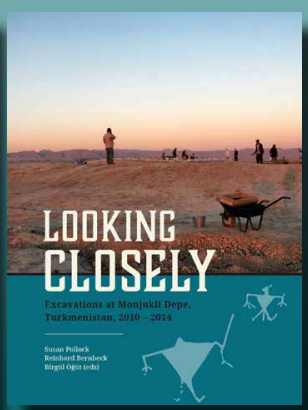

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Sidestone Press

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Bronwen Douglas, as ever, dedicates this book to Charles, Kirsty and Ben, Allie and Andrew, Jean and Owen, whose enduring love and support make everything possible

Wonu Veys dedicates it to her mum and grandmother, to Paul, and to her colleagues and mentors whose enthusiasm, patience, and support made this project possible

Billie Lythberg dedicates it to her family, collaborators, and mentors, without whose unwavering curiosity and generosity such projects would simply not eventuate

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAG	Auckland Art Gallery
ACV	Archives cantonales vaudoises, Lausanne
AMH	Archives municipales du Havre
ANF	Archives nationales de France, Paris
BM	British Museum, London
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
CAD	Centre des archives d'agglomération et des archives de Dunkerque
KMO	Kulturhistorisk museum, Universitetet i Olso
MBA – LAAC	Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque
MCAH	Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne
MNHN	Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris
MQB – JC	Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris
MV	Museum Volkenkunde – Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden
NA	Nationaal Archief, Den Haag
NHA	Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem
NLA	National Library of Australia, Canberra
NMA	National Museum of Australia, Canberra
PM	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
PNG	Papua New Guinea
QM	Queensland Museum, Brisbane
RMO	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
SHD	Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
TM	Tropenmuseum – Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Amsterdam
TMAG	Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart
UA	Utrechts Archief
UB	Universitetsmuseet i Bergen
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)
ZA	Zeeuws Archief, Middelburg
ZM	Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is testament to what can be achieved when 23 specialists in diverse but overlapping fields—history, anthropology, ethno-archaeology, linguistics, art history, material culture, museums, art, performance—work together towards a shared end and cheerfully channel personal agendas in the common interest.

For much of two centuries, if the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux penetrated popular imaginings at all, it was often more for the failure of its primary mission to find La Pérouse and the protracted debacles of its ending than for scientific achievement or material legacies. Two narratives and two atlases, one of pictures and the other of maps, form the bulk of the voyage's published vestiges. Most of the important natural history collections ended up in Florence while the ethnographic collections were assumed largely to have vanished. A few drawings by the voyage artist Piron resurfaced in Paris in the 1890s. In the late 1970s, the historian Hélène Richard uncovered enigmatic traces of objects collected during the voyage in Le Havre and a few actual remnants in Amsterdam. In the 1990s, during a systematic survey of Oceanian materials held in French public collections, Sylviane Jacquemin and Roger Boulay identified a handful of likely or possible objects in Dunkerque and Paris. Knut Rio in 1999 and David van Duuren and Tristan Mostert in 2007 published systematic studies of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections unearthed in Bergen (Norway) and Amsterdam, respectively. In 2012, Boulay and Emmanuel Kasarhérou inspired a search for a similar assemblage in Leiden (the Netherlands). In the course of our project, further collections have come to light in Middelburg (the Netherlands), Cambridge, MA (USA), Lausanne (Switzerland), and Oslo.

The idea to produce a book with catalogue on the scattered, exiguous relics of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage took gradual shape within and beyond two linked research projects based in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge: Artefacts of Encounter (2010–13) and Pacific Presences (2013–18). All three editors were involved from the outset as potential contributors but the editorial team took shape from 2011, with Bronwen Douglas as senior editor, working with Billie Lythberg, and Wonu Veys joining them in mid-2013. The project was given structure, content, and historical context in a stimulating workshop organized by Wonu in Leiden in 2014. It subsequently came to far more complex fruition than originally envisaged. The notion of 'collection' broadened from the outset to encompass other material outcomes of the voyage—journals, narratives, wordlists, drawings, engravings, maps. The situated exchanges and regional or global trading networks within which collections were generated and dispersed loomed larger than expected. And the present perspectives of Indigenous experts, scholars, or performers, together with Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists, have enriched the volume even more than we hoped.

Indigenous protagonists in this book are called respectfully by the preferred term of their modern descendants: Tasmanian and Aboriginal people, Māori, Kanak, Tongan. The personal names of French authors follow the international standard recommended

by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Places visited during the voyage are named as they were then known to the voyagers, with a modern gloss on first usage within a particular segment of the book. Inverted commas enclose disparaging terms for Indigenous people. All translations are our own, unless otherwise indicated.

***

The editors warmly acknowledge the pioneers whose inspired detective work first identified the presence of objects from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition in museums in the Netherlands and France: Hélène Richard, the late Sylviane Jacquemin, Roger Boulay, and especially David van Duuren, whose interest in our project never wavered. We thank the contributors to this volume for their enthusiasm, exemplary scholarship, and endless patience during the book's long gestation. Bertrand Daugeron participated in the first Artefacts of Encounter workshop in 2010. We thank him for sharing his unparalleled knowledge of French voyage collections and their institutional peregrinations and for pointing us to traces of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux materials in Vivant Denon's cabinet of curiosities. We are extremely grateful to Julie Gough for sharing with us her invaluable scan of a key, otherwise unobtainable volume.

We thank Amiria Salmond and Nicholas Thomas for inviting us to participate in the Artefacts of Encounter (ESRC) and Pacific Presences (ERC) projects and for consistent encouragement since. We are very grateful to Nicholas and his grant providers for ongoing funding support, culminating in publication of our book as the third in Sidestone's 'Pacific Presences' series; and to the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden for co-funding the 2014 workshop with Pacific Presences. We thank Corné van Woerdekom, Karsten Wentink, and Eric van den Bandt of Sidestone Press in Leiden for their expertise, generosity, patience, and unerring eye for good design.

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The editors thank the following institutions for generous access to their collections and for freely providing high quality photography of objects: Kulturhistorisk Museum (University of Oslo); Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC (Dunkerque); Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (Lausanne); Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (Leiden and Amsterdam); Universitetsmuseet (Bergen); and Zeeuws Museum (Middelburg).

We also thank the following institutions for allowing photography or supplying images and for granting permission to reproduce materials in their collections: Archives nationales de France, Musée de l'Armée, Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, and Muséum nationale d'Histoire naturelle (all Paris); National Gallery of Australia and National Library of Australia (Canberra); Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA); State Library of New South Wales (Sydney); Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (Hobart); and Wellcome Library (London).

PART I

~

PROLOGUE

CHAPTER 1

History – Contexts, Voyage, People, Collections

BRONWEN DOUGLAS

~

In 1791, *contre-amiral*, rear admiral, Joseph Antoine Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (Figure 1.1) was despatched by the French monarch Louis XVI—under direction from the Assemblée nationale constituante (National Constituent Assembly)—to search for the lost vessels of Jean-François de Galaup, comte de La Pérouse. Departing Brest in August 1785, La Pérouse and his men were last seen by Europeans at Botany Bay (New South Wales) in March 1788.[1] Bruni d'Entrecasteaux sailed from Brest on 29 September 1791 in command of around 220 persons aboard the *Recherche* and the *Espérance*, sturdy three-masted *gabares*, transports, reclassified (flatteringly) as 6-gun frigates but ideally suited for the rigours of a voyage of exploration. However, from the outset the voyage was afflicted by the marked speed deficit of the *Espérance* relative to the flagship. The disparity affected the trajectory of the voyage, lengthened its sea stages, and thereby contributed to the extreme hardship suffered in the final phase, as stores dwindled and decayed and scurvy struck.[2]

Contexts

The expedition was conceived and its commander charged with a 'double mission', both patriotic and scientific. The 'principal object' was to search for La Pérouse's ships. The second was to further 'the increase of human knowledge and useful discoveries'. This voyage thus embodied the utilitarian idealism of the late Enlightenment, which underpinned the upsurge in scientific voyaging by France, Britain, and Spain in the second half of the 18th century and animated the early Revolutionary years in France. To this end, the expedition embarked a dozen 'Savants, Naturalists & Artists', mostly civilian. Their duty was to undertake research 'useful & advantageous to navigation, geography, commerce, the arts & the sciences', avoid 'overlapping employment', and subsume personal agendas in the joint interests of 'the glory of the nation' and 'human knowledge'.[3] They included five naturalists and a gardener, two artists, two astronomers, and two *ingénieurs géographes*, geographic engineers, responsible for cartography.[4]

The political backdrop to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage was revolution in France since 1789 and the resultant wars engulfing Europe and its furthest colonies, particularly the Dutch East Indies. The intellectual setting included the unstable

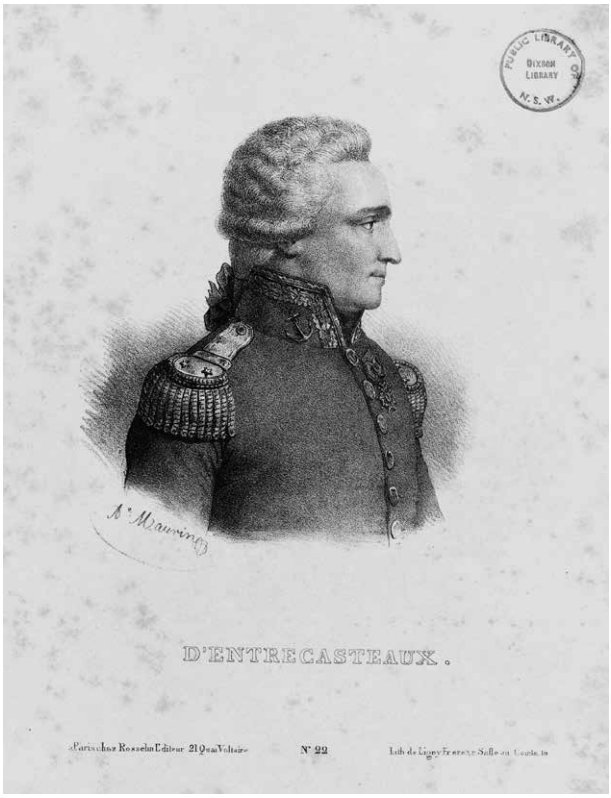

Figure 1.1. Antoine Maurin's lithographed portrait of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux held in the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. 'D'Entrecasteaux', [1837] (DL PXX 84/DL Pf 140).

scientific discourses or artistic conventions which programmed European modes of seeing or representing unfamiliar people and sparked or stifled 'curiosity' about their productions. Violent political ferment at the end of the 18th century paralleled dramatic flux in anthropological ideas and vocabularies. Ideological and semantic volatility registered an analogous series of discursive shifts which in some, but not all respects were prefigured or embodied in the visual, written, and material legacies of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage. In art, empirical naturalism supplanted neoclassicism. In literature, a harder edged Romanticism displaced neoclassical Enlightenment values, including idealization of the primitive. In the natural history of man, holistic humanism gave way to the rigid physical differentiations of the science of race.[5]

A concurrent intellectual shift was reshaping the logic and praxis of collecting. From the 16th century, universalist notions of scientific knowledge had authorized wealthy individuals to manifest their sophistication and power by displaying eclectic assemblages of exotic objects in cabinets of curiosities. During the 18th century, the development of taxonomic thinking and its problematic extension to human beings saw such cabinets encompassed or supplanted by specialist museums in which the institutional separation of 'natural' products from 'artificial' human creations was envisaged, though not consistently implemented then or later.[6] From 1770, Oceanic artefacts attracted such widespread metropolitan interest that even humble seamen became ardent collectors, in anticipation of profit. However, as Nicholas Thomas

noted, public enthusiasm for such objects lacked both 'content and specificity', with little concern for methodical classification or comparison.[7] This implicit disjunction between theoretical system and random acquisitiveness is symptomatic of the chasms of neglect, indifference, and mismanagement into which the ethnographic collections of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux expedition would largely vanish.

Voyage

After a relatively uneventful passage from Brest, the vessels restocked for a month at the Cape of Good Hope. Here, latent rifts surfaced between mariners and savants, a disruptive astronomer was ordered to leave, and one of the naturalists and an artist also abandoned the expedition. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux glossed the departures as due to ill-health.[8]

An inventive scriptwriter could hardly imagine a more gripping storyline than the periplus which followed. Conceived in the tragic romance of La Pérouse, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's initial itinerary involved successive human encounters during which rich bodies of material and information were collected in ambiguous exchanges with Indigenous people—from so-called 'natural' man in Buka, the Admiralty Islands (both Papua New Guinea), and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania); from the unpredictable, partly 'civilized' inhabitants of New Zealand (Aotearoa) and Tongatapu (Tonga); and from supposedly cannibal 'savages' in New Caledonia, Solomon Islands, and islands southeast of New Guinea. Henceforth, during the long haul westward to Java, the voyagers endured agonies of scurvy, starvation, dysentery, and death, including that of the commander, at sea in waters north of New Guinea on 20 July 1793.

The unexpected loss of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux produced 'general consternation' and foreshadowed the literal dissolution of the expedition.[9] A seaman confided to his journal: 'I shall tell you with anguish that we have had the misfortune to lose our General'. Another wrote: 'he was lamented by everyone'.[10] The *aide pilot*, assistant pilot, Pierre-Guillaume Gicquel Destouches grieved: 'The crew much regretted him we all loved him. He acted towards us more like a father than a captain'. An *aspirant*, midshipman, much later recalled the 'general stupor' and grief induced by the admiral's death.[11] The republican naturalist Jacques Julien Houtou de La Billardière concurred, though politically opposed to the commander's aristocrat heritage and frustrated by the limited opportunities he permitted for the savants to work ashore: 'we were very far from thinking ourselves threatened by such a great loss'. His royalist colleague Louis-Auguste Deschamps allowed that this 'death was mourned like that of a father, he merited it', but also painted Bruni d'Entrecasteaux as 'weak', a 'victim of his own philanthropy' for refusing to use force to seize much needed supplies from the 'savages'.[12] For officers and men alike, this 'deplorable event' became a watershed, presaging 'a tissue of misfortunes' to follow. The then *aspirant* attributed the 'disharmony' which afterwards beset the expedition to the loss of this most 'honourable, kindly, humane chief', who united the 'very disparate elements' of officers and savants under his 'firm and respected hand' with 'wise and conciliatory' leadership.[13]

Having limped to Java, the expedition shattered under multiple pressures of war with the Dutch, the bitter national schism of royalists and republicans, and worsening disease—the ultimate death toll subsuming around half the personnel who had embarked at Brest.[14] In a drawn-out aftermath, the remnant royalist leadership

seized the expedition's papers and collections and imprisoned the leading republicans. Protracted sagas ensued: the staggered departure of most of the human and material survivors; the capture at sea of many by the British; and the dispersal or loss of much of the ethnographic collections following repatriation to France. That final process was most harrowing in Le Havre, where the Musée-Bibliothèque (Museum and Library) probably purchased some artefacts gathered during the voyage, but lost them to official neglect and indifference and finally to the horror of Allied bombardment in 1944, when many citizens died and much of the city was razed, including the Muséum d'Histoire naturelle (Natural History Museum) where the objects might have been stored.

Book

This book is a collective study of 'collecting' undertaken by members of this expedition in southwest Oceania during 1792 and 1793. Places visited, the ships' route, and the coastlines surveyed are marked on a map drawn after the campaign by the brilliant young *ingénieur hydrographe* Charles-François Beautemps-Beaupré (Figure 1.2). The core of the book investigates and catalogues around 170 ethnographic objects collected during the voyage, subsequently dispersed, and re-identified since the late 1970s, by serious inquiry or good luck, in museums in France, Norway, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the US.[15] These extant artefacts are set in double relation: first, to a broad notion of collecting as variously materialized in written accounts, transcribed wordlists, and visual representations (drawings, engravings, charts, and maps), as well as the standard mediums of natural history and ethnographic specimens; and second, to the parallel trading and political networks—Indigenous western Oceanic,[16] colonial-European, and transnational—which fleetingly adjoined in the context of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage or its aftermath and launched the objects on unexpected journeys. We aim to tell the intertwined human stories and wider histories embodied in these things, words, pictures, or papers.

To a greater or lesser extent, artefacts, information, and representations were obtained or created in contexts of encounter and exchange with Indigenous people.[17] This study is thus at once historical and ethnographic. On the one hand, we trace the contexts, antecedents, occurrences, and reverberations of the voyage, probe the range of motives and interests that inspired collecting by scientists and mariners, and track the serendipitous histories of assembled matter. On the other hand, we are alert to dynamic local or regional settings, relationships, practices, and values; to Indigenous uses and meanings of objects both domestic and imported; to the reciprocal, dialogic nature of collecting, animated by mutual curiosity and desire to possess; and to Indigenous agency in exchanges. Three chapters excavate patent and latent traces in the French written and visual texts to investigate key elements of Tongan linguistic transformation, sociopolitical process, and material innovation within a vibrant regional system.[18] Our concerns are current as well as past. We put these diverse collections in dual present perspective: Indigenous exegesis of objects or representations; and re-presentation of the voyage, its collections, or its artwork by modern artists, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous.[19]

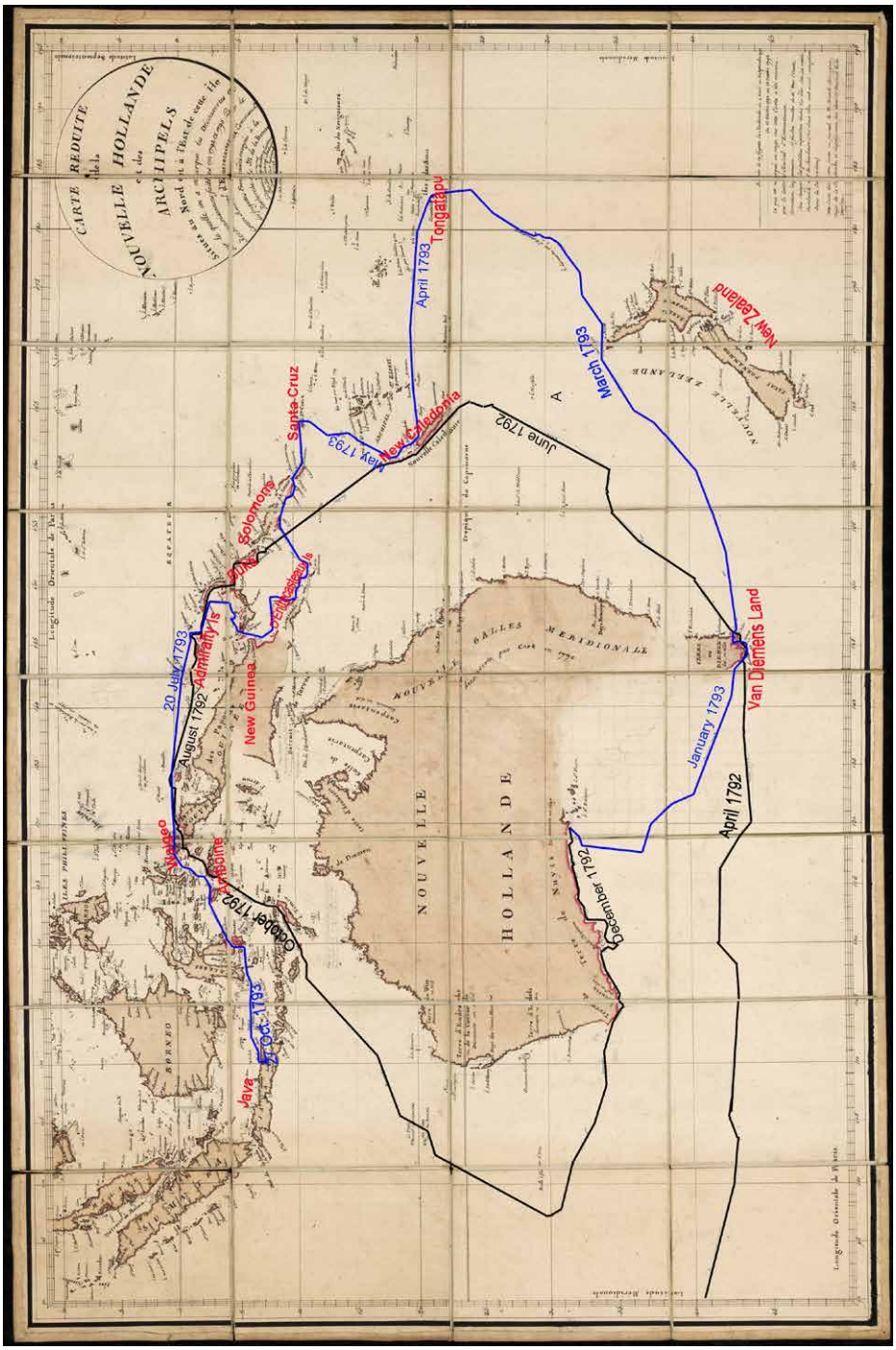

Figure 1.2. Beautemps-Beaupré's map of the route taken by Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's ships and the coastlines surveyed by the expedition, held in the National Library of Australia, Canberra. 'Carte réduite de la Nouvelle Hollande et des archipels situés au nord et à l'est de cette île sur la quelle on a marqué les découvertes et reconnoissances faites par le contre-amiral d'Entrecasteaux …', 1796, manuscript (MAP RM 3852).

People and collections

In 1791, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux was a very senior 53-year-old naval officer, renowned for navigational expertise and inspirational leadership.[20] Considerable maritime experience in the Indian Ocean further qualified him to undertake the voyage in search of La Pérouse. In the tense political conditions of the early Revolution, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux was given full responsibility to appoint the members of the ships' *états-majors*, ward-rooms, and select the seamen, a sensitive task due to festering lower rank hostility towards aristocratic officers such as himself. Having recently been embroiled in a mutiny at Brest,[21] he insisted that all crew members be volunteers. To command the *Espérance*, he chose his able, respected friend, *capitaine de vaisseau,* captain, Jean-Michel Huon de Kermadec. If most of the officers were royalists, some fervently so, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's evenhanded pragmatism saw him base his selections on suitability for an onerous campaign, rather than politics, and the *états-majors* also included at least two republicans and several non-aristocrats. The seamen were mainly Breton and therefore likely to be royalist inclined. However, they evidently did not participate actively in the expedition's cleavage into hostile royalist and republican factions on arrival in Surabaya, east Java, on 27 October 1793, when its members first learned of the abolition of the monarchy more than a year previously and the execution of Louis XVI in January 1793.[22]

Most of the voyagers collected natural or human products, driven by a range of scientific, pecuniary, or other personal motives. An artist on a later French South Sea voyage remarked the 'scientific fury' of seamen who were convinced that the collections assembled with 'tireless zeal' by the naturalists had more than 'a purely relative value'.[23] One sailor known as an enthusiastic collector was the *seconde pilote* Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul, who retained a small assortment of ethnographic objects through the vicissitudes of his eventual return to France via England and the Netherlands. These items were subsequently donated to the museum in Dunkerque and some have been identified in that city's Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC.[24] The naturalists, however, were specifically assigned the task of systematically gathering and classifying 'terrestrial and marine natural curiosities in the three realms [of nature]', as well as the 'clothing, weapons, ornaments, furniture, tools, musical instruments and all the effects' of the populations encountered. The artists were instructed to draw all these things as well as 'coastal views', 'remarkable sites', and 'portraits of the natives of the different countries', their activities, buildings, and canoes.[25] Key protagonists were the already renowned botanist La Billardière (Figure 1.3), the zoologist Deschamps, and the nearly anonymous artist Piron, who was probably christened Jean and worked closely with La Billardière.[26] Chosen by Bruni d'Entrecasteaux with advice from the Société d'Histoire naturelle (Natural History Society), they received an eclectic series of instructions drafted by members of the Société and a copy of a 'Mémoire' originally prepared by the Académie des Sciences (Academy of Sciences) in 1785 for La Pérouse.[27]

Two mariners contributed significantly to other collecting genres resulting from the voyage. The *aide pilot* Gicquel Destouches joined the expedition as *volontaire*, volunteer, and was confirmed as *enseigne*, sub-lieutenant, in early 1793. He was the most prolific transcriber of Indigenous words and phrases amongst these travellers. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux recognized that successful investigation of whether La Pérouse's vessels had passed through places he was now visiting demanded effective linguistic

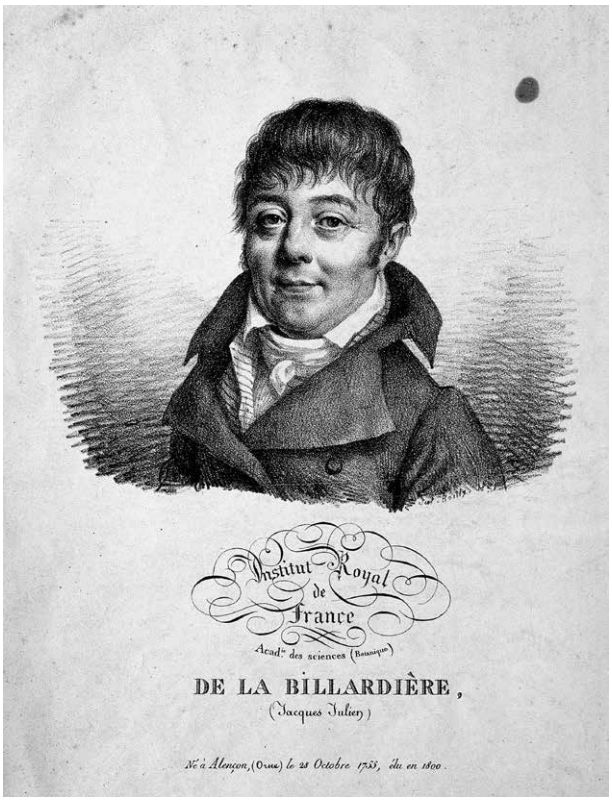

Figure 1.3. Boilly's lithographed portrait of the naturalist La Billardière, held in the Wellcome Library, London. 'La Billardière (Jacques Julien)', 1821 (5091i).

communication. He therefore encouraged his men to compile wordlists and described French practice thus:

> We made them repeat the same word several times, and when they repeated it, they always indicated the object in question. We put the same questions to several of them; and we used the same means to ensure that we had fully grasped their pronunciation: we never noticed the slightest contradiction in their answers. After all these precautions, we think we can count on the accuracy of the various vocabularies collected by several of us, which differ very little.[28]

Consolidated wordlists were eventually published with Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's narrative as vocabularies of the languages of Van Diemen's Land, Tongatapu, New Caledonia, and Waigeo (Raja Ampat Islands, northwest of New Guinea, West Papua Province, Indonesia).[29] La Billardière's *Relation* includes a parallel collection.[30] At least a dozen manuscript wordlists are held in the French Archives nationales, amongst which those of Gicquel Destouches are notable.[31] He explained that he compiled his lists at every shore stopover, not from duty but for his own 'amusement' and 'satisfaction', never thinking that he would be compelled to surrender them, along with his 'papers', to the new leader of the expedition when it ended in Java.

The *ingénieur hydrographe* Beautemps-Beaupré—a serving naval officer, but classed among the savants—was ultimately a decorated survivor of the expedition. His exposition of the groundbreaking hydrographic 'method' by which he ensured the accuracy of his charts and maps was published as an appendix to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's narrative. 'He found', explained the editor, 'new means of combining astronomical with compass bearings; and by very ingenious methods corrected the calculation of routes, with the greatest success'; he also developed 'several efficient methods to take soundings of a coastline and mark them on the maps'.[32] Using this system, officers of both vessels undertook detailed coastal surveys under Beautemps-Beaupré's direction, particularly in Van Diemen's Land. With the aid of his obscure colleague Miroir-Jouvency, *ingénieur géographe* on the *Espérance*,[33] Beautemps-Beaupré worked these charts into a superb series of manuscript maps now held in the Archives nationales (Figure 1.4; see also Figure 2.2).[34] These field materials underpinned the maps in Beautemps-Beaupré's published *Atlas* of the voyage, several of which illustrate Chapter 2.[35] His subsequent career saw him appointed chief hydrographer of the French Marine (Navy) and undertake an acclaimed hydrographic survey of the French coasts.

The actions of two senior officers profoundly influenced the trajectories of these vast and varied collections. The authoritarian, ultraroyalist first officer of the *Recherche* Alexandre d'Hesmivy d'Auribeau was promoted *capitaine de vaisseau* in 1792, took command of the *Espérance* on the death of Huon de Kermadec in New Caledonia

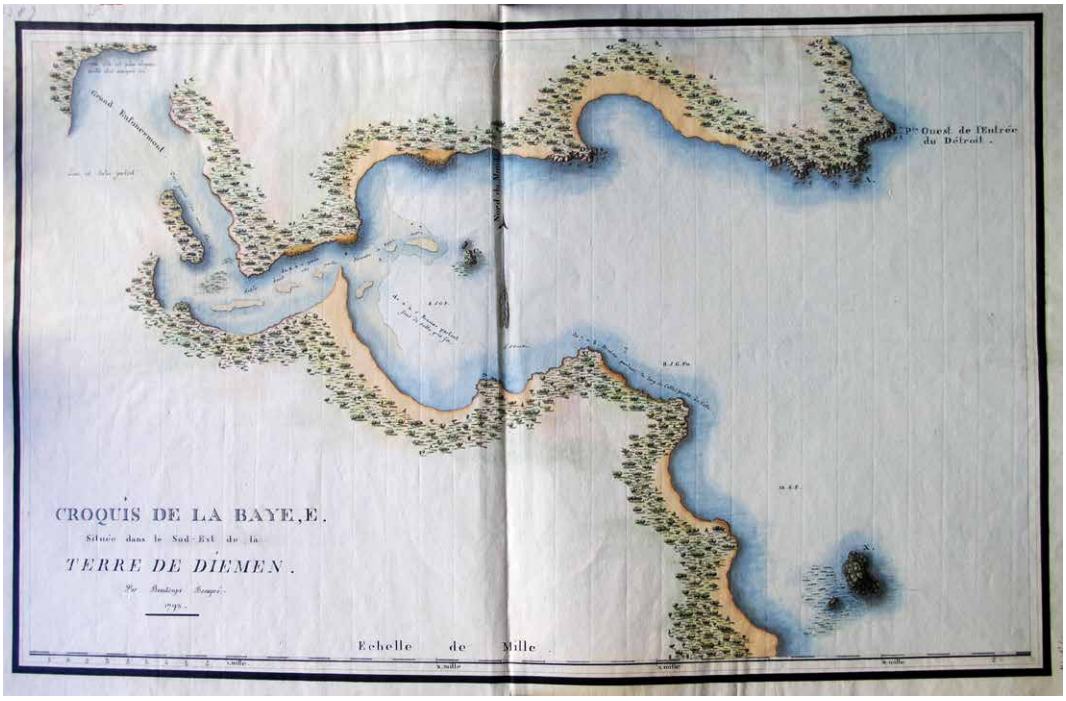

Figure 1.4. Beautemps-Beaupré's map of Southport, southeast Tasmania, held in the Archives nationales de France, Paris. 'Croquis de la Baye, E, située dans le sud-est de la Terre de Diémen', 1793, manuscript (MAR 6 JJ 3A Pièce 7B).

in May 1793, and formally commanded the disintegrating expedition after Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's death in July 1793 until his own a year later. On reaching Java and finding that Holland and France were at war, the ailing Hesmivy d'Auribeau ordered every member of the expedition to surrender their papers and collections to him, as the Dutch authorities demanded. Technically, he was following the royal instruction that, at the campaign's end, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux should collect all the 'drawings', 'natural curiosities', 'descriptions', 'astronomical observations', and 'journals' produced during the voyage.[36] However, Hesmivy d'Auribeau's directive was particularly directed at the despised republicans, who included La Billardière and Piron. La Billardière was forced to surrender all his collections but managed to keep a copy of his journal while Piron's artwork was seized but he evidently retained at least some copies. Hesmivy d'Auribeau praised La Billardière's performance of his professional duties as naturalist but maligned him as 'wicked in character, hypocritical on principle', and lacking 'obedience and respect' for Bruni d'Entrecasteaux.[37] He accused the naturalist of keeping or even selling ethnographic objects he had obtained in exchanges with Indigenous people using the expedition's resources. In February 1794, Hesmivy d'Auribeau formally denounced the Revolution and flew the royalist flag. Now allied with the Dutch, he organized the imprisonment of 39 real or imagined republicans, including La Billardière, Piron, and Gicquel Destouches. Even Beautemps-Beaupré—no revolutionary—was briefly imprisoned, apparently because as a non-aristocrat he was suspect.[38]

Shortly before his death on 22 August 1794, Hesmivy d'Auribeau arranged for the cession of the two frigates to the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company, henceforth VOC). The transfer was implemented a month later by his successor, formally ending the expedition and paving the way for the slow repatriation of its surviving members and materials. Twenty-four of the persons proscribed, including Gicquel, had already been despatched to Ile de France (Mauritius) in early July and most of them reached Brest in February 1795. The previous December, a majority of the expedition's outstanding personnel, along with its documents, maps, and collections, had left for Europe on a VOC fleet. However, La Billardière and the remaining republicans stayed in Batavia, the Dutch colonial headquarters, until finally allowed to depart for France in March 1795. Piron was evidently too ill to accompany them but entrusted La Billardière with duplicate copies of drawings he had made during the voyage.[39]

The main repatriation on Dutch merchant vessels was overseen by Elisabeth-Paul-Edouard de Rossel, royalist *lieutenant de vaisseau,* on the *Recherche*, who commanded the *Espérance* after Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's death and the remnant expedition in Java after that of Hesmivy d'Auribeau. However, in June 1795—with a French puppet régime now installed in the Netherlands—the Dutch fleet, its French passengers, and the expedition's papers and collections were captured by the British near Saint Helena.[40] According to La Billardière, these 'fruits of the voyage' filled 52 cases. Apart from copious botanical and zoological specimens, they included 'many objects used by the inhabitants of the South Sea' and 'many drawings in different genres' made by Piron.[41] In November, Rossel arrived in London where he remained as a royalist in exile, allowed to work on the archives of the voyage. He returned to France in 1802, during the brief lull in more than two decades of war, in and beyond Europe, enabled by the Treaty of Amiens. With him went the expedition's nautical documents and other

papers. They included Beautemps-Beaupré's 'original plans' which had been 'copied' by the British Admiralty. However, the hydrographer Alexander Dalrymple insisted that to publish, or even use them before the French had done so would be 'a disgraceful and flagrant breach of Publick Faith'.[42] Officially appointed to edit and complete Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's narrative, Rossel published it in 1808, along with Beautemps-Beaupré's appendix and a second volume synthesizing the astronomical observations undertaken during the voyage, on which Rossel had begun work in London.[43]

It is perhaps the ultimate irony of a voyage history replete with ironies that Rossel's republican adversary La Billardière was able to preempt his stewardship of the natural history collections, which included unspecified ethnographic materials and the duplicates of Piron's drawings. The naturalist had barely regained Paris when he tapped diplomatic and transnational scientific channels to recover these collections.[44] Though technically they belonged to the successor of the French state which had authorized the expedition, La Billardière reasoned with supreme self-interest that England would only restore them to France if 'they should consider them as personal', rather than 'national property'. Before departing for the South Sea, La Billardière had sought the counsel of Joseph Banks, naturalist on Cook's first voyage and president of the Royal Society since 1778. La Billardière now appealed to Banks, as a fellow 'naturalist on a long voyage as arduous as it was dangerous', to facilitate the return of 'his' 'harvests in natural history'. Banks readily agreed to do so in testimony to 'a complete armistice to science'. He avowed that 'of course' he had not succumbed to his own desire to examine La Billardière's herbarium: 'all will be returned to him. I shall not retain a leaf, a flower, or a Botanical idea of his Collection'.[45]

These collections reached Paris before the end of 1796.[46] They underwrote the engravings in the *Atlas* of plates published in 1800 with La Billardière's *Relation*, as well as his later specialist botanical publications *Novæ Hollandiæ: plantarum specimen* and *Sertum Austro-Caledonicum*.[47] Following La Billardière's death in 1834, the bulk of his Pacific collections were bought by the English botanist Philip Barker Webb, who beqeathed his herbarium to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. These materials are still held in the Museo di Storia Naturale (Museum of Natural History) in Florence. However, Piron's drawings, which formed part of Webb's purchase, were later transferred to the Musée d'Ethnographie (Museum of Ethnography) du Trocadéro in Paris and are now in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.[48]

Dispersal and recuperation

Clearly by no means all—or perhaps even most—of the ethnographic objects repatriated to France after Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage followed these tortuous official channels, while few that did are now extant. Part II of this book disentangles the convoluted movements of items we think were collected during the expedition and eventually deposited in the institutions where they have recently been identified.[49] Most must have been sold, confiscated, lost, or left behind by the French in Java and eventually wended their way to Europe or the US as curiosities in the baggage of a single US trader, Nathaniel Bowditch, or of Dutch or Norwegian colonial officials in the East Indies or India—Arnold Adriaan Buyskes, Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh, Cornelis van Citters, and Peter Anker.[50] The historical ground for these inquiries is the interlocking transnational or

intercolonial networks already operating in south and southeast Asia, together with the shifting international conflicts and alliances at play during a decade-long war—arguably the first to stretch its tentacles across much of the globe.

In France, the systematic separation of naturalia from artificialia envisaged by the new museology was briefly attempted in the mid-1790s in their distribution between the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (National Museum of Natural History) and the ephemeral Muséum des Antiques (Museum of Antiquities).[51] However, any equivalence in the value attributed to natural and human productions was illusory. Over a century and a half, ongoing ambivalence about the worth of ethnographic materials, in contexts of recurrent political instability, was manifested in the institutional shuffling, camouflage, and accidents of their deposition and curation.[52] In France itself, the only items we can attribute with fair certainty to a particular participant in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage are seven to nine objects convincingly linked to the Raoul donation in the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC in Dunkerque.[53] A handful of artefacts held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac in Paris, some via the cabinet of curiosities of the celebrated collector Dominique-Vivant Denon, can be tentatively linked to the expedition's official collections.[54] Somewhat further afield, the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (Cantonal Museum of Archaeology and History) in Lausanne, Switzerland, holds 11 objects donated to the museum's precursor in 1824 by Jules Paul Benjamin Delessert, a renowned botanical collector who might have obtained them in conjunction with his purchase of parts of La Billardière's herbariums.[55] It is a tantalizing possibility that these items and those held in Paris were among the things repatriated to La Billardière via Banks's good offices and that some served as actual models for the engravings in five plates of Tongan and New Caledonian 'Effets' (effects) published in his *Atlas* (see feature).

Texts

The contributions to this book draw on a wide range of texts in varied mediums, both published and unpublished at the time or subsequently published. La Billardière's widely read *Relation du voyage* was issued in 1800 in France and in two separate English translations, with a German edition in 1801–2. Rossel's edition of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's *Voyage* was belatedly published in 1808. Deschamps's inconsequential narrative remained unpublished until 1970. The memoirs of the *aspirant* Pierre-Roch Jurien de la Gravière—later a vice-admiral and peer of France—were edited by his son in the late 1850s and reprinted several times.[56] Shipboard journals, wordlists, maps, and other contemporary documentation are conserved in the Archives nationales de France, the Service historique de la Défense, and the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle.[57] Some fragments have been published by Hélène Richard, Isabel Ollivier, Brian Plomley, and Bertrand Daugeron.[58] Samples of Piron's original field sketches and preparatory plate drawings are held in the Archives nationales and the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.[59] Forty-six plates engraved by Jacques-Louis Copia, along with natural history plates by various artists and engravers, were published in La Billardière's *Atlas*, which was reissued in 1817.[60] National and museum archives in the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, and the US provided clues to track the obscure itineraries followed from Java to their current locations by ethnographic objects collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage and dispersed there.

All historians rest on the shoulders of their predecessors. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition has inspired exemplary historical scholarship, most notably by Hélène Richard and Frank Horner, but also Edward Duyker.[61] The tortured history of the collections of this voyage was plumbed long ago by Ernest-Théodore Hamy, who located some of Piron's drawings, and more recently by Hélène Richard, Sylviane Jacquemin, Roger Boulay, Bertrand Daugeron, Knut Rio, and David van Duuren and Tristan Mostert.[62]

Conclusion

Before, during, and since, the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux is haunted by multiple palimpsests. The imagined traces of the vanished vessels of La Pérouse and his companions were not clarified until 1826, though Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's ships passed agonizingly close to Vanikoro (eastern Solomon Islands), where La Pérouse was wrecked and two survivors were probably still living. The ethnographic matter collected in Tasmania survived only in Piron's drawings and Copia's engravings (see cover). The objects which might have been held in the Muséum d'Histoire naturelle du Havre were incinerated in 1944. If the expedition's primary goal of the quest for La Pérouse was unrealized, it nonetheless made a major scientific contribution, especially to geography, cartography, and marine astronomy.[63] Its unsuspected potential to elucidate the ethnohistory and material culture of western Oceania has never been fully recognized. Redressing that absence is a major aim of this book.

Notes

1 Anon., 'Memoire du Roi pour servir d'instruction particulière au S^r^. D'Entrecasteaux …', 16 September 1791, SHD (MAR BB^4^ 992).

2 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:xlviii, 109, 149, 444; Jurien de La Gravière, *Souvenirs d'un amiral …* (Paris, 1872), I:213; Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique …* (Paris, 1986):41–4, 89–90.

3 Anon., 'Mémoire du Roi'; France, Assemblée nationale, 'Décret sur l'expédition à faire pour la recherche de M. de la Peyrouse', 9 February 1791, in *Collection générale des décrets rendus par l'Assemblée nationale … Mois de Février 1791* (Paris, 1791):164; Thevenard [Ministre de la Marine] to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, 16 September 1791, in SHD, 'Expédition du contre-amiral d'Entrecasteaux …', 1785–1810 (MAR BB^4^ 992).

4 For a muster roll and personal career details of the officers, crew, and supernumeraries aboard the two vessels, see Richard, *Une grande expédition*: Appendix III, 247–95.

5 Blanckaert, 'Les conditions d'émergence de la science des races au début du XIX^e^ siècle', in *L'idée de 'race' dans les sciences humaines et la littérature (XVIIIe et XIXe siècles)* (Paris, 2003):133–49; Douglas, 'Climate to Crania: Science and the Racialization of Human Difference', in *Foreign Bodies …* (Canberra, 2008):33–61; Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific …* (Oxford, 1969).

6 Daugeron, *Collections naturalistes entre science et empires 1763–1804* (Paris, 2009):503–600; Jacquemin, 'Objets des

mers du sud …' (Paris, 1991); Schulz, 'Notes on the History of Collecting and of Museums in the Light of Selected Literature of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Collections* 2:2 (1990):214–17.

7 Thomas, *In Oceania* … (Durham, 1997):100.

8 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:33; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:87–8.

9 Rossel in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:444–8. See also Duyker, *Citizen Labillardière* … (Carlton, 2003):186–7; Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse* … (Carlton South, 1996):189–93; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:173.

10 Anon., 'Evenements des fregates la Recherche et l'Esperance pour aller à la recherche de M[r] De la perouse au tour du monde …', 1791–4, MNHN (MS 1041):19v; Ladroux, [Journal], 20 July 1793, ANF (MAR 3 JJ 397[1]).

11 Gicquel Destouches, 'Nottes', 20 July 1793, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 14[1]); Jurien de La Gravière, *Souvenirs*, I:214–15.

12 Deschamps, 'Journal de mon voyage sur "la Recherche"', in *Louis-Auguste Deschamps 1765–1842: sa vie—son œuvre* (Saint-Omer, 1970):46–7; La Billardière, *Relation du voyage* … (Paris, 1800), II:286. For the complaints of the naturalists, see Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:208–10; Deschamps, 'Journal':19; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:87–8.

13 Anon., 'Evenements des fregates':19; Jurien de la Gravière, *Souvenirs*, I:82, 215–16.

14 Ibid.:194–5; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:xv–xvi.

15 Chapters 3–12.

16 Chapter 16.

17 Chapters 2, 13, 15, 18.

18 Chapters 14, 16, 17.

19 Chapters 4, 6, 8, 13, 18, features; Chapters 15, 18.

20 This section draws particularly on Richard, *Une grande expédition*:51–82, 247–95.

21 Cormack, *Revolution & Political Conflict in the French Navy 1789–1794* (Cambridge, 1995):91–2.

22 Richard, *Une grande expédition*:175–9.

23 Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Journal', in Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe … pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Histoire du voyage* (Paris, 1830–3), IV:351–2.

24 Chapter 5.

25 Anon., 'Mémoire du Roi'.

26 Duyker, *Citizen Labillardière*; 'Uncovering Jean Piron: In Search of d'Entrecasteaux's Artist', *French Australian Review* 39:2 (2005):37–45; Hocquette, ed., *Louis-Auguste Deschamps 1765–1842: sa vie—son œuvre* (Saint-Omer, 1970).

27 Académie des Sciences, 'Mémoire [les observations … à faire dans le voyage qui va être entrepris pour aller à la recherche des batiments commandés par M. de la Perouse et pour le progrès des sciences]', n.d., copy, in SHD, 'Expédition' (MAR BB[4] 992); Richard, *Une grande expédition*:61–5.

28 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:244.

29 Ibid.:552–90.

30 La Billardière, 'Vocabulaires', in *Relation*, II, Tables:1–69.

31 Gicquel Destouches, [Vocabulaires], 1792–4, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 1[4]). See Chapter 14.

32 Beautemps-Beaupré, 'Exposé des méthodes employées pour lever et construire les cartes et plans qui compose l'atlas du Voyage du contre-amiral Bruny-Dentrecasteaux', in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:593–685; Rossel, 'Préface', in Ibid.:xiv–xv.

33 Richard, *Une grande expédition*:67, 115, 277.

34 ANF, [Marine, Service hydrographique], 1792–3 (MAR 6 JJ 2–3).

35 Beautemps-Beaupré, *Atlas du voyage de Bruny-Dentrecasteaux … en 1791, 1792 et 1793* … (Paris, 1807).

36 Anon., 'Mémoire du Roi'; Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse*:209.

37 Hesmivy d'Auribeau, [Rapport sur les personnes renvoyées de l'expédition], 1 May 1794, in SHD, 'Expédition' (MAR BB^4 993).

38 Hesmivy d'Auribeau, 'Etat Nominatif des Personnes renvoyées de l'Expédition', 19 February 1794, in SHD, 'Expédition' (MAR BB^4 993); Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse*:211–17; Jurien de La Gravière, *Souvenirs*, I:239–40; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:319–20; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:184–8.

39 La Billardière, *Relation*, I:x; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:188–200.

40 Ibid.:200–6.

41 La Billardière, 'Notice de mes collections d'objets d'histoire naturelle, qui m'ont été enlevées par Rossel …', 13 germinal an IV (2 April 1796), MNHN (MS 46).

42 Joseph Banks to William Price, 31 March 1796, in Beer, 'The Relations Between Fellows of the Royal Society and French Men of Science when France and Britain Were at War', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 9:2 (1952):252; Dalrymple to Secretary, 14 May 1808, PRO, Adm. 1/3523, cited in Fry, 'Alexander Dalrymple and New Guinea', *Journal of Pacific History* 4 (1969):102–3; Charles-Pierre de Claret de Fleurieu to Ministre de la Marine, 22 September 1802, in SHD, 'Expédition' (MAR BB^4 993); Louis-Guillaume Otto to Ministre de la Marine, 30 prairial an X (18 June 1802), in Ibid. See also Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse*:235–9, 254; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:212–13.

43 Rossel, 'Préface':xii–xvi.

44 Richard, *Une grande expédition*:209–11, 221.

45 Banks to Price, 4 August 1796, in Beer 'The Relations':255–6; Banks to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, 10 August 1796; in Ibid.:257; Banks to Duc d'Harcourt, 1 August 1796, in Bonnet, 'Les collections de l'expédition envoyée à la recherche de La Pérouse d'après des documents inédits', *Association française pour l'Avancement des Sciences*, 20 (1891):490; La Billardière to Banks, 25 germinal an IV (14 April 1796), in Ibid.:491. See also Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse*:240–3.

46 La Billardière to Banks, 19 frimaire an V (9 December 1796), in Bonnet, 'Les collections de l'expédition':491.

47 La Billardière, *Atlas* … (Paris, 1800); *Novæ Hollandiæ: plantarum specimen* (Paris, 1804–6), 2 vols; *Sertum Austro-Caledonicum* (Paris, 1824).

48 Hamy, 'Notice sur une collection de dessins provenant de l'expédition de d'Entrecasteaux', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* 7^e série, 17 (1896):131–2; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:225.

49 Chapter 3.

50 Chapters 6–11.

51 Daugeron, 'Entre l'antique et l'exotique: le projet comparatiste oublié du "Muséum des Antiques" en l'an III', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 2 (2009):143–76.

52 Daugeron, Bertrand, 'La paradoxale disparition des objets de type ethnographique rapportés par les Français du Pacifique (1766–1842)', *Journal of Pacific History* 46:1 (2011):59–74; Jacquemin, 'Objets'. See Chapter 4.

53 Chapter 5.

54 Chapter 4.

55 Chapter 12.

56 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*; Deschamps, 'Journal'; Jurien de la Gravière, *Souvenirs*; La Billardière, *Relation*; *An Account of a Voyage in Search of La Perouse*

… Performed in the Years 1791, 1792, and 1793 … (London, 1800); *Voyage in Search of La Pérouse … during the Years 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794 …* (London, 1800); *Reise nach dem Südmeer zur Aufsuchung des La Perouse … in den Jahren 1791 bis 1794* (Hamburg, 1801–2). See also Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage to Australia and the Pacific 1791–1793* (Carlton, 2001).

57 ANF, [Marine, Service hydrographique], 1791–4 (MAR 5 JJ 1–23, 6 JJ 2–3); Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (MS 46, 1041); SHD, 'Expédition' (MAR BB^4 992–4).

58 Daugeron, *A la Recherche de l'Espérance …* ([Paris], 2014):60–177; Ollivier, *Extracts from New Zealand Journals…* (Wellington, 1986):13–80; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:301–40; Plomley and Piard-Bernier, *The General …* (Launceston, 1993).

59 Piron, [Dessins], [1792–5], MQB – JC (ICONO); [Esquisses], [1792–5], ANF (MAR 5 JJ 4, 5^2).

60 La Billardière, *Atlas.*

61 Duyker, *Citizen Labillardière*; Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse*; Richard, *Une grande expédition.*

62 Boulay, 'L'invention: la découverte'; 'L'herminette-genou'; 'Statuettes et statues à planter anthropomorphes'; 'Les massues et les casse-têtes', in *Kanak: l'art est une parole* (Arles, 2013):67–75, 76–7, 119–21, 251–7; Daugeron, *Collections naturalistes*; Hamy, 'Notice sur une collection de dessins'; Jacquemin, 'Objets'; Rio, *Oceania Gjenoppdaget i Bergen …* (Bergen, 1999); Van Duuren and Mostert, *Curiosities from the Pacific Ocean …* (Amsterdam and Leiden, 2007).

63 Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse*, 251–8.

The 'Effets' (effects) plates

Bronwen Douglas

The *Atlas* published in conjunction with La Billardière's *Relation du voyage* is a portentous resource for this book, as it would have been for contemporary readers of the *Relation*. For us, it enhances meaning by mediating visually between the physical materiality of extant objects, identified in modern museums, and the varied verbal and other pictorial traces of encounters during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, in which such objects were seen or acquired. The conceptual linchpin is five engraved plates (Figures 1.6–1.10), each representing a jumbled miscellany of disembodied implements, weapons, dress, and ornaments, aligned on a vacant sepia ground. As Nicholas Thomas has observed, such 18th-century engravings are typically evacuated of content, proportion, utility, and human presence.[1]

Three of these plates are labelled 'Effets des habitants des îles des Amis' (Effects of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands [Tonga]); the others are called 'Effets/Huttes des sauvages de la Nouvelle Calédonie' (Effects/huts of the savages of New Caledonia). A spear from the Admiralty Islands and a flute and a necklace attributed to the Louisiades, but specifically acquired in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands (all Papua New Guinea), figure in the second New Caledonian plate. Two further objects collected in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands are engraved in another plate (Figure 1.5), incongruously bracketing a 'spider that the Caledonians eat'. Other plates in the *Atlas* depict canoes seen in use in Buka (Papua New Guinea), the Solomon Islands, and New Caledonia, together with diagrammatic representations of a canoe captured in Santa Cruz (eastern Solomon Islands) and a *catimarron*—a Spanish term meaning 'small boat of the Indians'[2]—seen on a beach in Van Diemen's Land.[3] Some plates partly humanize objects, albeit as ethnographic exemplars, by depicting them in use or being worn.

The terminological differentiation of Tongan 'inhabitants' from Kanak 'savages' in the captions of the 'Effets' plates and the heavy emphasis on Kanak weaponry and cannibalism, compared with Tongan sociality, in the constitution of these object assemblages are discussed in Chapter 13. It is argued that the content and tone of the plates owed more to Indigenous self-presentation and agency in exchanges than to the author's or the publisher's anticipation of the 19th-century racialization of human differences.

The 'Effets' plates are key signifiers for this book because the objects depicted were probably drawn or engraved in France from actual models, following the restitution of the 'official' natural history and ethnographic collections to La Billardière after his return to Paris.[4] These plates are thus a useful index to the ethnographic materials amassed under orders by the naturalists, particularly La Billardière himself, which we believe are sparsely represented in the collections discussed in this book. We are fairly certain that at least four of the objects engraved in 'Effets' plates are still extant: a Kanak *mweeng* or *tidi*, hat, and a Tongan *sisi fale*, coconut fibre waist garment, both held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac; and a Kanak *bwar* (*hache-ostensoir*), ceremonial axe, and a Tongan *fue kafa*, fly whisk, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire in Lausanne, Switzerland.[5] All or some Bruni d'Entrecasteaux-associated objects held in these two collections can be plausibly, if not definitively associated with the official assemblages repatriated to France in 1796, via sequester in England after the capture of returning French personnel and collections on a Dutch merchant fleet.

Most of the other collections discussed in this book were assembled adventitiously across colonial networks, in the wake of the expedition's disintegration in Java. Yet where only resemblance, rather than identity, can be inferred between object and engraving, ocular correlation can nonetheless be vital in attributing provenance.

1 Thomas, *In Oceania* … (Durham, 1997):93–132.
2 Dominguez, *Compendio del Diccionario nacionale de la Lengua Española* (Madrid, 1852), I:491.
3 La Billardière, *Atlas* … (Paris, 1800): plates 28, 43, 44.
4 See Chapter 1.
5 See Chapters 4, 12, and Chapter 4, feature.

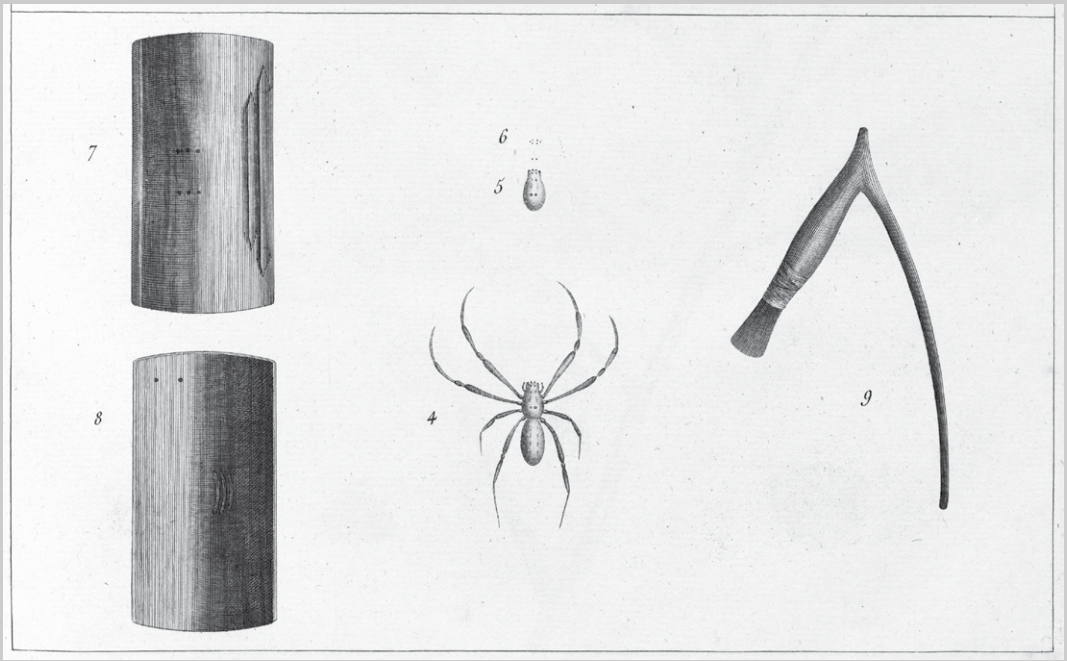

Figure 1.5. Figs 7, 8, and 9 of plate 12 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a shield and an axe collected in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition. Anon., 'Bouclier des naturels de la Louisiade'; 'Hache des naturels de la Louisiade', 1800, engravings.*

Figure 1.6. Plate 31 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting 'effects' of the Tongans. Pérée, 'Effets des habitans des îles des Amis', 1800, engravings.*

Figure 1.7. Plate 32 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting 'effects' of the Tongans. Pérée, 'Effets des habitans des îles des Amis', 1800, engravings.*

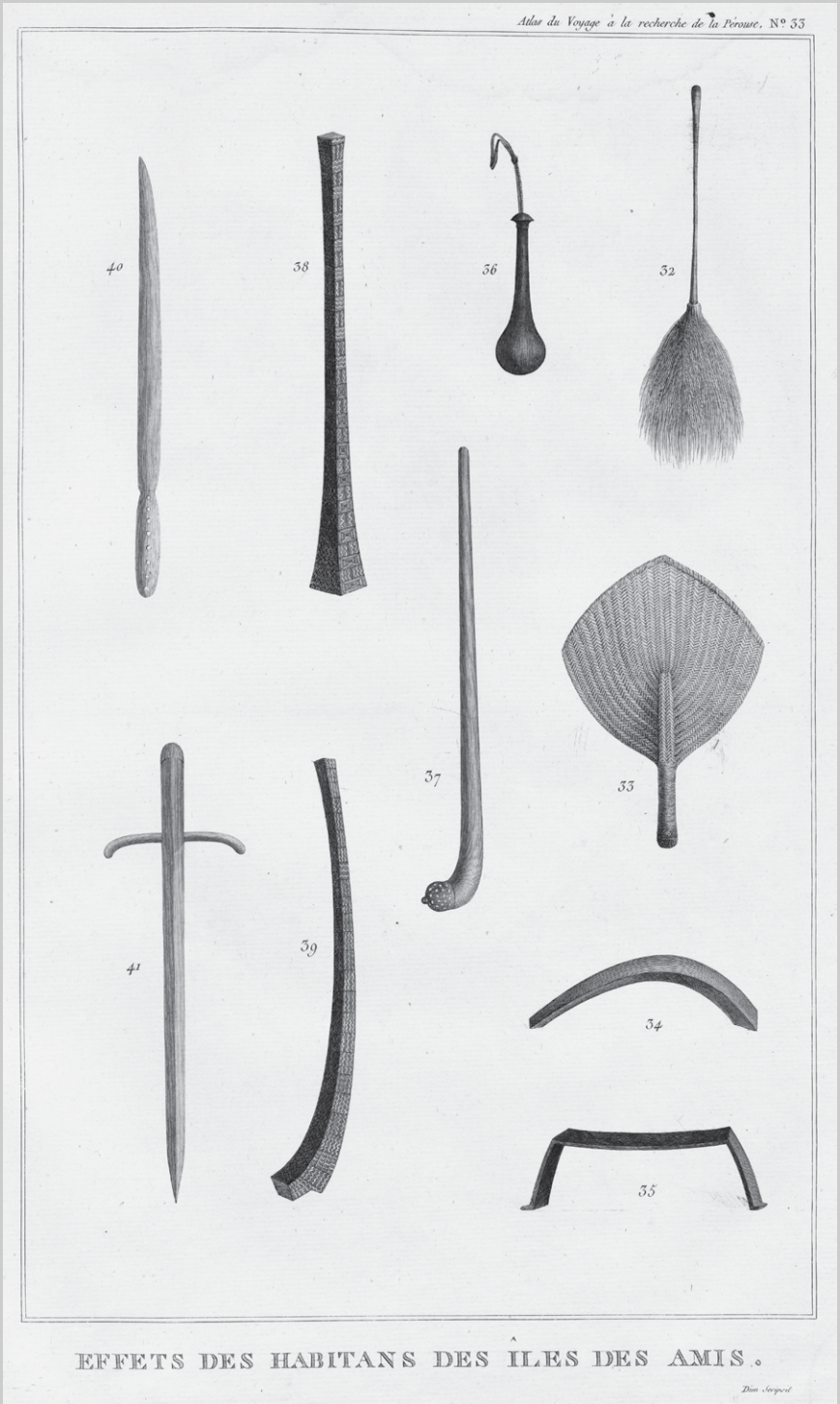

Figure 1.8. Plate 33 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting 'effects' of the Tongans. Anon., 'Effets des habitans des îles des Amis', 1800, engravings.*

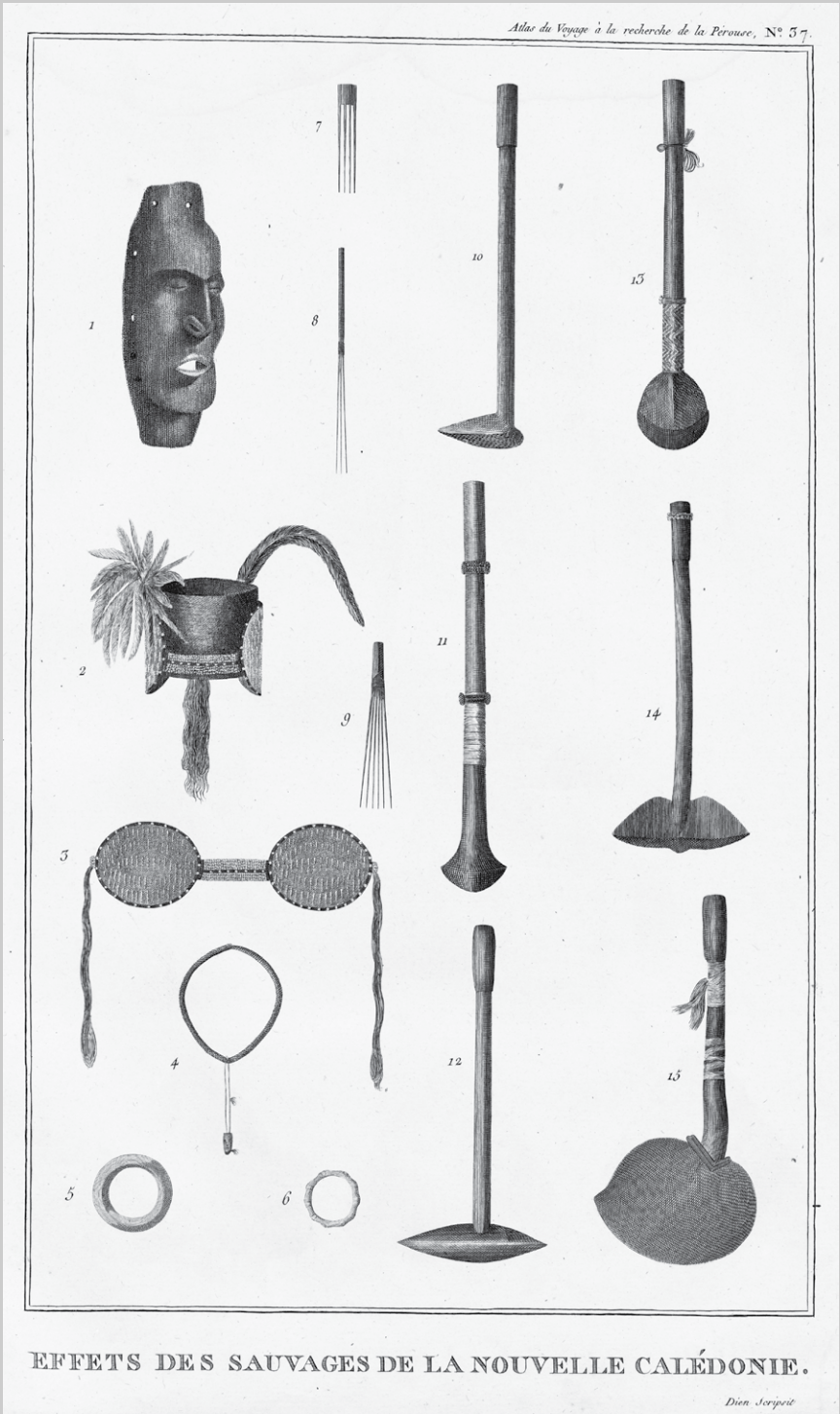

Figure 1.9. Plate 37 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting 'effects' of the Kanak of New Caledonia. Anon., 'Effets des sauvages de la Nouvelle-Calédonie', 1800, engravings.*

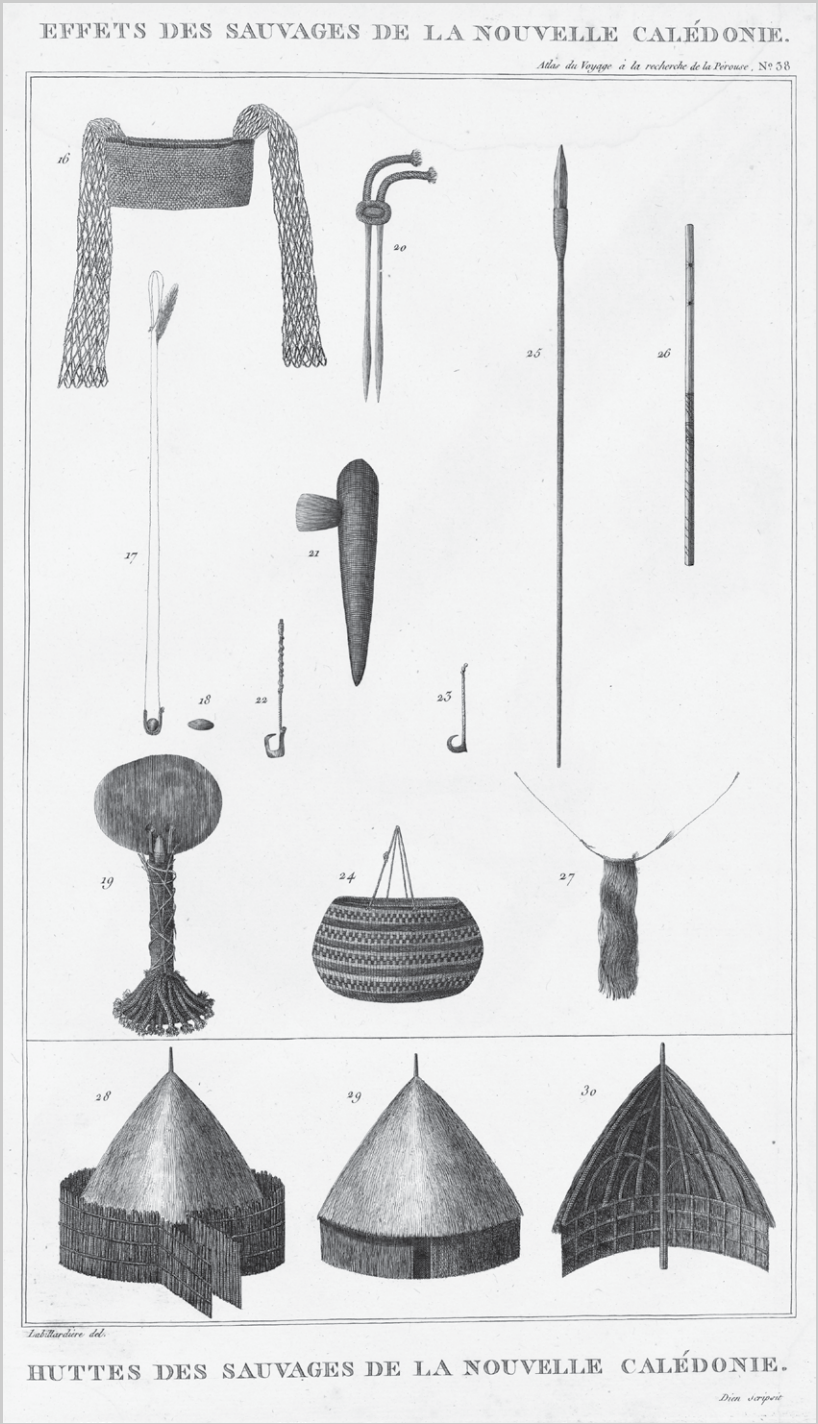

Figure 1.10. Plate 38 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting 'effects' and 'huts' of the Kanak of New Caledonia. La Billardière, 'Effets/Huttes des sauvages de la Nouvelle-Calédonie', 1800, engravings.*

CHAPTER 2

Ethnohistory – Collecting and Representing

BRONWEN DOUGLAS

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This chapter sketches an ethnohistory of embodied encounters and situated exchanges which helped generate the ethnographic collections and representations resulting from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage in search of La Pérouse. At every shore stopover and during meetings at sea, expedition members amassed artefacts, words, and other knowledge. They described people, places, events, and objects in diverse written and visual genres. Their representations were partly shaped by prevailing discourses or conventions and also materialized, overtly or tacitly, the personal perspectives and experiences of authors or artists. Until quite recently, most scholars took for granted the centrality and dominance of European travellers in encounters, exchanges, and representations.[1] Such presumptions still endure in popular imaginings. Yet, unless accomplished by perilous recourse to force or theft, collecting necessarily involved reciprocity, however incommensurate the parties' interests. Objects were generally acquired by exchange with local collectors, who were equally eager to acquire useful or interesting novelties. Portraiture required negotiation with potential subjects to gain their consent and cooperation. Names and words were conveyed by interlocutors who transacted knowledge with a keen sense of its power and value and often with a sharp sense of irony. Due to the dialogic quality of encounters and collecting and their powerful emotional valence, the content, language, iconography, and tone of foreigners' representations were infiltrated by ambiguous traces of Indigenous presence and agency.[2] By systematically excavating such residues, this chapter foregrounds local protagonists while disputing preconceptions of inevitable European control.

The chapter also doubly challenges the still potent Eurocentric premise that discourse determines representation. By relating these voyagers' judgements of the relative civility or savagery of particular communities to Indigenous demeanour and lifestyle, I show how experience qualified a priori expectations derived from the precedents of earlier voyages and from contemporary stadial philosophy, which posited a universal human developmental trajectory 'from the Savage state towards Civilization'.[3] In the process, I contest the not uncommon assumption that differential evaluations of Islanders by Enlightenment travellers directly prefigured the categorical 19th-century racial opposition of Melanesians and Polynesians or Malays.[4]

Travel, praxis, texts

An encounter is not a general clash of two reified, homogeneous cultures but a fluid, embodied episode involving multiple personal relationships between varied Indigenous and foreign agents in a particular spatial setting. The meanings or understandings created were sometimes opposed and often mutually ambiguous but, for all concerned, provided stimuli for acting, including representing. Representations of encounters and exchanges are thus partly products of the interactions they re-present. Particular episodes in the Admiralty Islands, Van Diemen's Land, Tongatapu, and New Caledonia are the chapter's main empirical focus. While the Tongan segment of the voyage looms largest in extant ethnographic collections and representations, its centrality in most other contributions to this book frees me to concentrate on more neglected areas further west.

The narrative trajectory of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's published *Voyage* culminates in dissolution.[5] It was literally so with the commander's death in the final stages of the voyage and the expedition's subsequent disintegration in Java under multiple pressures of external war, national political divisions, and disease.[6] But dissolution is also figurative, in Anthony Pagden's sense: 'The spaces that separated the European from those "others" he was eventually to encounter were spaces of dissolution, menacing areas where civility could so easily dissolve into barbarism'.[7] Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's textual journey mirrors the era's dawning disenchantment with the idealized primitive and the upsurge of adverse attitudes towards Indigenous people, better aligned with an age of intensifying European imperialism and emergent racialism. As the art historian Bernard Smith pointed out long ago, the shift from approval to disgust owed much to the reported actions of Islanders in Oceania—notably the killing of Cook by Hawaiians and of twelve members of La Pérouse's expedition by Samoans.[8] These people had seemed to La Pérouse to be the 'happiest inhabitants of the earth' but their inexplicable, apparently unprovoked actions forced his bleak conclusion that 'nearly savage man living in anarchy is a more vicious being than the fiercest animals'.[9]

Voyagers' representations of Indigenous people, both positive and negative, are thus not simply a matter of imagery. They took shape on the ground, in particular equations of discourse, authorship, and experience, which saw words and pictures colonized by traces of Indigenous agency—demeanour, action, desire. Such traces are cloaked in loaded epithets like welcome, friendship, indifference, hypocrisy, treachery, hostility. They pepper the textual productions of the voyage across differences in tone that range from the labile sensibility of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's *Voyage*, to the republican optimism of La Billardière's *Relation*, and the unsentimental primitivism of Piron's neoclassical portraits. Indigenous presence and agency are similarly implicit in stories about the acquisition of the objects that populate modern ethnographic collections.

'Good faith in their exchanges'—Admiralty Islands, 28–31 July 1792

In late July 1792, a rumour about a possible relic of La Pérouse's passage sent Bruni d'Entrecasteaux on a long detour through the Admiralty Islands, north of New Guinea, now in Papua New Guinea (Figure 2.1).[10] Reef-bound shores and the reported 'perfidy' of a 'fierce & hostile people' toward the English navigator Philip Carteret in 1767 deterred the commander from landing, to the grief of the naturalists. He sailed past

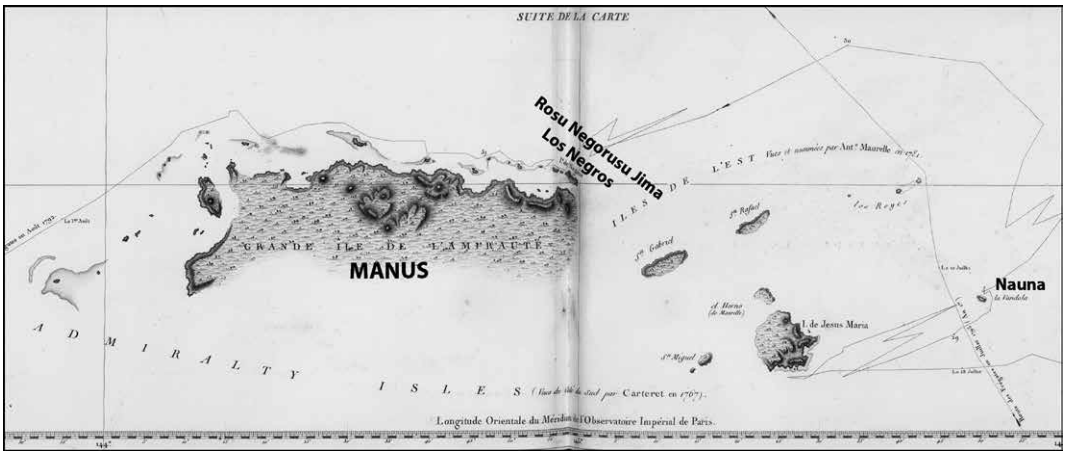

Figure 2.1. Detail of Plate 33 of Beautemps-Beaupré's hydrographic Atlas *showing his map of the Admiralty Islands. Houdan after Beautemps-Beaupré, 'Carte … des Iles de l'Amirauté', 1807, engraving.*

the group in fewer than four days, content to send two boats close inshore at the small island of La Vendola (Nauna) to look for non-existent vestiges of French presence.[11] In contrast to the troubling precedent, these travellers were generally impressed by the behaviour of the many Islanders who swam or paddled to the boats or the ships seeking nails or axes in exchange for foodstuffs (coconuts), weapons (spears), ornaments (combs, bracelets), dress (shell penis covers), and implements (obsidian and shell razors). An Admiralty Islands spear is depicted in a plate in La Billardière's *Atlas*.[12] 'Only iron', said Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, 'seemed to have some value in their eyes'. They seized it 'with the greatest avidity' and spurned bits of cloth or other proffered objects, including knives. The naturalist La Billardière enthused that 'the exchanges took place with the greatest good faith imaginable', despite what he and the commander called an 'inclination to theft' at La Vendola.[13] La Billardière's fellow naturalist Deschamps found the Admiralty Islanders 'more sociable' than many others in the South Sea and also praised the 'good faith in their exchanges'.[14]

In Oceanic voyage literature, relief at approved Indigenous conduct commonly brackets favourable judgements of the physical appearance of people whose skin colour or hair type might otherwise have evoked the reviled stereotype of 'the Negro'. The reverse—that negative opinion and Negro analogy often accompany reports of disapproved behaviour—is also the case.[15] This rhetorical ploy recurs in the texts of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, beginning in the Admiralty Islands. It is explicit in La Billardière's declaration: 'If we can judge the character of these inhabitants by their conduct towards us they are extremely mild: a look of goodness was stamped on their features'. His verbal portrait of the Islanders also synthesizes praxis and an ethnocentric aesthetic: they 'have skin of a not very deep black: their physiognomy is agreeable and differs little from that of Europeans…: they have frizzy hair'. Similarly, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux juxtaposed his satisfaction at the 'great calm' pervading exchanges with the pronouncement that 'all displayed an assured air, an open, confident

countenance which betokened nothing sinister'. His narrative recounts a parallel set of reactions by Rossel, a lieutenant on the *Recherche*, when his boat was surrounded by a crowd of apparently well-disposed men: 'He thought their nature trusting; their faces seemed agreeable to him; there is nothing hard in their features; they are of fine stature'. Commander and naturalist alike downplayed the early thefts—normally seen as a grievous moral failing—by attributing them to opportunistic older men who lacked the 'honesty and candour' of the young.[16] The overt moral and physical approval of the word portraits is rehearsed in Piron's flattering neoclassicist rendition of an 'Homme des îles de l'amirauté' (Man of the Admiralty Islands).[17] If Piron's figure is undoubtedly objectified by a Eurocentric aesthetic, neither his drawing nor the parallel texts are demeaning to these Islanders.

Commonalities aside, the texts manifest a range of emotive responses to encounters. La Billardière's idealism was consistently more empirical and pragmatic than that of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. The naturalist's delight in the 'marks of great probity' shown to the French at Los Negros (Rosu Negorusu Jima), northeast of the large island of Manus, was doubly qualified by recognition of local agency. First, his romantic republican sensibilities were affronted by acts of violence and cupidity committed by so-called 'chiefs' on their supposed underlings: 'We did not expect to see the man treated in this way in a tribe which had seemed to us to be so close to the state of nature'. Second, he acknowledged a possible tactical dimension in Indigenous conduct in that the men of La Vendola 'had had to deal only with ship's boats', whereas those from Los Negros 'dealt with ships which inspired respect'.[18] In retrospective notes written with gruff realism, the hydrographer-cartographer Beautemps-Beaupré commented on the fear of firearms of 'these good inhabitants', evidently triggered by Carteret's lethal reprisal to the assaults on his vessel by Manus Islanders: 'an old man having spied in one of the boats the guns that we had been careful to cover at the onset of the exchanges began to shout and then signalled to his compatriots to withdraw which they immediately did'.[19]

Perceived experience of Indigenous actions in the Admiralty Islands confirmed the discourse of primitivism to which Bruni d'Entrecasteaux was ambivalently attracted. Relieved and charmed by the Islanders' behaviour, he closed his account of the visit by opining that their 'ferocity' and 'hostile attitudes' had been 'exaggerated' by Carteret.[20] From this point, the voyage's own existential precedents complicated those imbibed from earlier literature.

'First state of society'—Van Diemen's Land, 23 April–28 May 1792; 21 January–27 February 1793

After a break in Amboina (Ambon, Maluku Province, Indonesia), Bruni d'Entrecasteaux headed for southeast Van Diemen's Land where the expedition had already spent five idyllic weeks in April and May 1792, restoring health and spirits, repairing the ships after the long passage from Brest, and doing detailed hydrography in Recherche Bay and the D'Entrecasteaux Channel (Figure 2.2). Despite making little direct human contact on this occasion, the French were entranced by enigmatic signs of Indigenous presence in the form of shelters, fires, footpaths, shell middens, burnt human remains, water craft, kangaroo skin cloaks, spears, and utensils.[21] At the time, they were impressed by neither the intellect nor the 'industry' of the inhabitants.

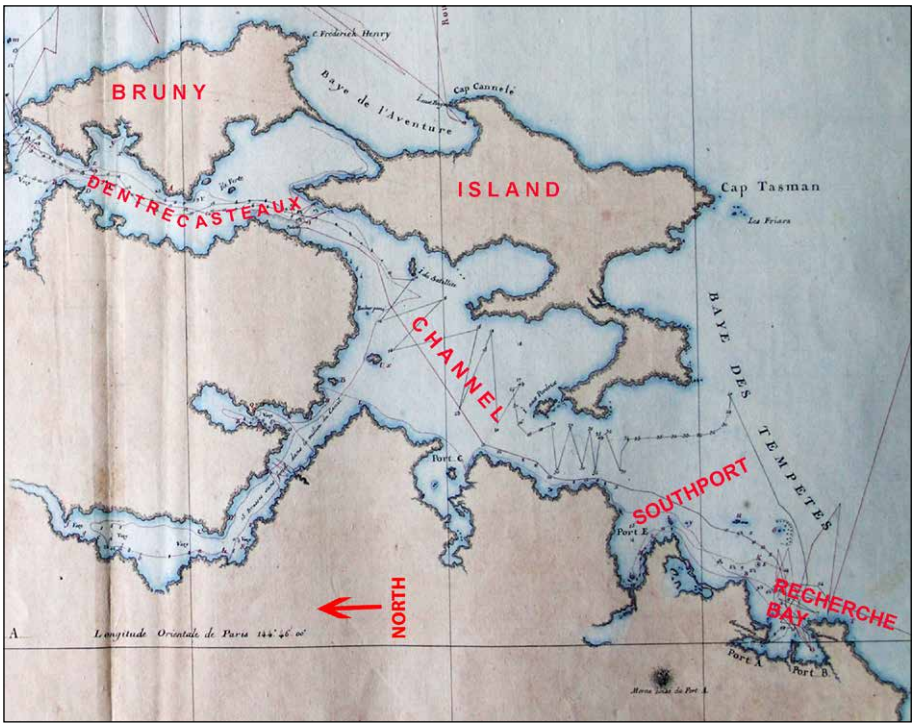

Figure 2.2. Detail of Beautemps-Beaupré's map of his survey of southeastern Tasmania, held in the Archives nationales de France, Paris. 'Carte particulière de la partie de la terre de Diémen comprise entre le cap méridional et les îles Maria', 1792 and 1793, manuscript (MAR 6 JJ 2 Pièce 15).

Bruni d'Entrecasteaux admitted that their rush baskets were woven 'with some skill' but suggested dismissively that water carriers made from dried kelp constituted the 'extreme extent of their intelligence'. La Billardière said that the baskets, mostly about a third of a metre high, were 'clumsily made'.[22]

The French spent a further three weeks in Recherche Bay after their return on 21 January 1793.[23] From the outset, there is a shift in narrative tone and content. Whereas Beautemps-Beaupré disparaged the 'miserable habitations' he saw and sketched in 1792 as offering no protection against even 'slightly heavy rain' (Figure 2.3), La Billardière now admired an 'artistically constructed' dwelling and the inhabitants' 'aptitude' for ensuring that its bark covering was watertight.[24] Piron sketched two such dwellings in a disembodied landscape but later reworked one as a spectral object in a more formal composition populated by a local family (Figure 2.4). On 8 February, the tantalizing prospect of Indigenous occupancy suddenly materialized into living human presence. During an expedition to collect natural history specimens, La Billardière, the gardener Félix de La Haye, and two armed seamen were deliberately encountered by a friendly group of 42 men, women, and children, probably people now referred to as the Lyluequonny band:[25] 'at once', the naturalist exulted, 'the best accord reigned between us and these inhabitants'. The men had hidden their spears in nearby bush, 'doubtless so as not to frighten us'. The Europeans lavished on them everything they could spare—handkerchiefs, clothing,

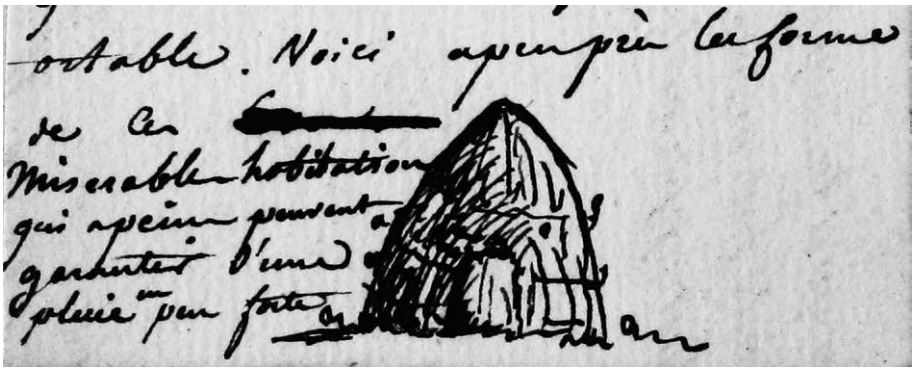

Figure 2.3. Beautemps-Beaupré's sketch of a dwelling in Van Diemen's Land in his account of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage held in the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris. 'Voici à peu près la forme de ces misérables habitations', n.d., pen on paper (MS 1041).

Figure 2.4. Detail of Piron's drawing of a dwelling and a family at Recherche Bay, Van Diemen's Land, in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris. 'Baie des Roches ou Port du Sud', [1793–5], stump and pencil on paper (ICONO PP0143647).

an axe, knives, tin vessels—and received in return a shell headband and a skin cloak, grudgingly given up by a young girl at the behest of her companions in return for a pair of pants, which La Billardière acknowledged were 'much less useful' to her. Several men and boys escorted the French party back to the ship.[26]

Three equally gratifying meetings took place with the same people during the final four days of the French sojourn in Recherche Bay. The intimacy established was such that the French were able to do a careful census of the band, counting ten men, 14 women, and 24 children divided into five family groups.[27] These encounters dominate Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's and La Billardière's narratives of the expedition's second visit to Van Diemen's Land, though the two men differed markedly in experience, interests,

and ideology. The commander, writing mainly from hearsay and relieved by the band's 'peaceful dispositions', idealized the 'simple', 'trusting' character of 'these men so close to nature'.[28] The naturalist also adjudged them as existing 'close to the state of nature' but his primary concern was natural history, including Man, rather than the overall security of the expedition.

For Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, Indigenous 'confidence' and the 'perfect cordiality' established from the first meeting again challenged precedent—both the general 'idea of all savages formed from the accounts of different voyagers' and the specific presumption that 'these savages' were 'as wicked' as they had seemed to his compatriot Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne who clashed violently with them in 1772.[29] There is more release from anxiety than realism in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's nostalgia for the uncorrupted primitive. A year earlier, he imagined he saw 'the agrestic state of raw nature' at Recherche Bay, 'more imposing and more picturesque than the sight of this same nature embellished by the industry of civilized man'. Now, he admitted 'simple, good men' to this idyllic natural scenario. He celebrated their 'candour and kindness', in sharp contrast to the 'vices' of both the 'state of civilization' and the more 'advanced' Pacific Islanders whose 'disposition to theft' was notorious. In the process, he reconstituted coeval human beings as archaic products of the 'school of nature', mere exemplars of the 'first state of society'.[30]

La Billardière's ethnographic reflection on 'these Savages' begins with precise empirical description of their appearance but recommends the purportedly 'more exact' visual impression of 'the character of their face' engraved in his *Atlas* (see Figures 13.8, 13.9).[31] The men's hair was 'woolly'; they grew beards; their skin colour was 'not of a very dark black' but ideals of 'beauty' evidently led them to blacken their upper bodies with charcoal dust. Physical description is interspersed with pragmatic appreciation of Indigenous behaviour. Their 'least actions' were 'worth observing', including parental disciplining of children. They subtly controlled where their visitors went, showing 'marks of tender affection'—clearing paths of dead timber, lending solicitous hands to prevent falls on slippery patches, keeping them on the direct route to the ships' anchorage.[32] They disbelieved French claims that the crews were entirely male until convinced by their own anthropological inspection of the sex of 'the youngest' among the sailors.[33]

Thus far, the naturalist's ethnographic voice is relatively dispassionate. But it dissolves into ethnocentric moralizing with respect to local gender relations. He lamented that the 'poor women' were 'condemned' to engage in the 'harsh', dangerous work of diving for shellfish in order to procure 'the subsistence of their family' while their 'husbands' lazed by the fire 'regaling themselves with the best morsels'. The seaman Nicolas Ladroux made the same point laconically, without the moral outrage: 'the Poor woman are the Last to eat and the first to the work'.[34] Gendered presumptions underwrote La Billardière's optimistic prognosis for the future rise of the 'Savages' of Van Diemen's Land in the scale of human development. His narrative farewells them with a romantic revolutionary recipe for environmentally determined social and material progress. Not doubting that they were ultimately civilizable, La Billardière hoped that a pair of goats left ashore might multiply and 'occasion total change in the lifestyle of the inhabitants, who, able to become a pastoral people, would abandon the coast without regret and enjoy the pleasure of no longer having to dive for their food, at risk of being devoured by sharks'. The women,

'condemned to this arduous labour', had most to gain from his universalist scenario, though he feared the goats would be killed before they could reproduce.[35]

Notwithstanding his euphoric idealization of primitive places and people, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's account of Van Diemen's Land bears the imprint of Indigenous actions and demeanour toward their visitors at least as much as La Billardière's generally more empirical counterpart. Even before Bruni d'Entrecasteaux had the 'pleasure' of a personal meeting on 12 February, secondhand perceptions of their 'conduct' and their 'manners' inspired relief and confirmed the 'positive' impression of their 'character' they had given the French. Whereas the previous year, uneasy thoughts of cannibalism were triggered when 'one of the naturalists' found traces of grilled flesh adhering to human bones left in a fireplace, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux was now embarrassed by such suspicions.[36] Traces of local agency—'peaceful dispositions'—inflect the tone and content of his prose from 'the first meeting' which 'established such confidence, that it was followed by several others, all just as friendly, and giving the most favourable idea of the inhabitants of this country'. During the initial encounter, a man made it clear 'by unequivocal signs' that he had inspected the French party as they slept in the open the previous night, convincing Bruni d'Entrecasteaux that these people were 'not evil-minded' because they had not molested the four sleepers. This and all subsequent interactions proved 'au contraire' that they were 'good and trusting'.[37]

Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's near-to-final passage on the inhabitants of Recherche Bay pays tribute to 'their open, cheerful countenance' but infantilized it as the 'reflection of a happiness untroubled by upsetting thoughts or impotent desires'.[38] I argue, by contrast, that Indigenous demeanours toward newcomers, however experienced by them, were always strategic and that their inscription constitutes a more or less enigmatic textual residue of local agency. Thus, Deschamps's journal juxtaposes abstract civilized contempt for 'this people, so miserable in our eyes', who 'need nothing and want nothing', with a pragmatic qualification motivated by how they behaved: 'it is hard to find the human species more brutish, and further from civilization than the people in question. However it must be admitted that they are the only savages about whom we did not have to complain'.[39] The journals of three crew members, who were presumably unencumbered by Enlightenment sensibilities, laud 'these good people' for their 'great friendship' to the sleeping men, their 'pacific dispositions', and their combination of 'goodness of soul with the best Character possible'.[40]

As with the Admiralty Islanders, positive evaluations of the appearance, as well as the character, of the Tasmanians often follow appreciative descriptions of their conduct. A single man—individualized with the name Mara in the Van Diemen's Land vocabulary of Jacques-Malo La Motte du Portail, sub-lieutenant on the *Espérance*—agreed to go to the ship where his 'confidence' delighted Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and gave 'the most favourable impression of this tribe, but especially of this man', who was still more 'remarkable' for his 'fine physique and his intelligence'.[41] The sequence is patent in the shipboard journal of Hesmivy d'Auribeau, then first officer of the *Recherche*. The unaggressive conduct of 'this new people' toward the sleeping Frenchmen was 'an infinitely interesting trait' which at the outset established their 'goodness and humanity'. Their general lack of suspicion or fear of the newcomers showed 'perfect tranquillity' and 'a nature as good as it is trustful'. He then noted their

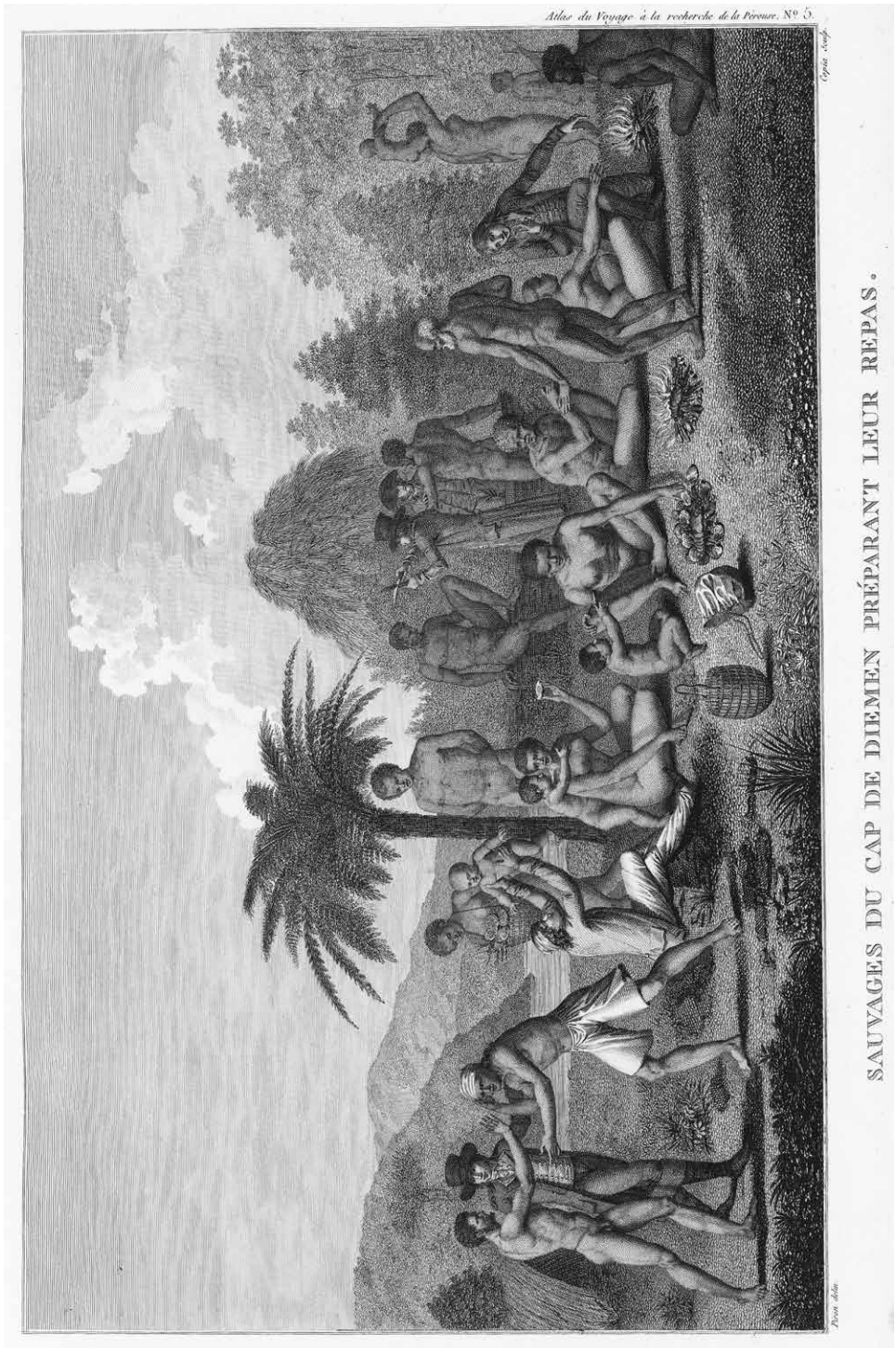

Figure 2.5. Plate 5 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting Indigenous Tasmanians preparing a meal and interacting with French sailors. Copia after Piron, 'Sauvages du Cap de Diemen préparant leur repas', 1800, engraving.*

'agreeable physiognomy' and 'mild gaze'.[42] Indigenous action and French depiction are also blended in Copia's engravings of drawings composed by Piron, whose sympathetic neoclassical portraits in no way demean their subjects. Copia engraved Piron's visual narratives of the 'Savages' of Van Diemen's Land engaged in fishing and cooking (see Figures 13.4, 13.5).[43] The second of these plates depicts their friendly interaction with French officers and sailors while on the left a man rubs Piron with charcoal dust until he is 'as black as a New Hollander' (Figure 2.5).[44]

'Passions' and 'vices' of 'civilization'—Tongatapu, 23 March–9 April 1793

Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's largely vicarious experience of Indigenous actions in Van Diemen's Land confirmed the recent pattern set by Admiralty Islanders, further reinforced his primitivist inclinations, and refuelled his expectations for future encounters. On 11 March 1793, en route to Tongatapu, the expedition brushed the northern tip of New Zealand. A brief but amicable encounter occurred at sea with several Māori men in canoes. They exchanged their arms, artefacts, ornaments, and fish with 'scrupulous' honesty, in return for axes, nails, and cloth, but much preferred iron. Two engraved portraits (see Figure 6.5), a map (Figure 2.6), and a few extant objects complement brief written accounts of this meeting.[45]

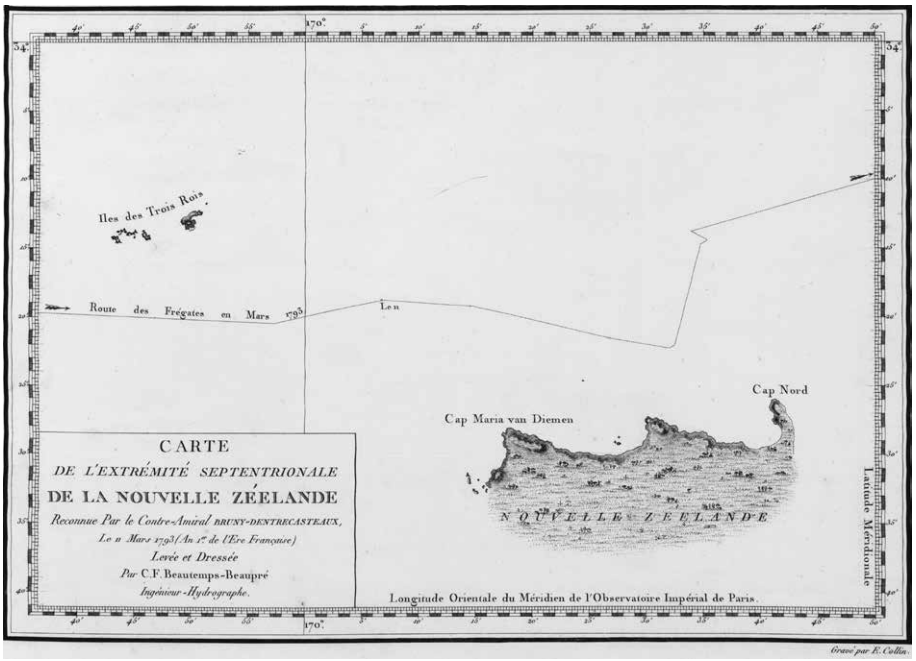

Figure 2.6. Plate 16b of Beautemps-Beaupré's hydrographic Atlas *showing his map of the northern extremity of New Zealand. Collin after Beautemps-Beaupré, 'Carte de l'extrémité septentrionale de la Nouvelle Zéelande', 1807, engraving.*

Bruni d'Entrecasteaux was clearly alert to the long history of Māori violence towards voyagers (against the expeditions of Abel Tasman, Marion du Fresne, and Tobias Furneaux). La Billardière commented caustically that he was thereby discouraged from landing in New Zealand. These cases provided a touchpoint for the commander's ambivalent primitivism which compared Māori unfavourably to Tasmanians, both morally and physically. While the Tasmanians were 'undoubtedly less advanced in civilization', they lacked the Māori's 'ferocious temperament'. The Māori were 'less black' and taller, with 'more muscular' limbs, but 'their physiognomy proclaimed much less goodness' and had in it 'something dark and fierce'. The spectre of cannibalism loomed large in French imagination. They received 'with horror' a necklace containing human bones. Their fears seemed confirmed by one Māori's response when a crew member mimed the act of cutting his own finger and eating it. Roaring with laughter, the man rubbed his hands together provocatively and was instantly reconfigured as 'the cannibal' (La Billardière) or 'this fierce savage' (Bruni d'Entrecasteaux). Here, precedent, trepidation, and Indigenous irony combined to determine a French aesthetic judgement that outweighed the impact of their fleeting experience of Māori 'good faith' in exchanges.[46]

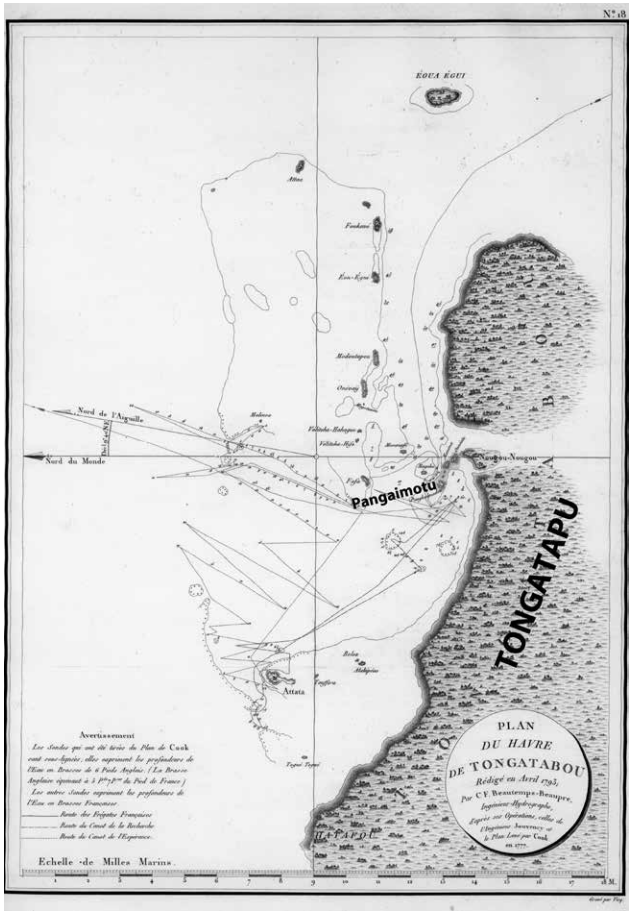

Figure 2.7. Plate 18 of Beautemps-Beaupré's hydrographic Atlas *showing his map of the harbour at Tongatapu. Vicq after Beautemps-Beaupré, 'Plan du havre de Tongatabou', 1807, engraving.*

Such caveats anticipated Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's deep misgivings about the purportedly 'much more advanced' people he encountered in Tongatapu (Figure 2.7) over 17 days in March and April 1793.[47] In an ethnographic overview, he positioned Tongan polity in implicitly developmentalist terms as a kind of 'feudal régime', here reduced to 'general anarchy' by the ruler's 'weakness' and the fragmenting effect of the 'division of two things which ought to be inseparable'—'power' (exercised by the *hau*, paramount ruler) and 'honours' (paid to the sacred Tu'i Tonga, the highest ranking titleholder). The resultant 'factions' meant that the government was 'powerless', the people were out of control, and 'the warrior class' seemingly 'recognized no authority'.[48]

Any implied moral comparison between Tongans and Tasmanians in these texts is mainly to the latter's advantage, apart from aspects of gender relations. In Van Diemen's Land, La Billardière had been 'distressed' to see women engaged in procuring and cooking shellfish while their husbands dined by the fire. In Tonga, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux 'noted with pleasure' that women were 'better treated' because they were 'destined uniquely for housework and child rearing'—an index of social progress in contemporary stadial theory. Yet, with respect to female chastity, contrasting Indigenous actions saw heavier French censure fall on Tongans. Two young girls won La Billardière's approval in Van Diemen's Land by fleeing the sexual advances of several sailors, whereas Bruni d'Entrecasteaux was disgusted at the 'market' in Tonga 'in prostituted girls', 'whom the chiefs offered with a licence not seen even among the most corrupt peoples'.[49]

In practice, these voyagers were recurrently disconcerted by the behaviour of Tongan men who seemed too well-endowed with 'the passions' and 'the vices' supposedly consequent on a degree of 'civilization'. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux was affronted and apprehensive at the reiterated 'turbulent' and 'insulting' conduct of 'badly intentioned' men who displayed an 'irresistible proclivity' for theft.[50] The arbitrary brutality of the public treatment of ordinary Islanders by certain chiefs inspired 'horror', producing the global assertion that Tongans 'are not, it is true, naturally ferocious' but that 'sentiments of humanity are unknown to them' and they 'attach no value to human life'.[51] He attributed this dismal state of affairs to 'the nature of government' in the Pacific Islands where the 'abuse of force' by chiefs toward 'the inferiors' provoked their 'disposition to theft'. This in turn affected 'their character', rendering them 'hypocritical and treacherous, especially toward strangers, whose goodwill they seek in order to have a better chance to rob them'. Here, he inadvertently signalled an important strategic element in friendly Tongan reception of visitors.[52]

Nonetheless, in this case, disapproval of Indigenous conduct did not deter the French from aesthetic appreciation of their looks. La Billardière praised their 'fine shape' and the 'very agreeable and very animated physiognomy' of Tongan women. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux applied a similar phrase to 'most women belonging to the chiefly class' and professed himself unable to envisage 'a finer race of men', 'especially that of the chiefs'. He used race in its Enlightenment sense as a synonym for 'class', 'nation', or 'kind', a usage confirmed in his subsequent speculation that 'the people' belonged to 'a different race', though still enjoying a healthy, comfortable existence.[53]

General Pacific precedents—notably in the manuscript of La Pérouse's journal included in the expedition's well-equipped library[54]—and specifically Tongan precedents in the Cook voyage narratives meant that Bruni d'Entrecasteaux had not expected to find uncorrupted natural man in Tonga. From the start he took precautions because he knew that, 'in these countries', 'the inhabitants' dispositions must always be regarded as very suspect'. Forewarning, though, did not forearm against fear consequent on the vulnerability of an isolated expedition, or a sense of betrayal at frustrated good intentions. A deadly clash occurred when the blacksmith of the *Recherche* pursued a thief and was seriously wounded. In ensuing reprisals, at least two Tongans died, one reportedly a chief, and two high-ranking chiefs were taken hostage. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux lamented that he 'attached very great value to finishing this campaign without shedding blood' and so was 'acutely affected by this unfortunate event'. However, he 'could wait no longer' before firing on the Tongan crowd because of 'the danger threatening some of our people'.[55]

This was partly an exercise in self-exculpation. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's official instructions, replicating those issued to La Pérouse, enjoined him to treat local people with 'much kindness and humanity' and forbade using arms against them except defensively, 'at the last extremity' to ensure the safety of the ships and French lives.[56] However, his regrets were no doubt sincere, as was his humanist dictum that 'simple theft is not a sufficient motive to resort to these extreme means which can only be justified by the need for self defence'. Moreover, his preemptive strike and the terms of its textual inscription were significantly compelled by Indigenous agency. For Tongans, the lure of European property constituted a material motivation that Bruni d'Entrecasteaux morally reconfigured as 'this passion for theft'.[57] The readiness of particular Tongan men or groups to use violence against individuals to realize their material desires outraged his and his shipmates' proprieties and proprietary values alike, provoking lethally indiscriminate retaliation.

If the narratives highlight the ebb and flow of theft, violence, and frustration, they also show that exchanges continued relatively unabated throughout the French stay, with periodic suspension to try to 'force the chiefs to maintain order'. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux judged the Tongans to be 'more avid' for commerce than the French whose need for it was greater. Deschamps noted their 'desire to procure iron and other European merchandise'. At the outset, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux ordered a 'single market' to be set up on the island of Pangaimotu, in principle under strict control and limited to collective purchase of 'comestibles'. He bought water rights for 'a few trifles' and paid in glass beads for its transport. However, he could not restrict 'a kind of market' that he had 'specifically forbidden' but that resisted 'all authority'—sexual dealings between crew members and Tongan women, evidently brokered by chiefs. Deschamps expatiated pruriently on the whiteness, vivacity, and grace of the women who were 'made for love and this god received our tribute'. Yet these 'delights' were 'disturbed by fear and mistrust' due to constant pillage by dexterous thieves.[58] Between 25 March and 6 April, the ship was fully revictualled with vegetables, pork, and fowls. At this point, the crew was accorded 'freedom to traffic' and prices duly soared. La Billardière reported a substantial harvest of artefacts, including several panpipes. With Tongan

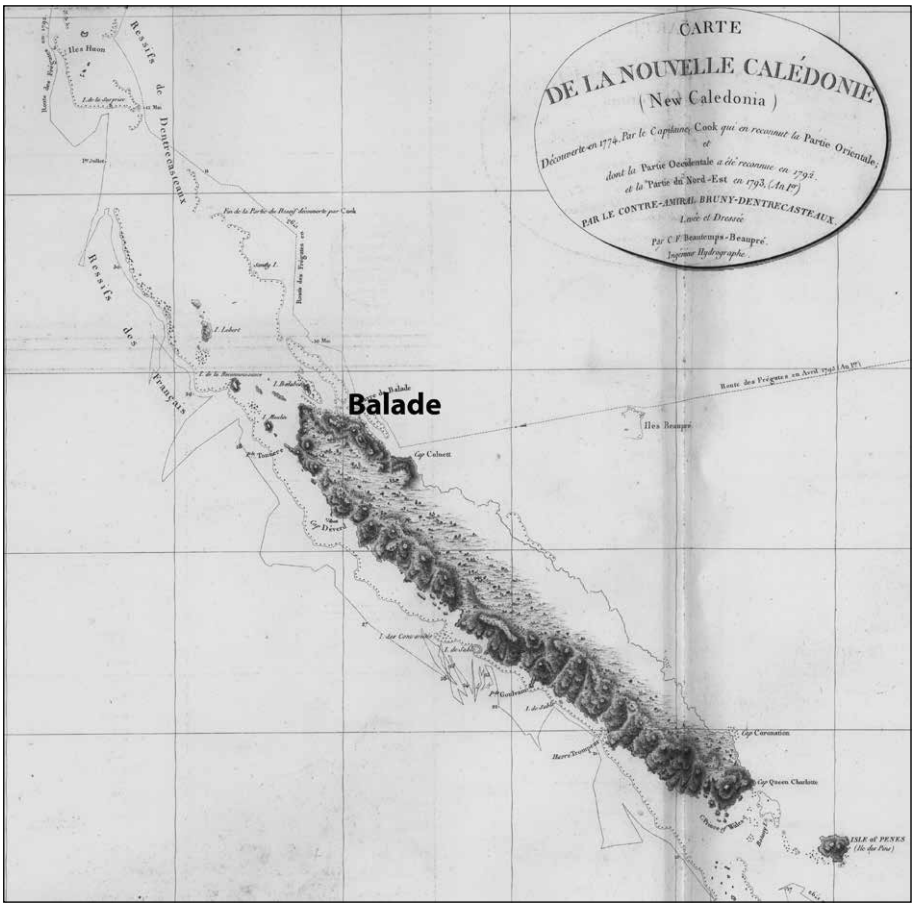

Figure 2.8. Detail of Plate 15 of Beautemps-Beaupré's hydrographic Atlas *showing his map of New Caledonia. Bouclet after Beautemps-Beaupré, 'Carte de la Nouvelle Calédonie (New Caledonia)', 1807, engraving.*

help, he prepared a box of young breadfruit plants, some of which eventually reached Ile de France (Mauritius), French Guiana, and the Jardin des Plantes in Paris.[59]

'Barbarous men'—New Caledonia, 21 April–9 May 1793

Fewer than two weeks after leaving Tongatapu, the frigates anchored off Balade, on the northeast coast of New Caledonia (Figure 2.8), where they remained for 18 days.[60] While displeasure is a dominant motif in the Tongan section of the French narratives, the incongruity they report between physical beauty and objectionable actions was not unexpected. In New Caledonia, however, the voyagers' positive preconceptions were doubly thwarted. The 'seductive' precedent set by Cook's and Georg Forster's descriptions of the 'great courtesy', 'good nature', and 'friendly, inoffensive behaviour' of the people they had met there in 1774 was not realized.[61] And neither were the lessons of French experience, since the marked physical resemblance to the 'good'

Tasmanians that they saw in the inhabitants of New Caledonia was not matched in 'candour and kindness' by Kanak actions.[62]

The initial encounters were not encouraging. In a land scorched by drought and fighting, the people were emaciated and keen to receive, rather than exchange food. They preferred to trade objects, including 'their spears and their clubs'. A landing party was quickly surrounded by several hundred people who 'demanded cloth and iron in exchange for their effects'. Some proved to be 'quite shameless thieves', using trickery to snatch an axe and two of the officers' sabres. French irritation turned to 'horror' when they provided 'incontestable proofs' that they were 'anthropophagous', that they were 'avid for human flesh' and did 'not hide it'. A man presented Piron with 'a freshly grilled bone' with a few 'scraps of flesh still attached' and 'invited him to share his meal'. La Billardière identified the pelvic bone of a child. Nearby Islanders confirmed the fact and indicated 'that it was a delicacy for them'. Two local men later gnawed the bone 'avidly' when offered it on board the *Recherche*. This 'act of ferocity' particularly appalled d'Entrecasteaux and drove him to reclassify New Caledonians 'amongst the fiercest of peoples', as 'barbarous men' and 'ferocious savages'.[63]

On the third day of the visit, a party of woodcutters from the ships was assailed by a large 'troop of natives' who advanced 'in good order', seemingly intent on seizing the workmen's axes. Several Frenchmen were struck by slingstones but the Islanders were repulsed by musket and gunfire. Some were injured and a man later died. La Billardière reported that, after a ceremony of 'reconciliation' initiated by 'one of their chiefs', 'good relations' were untroubled for the remainder of the French stay. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux did not mention chiefly diplomacy but attributed subsequent 'tranquillity' to the lesson learned by the inhabitants about 'the superiority given us by our firearms'.[64] Yet there is no suggestion that the Islanders were collectively intimidated or in despair. From Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's jaundiced perspective, their 'ferocity' was in no way discouraged. Moreover, they continued to come on board every day 'to engage in exchanges', especially for red cloth.[65] As a one-time student of Kanak fighting in New Caledonia, I discern shadowy palimpsests of Indigenous martial values and practices in these accounts—their preference for avoiding open confrontation with more powerful opponents; their readiness to exercise restraint in actions, though not in rhetoric; their belief in the psychological value of brief explosions of extreme violence, often verbal rather than physical; and their subversive use of irony.[66]

Emotional battery and irony were both in evidence a week into the French visit when several men swam to the ship bringing 'an instrument they call *nbouet*'. This spectacular object, around half a metre high, featured a finely worked, nearly circular disk of green jadeite about 20 cm in diameter. The disk was lashed to a wooden handle that was in turn wrapped in braided, red-dyed flying fox fur and affixed to a coconut shell base.[67] La Billardière recounted the dramatic performance in which a man enacted the instrument's use:

> these Savages told us that it was used to cut off the limbs of their enemies, which they divide up after the battle. One of them demonstrated how they do it on a crew member, whom he desired to lie down on his back. First he represented a combat, in which the enemy fell under the blows of his spear

> and his club, which he brandished violently; then he performed a sort of Pyrrhic dance, holding in his hand this instrument of murder, and showed us that they began by opening the belly of the vanquished with the *nbouet*, throwing away the intestines, after having torn them out with … [an] instrument … made of two human arm bones, trimmed, well polished, and affixed to a strong band of woven hair. He showed us that they next cut off the generative organs, which become the spoils of the conqueror; that the legs and arms were cut off at the joints and distributed with the other parts to each of the combatants who took them to his family. It is difficult to paint the ferocious avidity with which he told us that the flesh of this unfortunate victim was devoured by them after having been grilled over the coals.[68]

Both instruments appear in a plate depicting Kanak 'Effets' (effects) in La Billardière's *Atlas* (see Figure 1.10).[69] Both are described in unusual detail in the 'Table des planches' (Table of plates): the '*nbouet*' as the 'instrument with which the Savages of New Caledonia cut the flesh of their enemies that they share between them after combat'; the other implement as 'Two human cubitus worked and well polished, intended to rip out the intestines of the unfortunate victims devoured by these peoples'.[70] Whatever La Billardière's rhetorical intentions, his emphasis on ghoulish details conveys the physical and emotional power of the performance and the spellbound horror it evoked in the European audience. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's account of the demonstration concludes bleakly: 'Oh the frightful people!'[71]

We cannot know whether equivalent French reactions were intended by the Indigenous protagonists—textual inscription was certainly not one. However, I am certain that the performance was consciously provocative, a deliberate, successful psychological assault to exploit the revulsion for cannibalism earlier expressed by these strangers when, as La Billardière put it: 'Some of them approached the most robust amongst us and several times touched the most muscular parts of their arms and legs, saying *kapareck* with an air of admiration and even desire, which was not too reassuring for us'. The published New Caledonian vocabularies from the voyage define '*kapareck/caparech/capadec*' as 'Good (it is)'. French suspicion was confirmed in the event: 'it was then easy for us to explain why they often squeezed our arms and legs while expressing violent desire'.[72] As earlier in New Zealand, the performance left traces of local agency in the visitors' texts—of the strategic deployment of sardonic humour, in conjunction with an intimidating physical display, to threaten and subvert a powerful enemy or perhaps simply to tease.

The episode epitomizes the ongoing discursive process by which, as Smith put it, 'the noble savage … *transformed himself* into "the inglorious native"'.[73] La Billardière's usual terms for Pacific Islanders are 'islanders', 'natives', and 'inhabitants'. He reserved 'savage' mainly for Tasmanians, Māori, and Kanak but signified that they were 'savages' of a very different order by applying the epithets 'close to the state of nature' to Tasmanians and 'cannibal' to Māori and Kanak.[74] Yet in different ways, both terms register the imprint of Indigenous actions and perhaps irony. Shortly before leaving Balade on 9 May 1793, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's disillusionment with native behaviour was compounded by grievous personal loss when his great friend Huon de Kermadec,

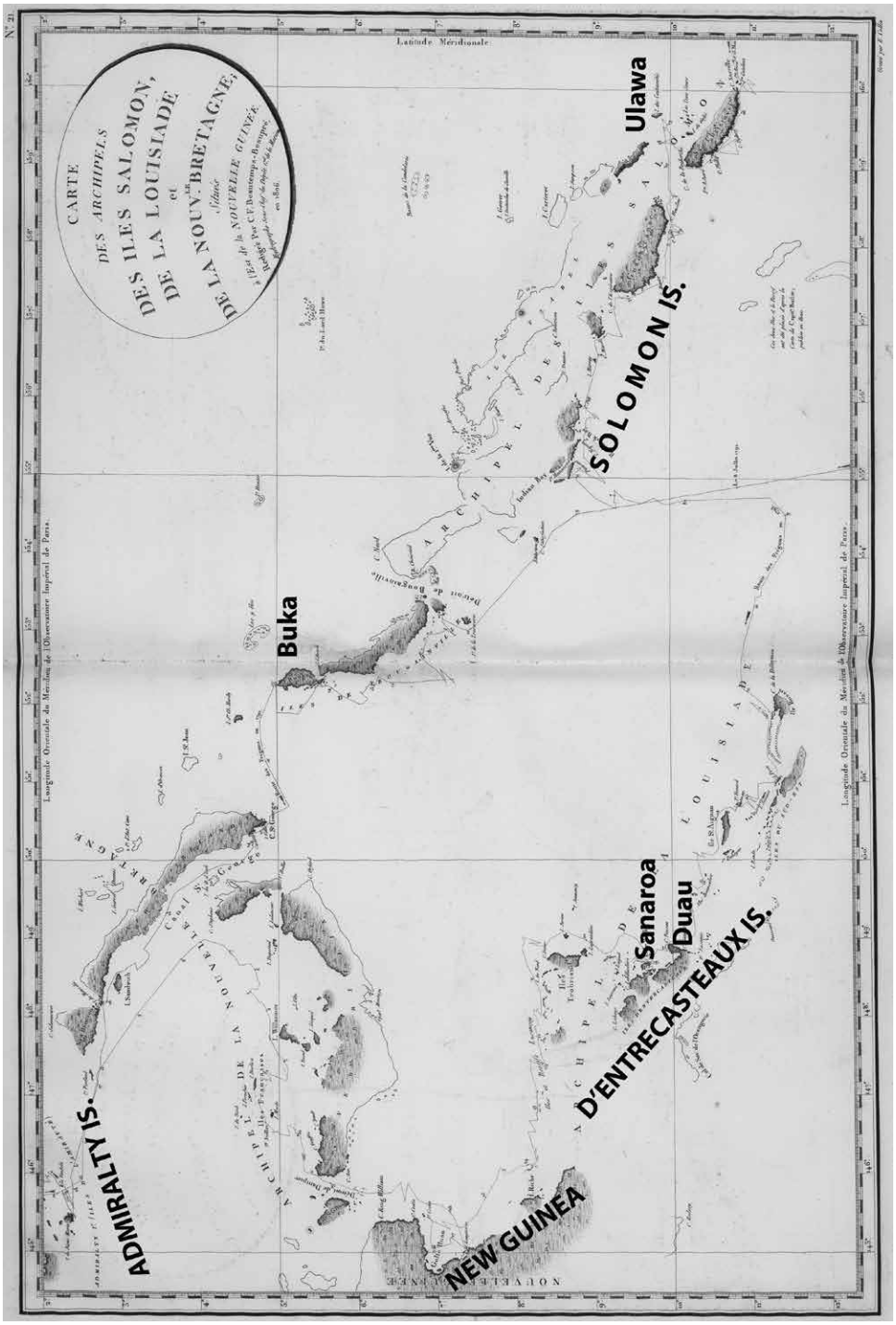

Figure 2.9. Plate 21 of Beautemps-Beaupré's hydrographic Atlas *showing his locating of the Solomon Islands, the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, and southeast New Guinea. Collin after Beautemps-Beaupré, 'Carte des Archipels des Iles Salomon, de la Louisiade et de la Nouv^le^. Bretagne, situés à l'est de la Nouvelle Guinée', 1807, engraving.*

captain of the *Espérance*, died after a long illness. To save the body from 'the ferocity of the inhabitants', it was buried at night on a small islet off Balade.

Last contacts—Santa Cruz, Solomons, D'Entrecasteaux Islands, 20 May–19 June 1793

The expedition did not land again until mid-August, on reaching Waigeo, off the northwest coast of New Guinea (West Papua Province, Indonesia). By then, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux himself had been dead for a month. A few encounters, largely controlled by the Indigenous protagonists, took place at sea between 20 May and 19 June.[75] None involved significant exchanges but the French obtained some objects: bows, arrows, and a few ornaments in Santa Cruz (Nendö, eastern Solomon Islands); a long fishing line attached to a long pole and turtleshell fishhooks in the 'Ile des Contrariétés' (Ulawa, Solomon Islands); and a flute, necklace, unusual axe, club, and shield in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands (Duau and Sanaroa, southeastern Papua New Guinea) (Figure 2.9; see also Figure 1.2).[76] Arrows and a bow from Santa Cruz are held in the Universitetsmuseet (University Museum) in Bergen,[77] while the shield, axe, flute, and necklace are engraved in La Billardière's *Atlas*.[78] Four clashes were reported in the course of these engagements, each apparently instigated by men in canoes who fired, or threatened to fire arrows at the strangers or hurled stones at one of the vessels. In every case, the assailants withdrew when the French fired, or threatened to fire their muskets. Three of these incidents involved the *Espérance* and one resulted in the later death from tetanus of a sailor struck by an arrow off Santa Cruz.

These relatively minor episodes greatly distressed Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, whose emotional and physical resources failed as the voyage became more onerous and his own negative precedents confirmed those of his predecessors. His curiosity to engage with natural man on a friendly, mutually beneficial basis had already crumbled in the face of cumulative experience of Indigenous intransigence, volatility, violence, and cannibalism. Now, when Islanders invited the French ashore, promising ample trade, he refused to land, fearing that his men would fall victim to 'a kind of perfidy much more dangerous' than they had already encountered.[79] Disapproved behaviour again inflected his physical descriptions. In the wake of a clash with Santa Cruz Islanders, he described their general 'physiognomy' as 'repulsive', imprinted with 'extreme ugliness joined to a sombre air, which inspired mistrust and disgust'. In contrast, these people mostly reminded La Billardière of Malukans—whom 19th-century raciology would classify as physically far superior to the 'Melanesians' of Santa Cruz. In the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, secondhand reports from the *Espérance* of bellicose rhetoric exchanged between enemies and of threatened violence towards a French crew member sufficed for Bruni d'Entrecasteaux to damn whole groups as 'cannibals', 'as ferocious and as treacherous as the inhabitants of New Caledonia'. He now deplored 'the excesses in which the human species can indulge when customs are not moderated and softened by civilization'.[80] This was a long journey from his 'simple, good', 'natural' Tasmanians and his earlier strictures against the corrupting 'vices of the state of civilization'.

Conclusion

Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's *Voyage* was edited, completed, and published by Rossel who led the remnant expedition after the death in Java of Hesmivy d'Auribeau, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's successor as commander. In a passage celebrating the expedition's arrival at a Dutch settlement in Maluku in September 1793, Rossel condensed the text's prevailing theme of civilized idealism thwarted by bitter experience of purportedly savage places and people:

> Just as we had had pleasure, at the beginning of the campaign, in contemplating the beauties of savage nature in new countries, so we had it in rediscovering a cultivated land and civilized men. The very beauties of raw nature … now struck us only with their sad monotony … The sentiment of curiosity which had excited in us the desire to visit savage peoples and know their customs was entirely extinguished. These men so close to the state of nature, whose simplicity we had exaggerated, inspired only painful feelings: we had seen some given to the most revolting excesses of barbarism; and all were even more corrupted than civilized peoples.[81]

Though couched in universal philosophical terms, there is a raw existential edge to this lament. The largely inscrutable agency of Indigenous people forced Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (and Rossel) to confront a paradox at the heart of the Enlightenment vision of peaceful, philanthropic, scientific encounters with so-called 'savages' who were also regarded as fellow human beings. Especially in the exacting settings of a sailing voyage in little known waters, the ethnocentric, hierarchical, prescriptive, and acquisitive strands in European humanism could not accommodate other people's assessments or exercise of their rights, desires, and autonomy. 'Given what happened to us', Bruni d'Entrecasteaux wrote on leaving New Caledonia, 'it seems certain to me that we must renounce visiting' Pacific Islanders, 'or we must command their respect by very great severity'.[82]

A significant trigger for this patent emotional shift from initially rapturous approval of people 'so close to nature' to eventual disillusionment with 'ferocious savages' was provided by the unsettling impact of Indigenous conduct during edgy encounters that Europeans did not necessarily control or understand. On this basis, I reject anachronistic modern readings of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's narrative transition as merely a discourse-driven precursor to the later a priori racial opposition of Polynesians and Melanesians.[83]

Notes

1 See Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania 1511–1850* (Basinstoke and New York, 2014):26–33, on the historiography of Oceanic voyaging.

2 For theoretical exposition and detailed illustration of the accretion of traces of Indigenous presence and agency in the texts of encounter, see Douglas, *Science*: passim; 'Naming Places …', *Journal of Historical Geography* 45 (2014):12–24.

3 J.R. Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage Round the World …* (London, 1778):285. See Douglas, *Science*:110–13.

4 For example, Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook …* (Cambridge, 1955–74), II:xcvi; Dunmore, tr. and ed., *The Pacific Journal of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville 1767–1768* (London, 2002):115, note 2; Hoare, ed., *The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772–1775* (London, 1982), IV:597, note 2; Wallis, ed., *Carteret's Voyage Round the World 1766–1769* (Cambridge, 1965), I:63. For a sustained counter-argument, correlated in detail with voyagers' representations, see Douglas, *Science*: passim.

5 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I.

6 See Chapter 1.

7 Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World …* (New Haven, 1993):3.

8 Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768–1850 …* (Oxford, 1969):85–7, 99–105.

9 La Pérouse, *Voyage de la Pérouse autour du monde …* (Paris, 1797), III:191.

10 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:131–42; La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), I:249–56.

11 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:133–5; Carteret, 'Relation d'un voyage fait autour du monde …', in *Relation des voyages entrepris par ordre de Sa Majesté britannique …* (Paris, 1774), I:285–8; Deschamps, 'Journal de mon voyage sur "la Recherche"', in *Louis-Auguste Deschamps 1765–1842: sa vie—son œuvre* (Saint-Omer, 1970):19, 22; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:25.

12 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800): plate 38 (fig. 25). See Figure 1.10.

13 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:134–6, 138–9; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:252–6, 259–61, 263. See also Beautemps-Beaupré, [Journal abrégé du voyage d'Entrecasteaux …], n.d.:15v–16, MNHN (MS 1041).

14 Deschamps, 'Journal':22.

15 Douglas, 'Art as Ethno-historical Text …', in *Double Vision …* (Cambridge, 1999):70–3; *Science*:114, 117–18, 186.

16 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:134–5; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:254–6, 262.

17 Piron, [Dessins], [1792–5], MQB – JC (ICONO PP0154838).

18 La Billardière, *Relation*, I:252–3, 262–3.

19 Beautemps-Beaupré, [Journal abrégé]:16.

20 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:140.

21 Anon., 'Evenements des fregates la Recherche et l'Esperance pour aller à la recherche de M^{r} De la perouse au tour du monde …', 1791–4, MNHN (MS 1041):4–4v; Beautemps-Beaupré, [Journal abrégé]:8; Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:49–102; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:121–91. See also Daugeron, *A la Recherche de l'Espérance …* ([Paris], 2014):91–109.

22 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:56; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:167, 177.

23 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:228–68; Deschamps, 'Journal':30–2; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:5–82; see Daugeron, *A la Recherche de l'Espérance*:110–67; Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique …* (Paris, 1986):301–40. See also Anderson, 'French Anthropology in Australia, a Prelude: the Encounters Between Aboriginal Tasmanians and the

Expedition of Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, 1793', *Aboriginal History* 24 (2000):212–23

24 Beautemps-Beaupré, [Journal abrégé]:8 (2); La Billardière, *Relation*, II:6.

25 For names and territories of Indigenous Tasmanian groups during the early contact period, see Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (Crows Nest, NSW, 1996):12–44.

26 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:28–40.

27 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:245; [Hesmivy d'Auribeau], 'Rapport de d'Auribeau …', in Richard, *Une grande expédition*:311–12.

28 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:230–2, 236.

29 Crozet, *Nouveau voyage à la mer du sud …* (Paris, 1783):29–32.

30 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:54–5, 231–6, 238, 241–3, 287, 307.

31 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plates 6, 7, 8; *Relation*, II:33.

32 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:33–4, 37–8, 43.

33 Ibid.:51; Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:240. Marie-Louise Victoire Girardin, a woman disguised as a man, served as a steward on the *Recherche*, but her sex was apparently not discerned by the Tasmanians. Duyker, 'Girardin, Marie-Louise Victoire (1754–1794)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra, 2005).

34 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:52–4; Ladroux, [Journal], 8 February 1793, ANF (MAR 3 JJ 397[1]).

35 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:79.

36 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:78, 242; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:161–2, II:57; cf. Beautemps-Beaupré, [Journal abrégé]:8.

37 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:230–2; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:32–3.

38 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:243.

39 Deschamps, 'Journal':31–2.

40 Anon., 'Evenements des fregates':12; Féron, [Journal], January, February 1793, ANF (MAR 3 JJ 397[1]); Ladroux, [Journal], 8 February 1793.

41 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:238; La Motte du Portail, 'Vocabulaire des naturels dela terre Van Diemen', in 'Voyage de la frégate l'Espérance …', February 1793, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 13[1]); see also Daugeron, *A la Recherche de l'Espérance*:159.

42 [Hesmivy d'Auribeau], 'Rapport de d'Auribeau':308, 312.

43 Copia after Piron, 'Pêche des sauvages du Cap de Diemen', in *Atlas*: plate 4. See Chapters 13, 18.

44 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:43–4.

45 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:271–3; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:83–7. See Chapter 6, feature.

46 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:243, 271–2; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:86–7.

47 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:276–323, 343; Deschamps,'Journal':34–9; La Billardière, *Relation*:92–177.

48 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:305–6, 309. See Gunson, 'The *Hau* Concept of Leadership in Western Polynesia', *Journal of Pacific History* 14:1 (1979):28–49, on the relationship between sacred and secular leadership in Tonga. See Chapter 17.

49 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:288, 310; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:46, 54.

50 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:242, 279–81, 287–90, 292, 297.

51 Ibid.:283–4, 308; see also La Billardière, *Relation*, II:96, 115, 174–5.

52 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:307–8.

53 Ibid.:310, 313, 320; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:175, 176–7.

54 Richard, *Une grande expédition*:70.

55 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:277, 294–8; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:155–61.

56 La Pérouse, *Voyage*, I:54.

57 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:290, 308.

58 Ibid.:276–8, 282–3, 285, 288; Deschamps, 'Journal':34–5, 37–8.

59 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:285; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:160–2, 172–4, 332.

60 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:330–62; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:183–248.

61 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:330–4, 358–9; Deschamps, 'Journal':40; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:191, 193; cf. Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World …* (London, 1777), I:107, 108; G. Forster, *A Voyage Round the World …* (London, 1777), II:392, 426–8. See Douglas, 'A Contact History of the Balad People of New Caledonia 1774–1845', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 79:2 (1970):180–200.

62 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:230, 233, 330, 353; Féron, [Journal], April 1793; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:186, 244.

63 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:330–4, 358–9; Deschamps, 'Journal':40; Féron, [Journal], April 1793; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:184, 186, 188, 190–5, 201–2.

64 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:334–6; Féron, [Journal], April 1793; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:200–4, 20.

65 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:352; Deschamp, 'Journal':4.

66 Douglas'"Almost Constantly at War"?…', *Journal of Pacific History* 25:1 (1990):22–46; 'La violence et la modération …', in *Histoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie …* (Paris, 2007):51–62.

67 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:338–9; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:215–17. See Chapter 4.

68 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:216.

69 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 38 (figs 19, 20). See Figure 1.10.

70 La Billardière, 'Table des planches …', in *Relation*, II, Tables:107.

71 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:339.

72 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:196–7, 217; 'Vocabulaire du langage des naturels de la Nouvelle-Calédonie', in Ibid., Tables:58; Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:575.

73 Smith, *European Vision*:86, my emphasis.

74 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:43, 86, 195, 216, 222.

75 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:368–423; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:250–82.

76 Beautemps-Beaupré's map labels the 'Iles DEntrecasteaux' but subsumes them within the 'Archipel de la Louisiade', thus named by Louis-Antoine de Bougainville in 1768. *Voyage autour du monde …* (Paris, 1771): plate 11, facing 255. Today, the Louisiade Archipelago comprises only the easternmost of the islands southeast of the Papua New Guinea mainland while the D'Entrecasteaux Islands are a separate archipelago in the extended Massim region.

77 See Chapter 6.

78 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 12 (figs 7, 8, 9); plate 38 (figs 26, 27). See Figures 1.5, 1.10.

79 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:375, 386, 387–9, 390, 420.

80 Ibid.:379, 421–3; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:255.

81 Rossel in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:470.

82 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:359.

83 See Chapter 13.

PART 2

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ARTEFACT COLLECTIONS

CHAPTER 3

Object Trajectories, Webs of Relationships

FANNY WONU VEYS

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A page interleaved in the log book kept by Halle de Longuerüe, a sub-lieutenant on the *Recherche*, lists objects collected in Tonga and New Caledonia during the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux.[1] The whereabouts of such materials gathered by these travellers have long been obscure, suggesting that either very little was collected or that almost everything was lost in the turmoil at the end of the voyage.[2] However, as contributors to this book repeatedly demonstrate, colonial serendipity, regional and global patterns of trade and exchange, and political developments in Europe and the US launched some objects on unsuspected trajectories. We have identified collections or objects assembled during the expedition and now held by institutions in France (Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, and Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris); Norway (Universitetsmuseet, Bergen); the Netherlands (Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, and Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, both branches of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, and Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg); Switzerland (Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire, Lausanne); and the US (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge MA).

Scientific endeavour

Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition was not despatched solely to find survivors from La Pérouse's lost ships and to explore economic opportunities in a little known region of the world. As with La Pérouse, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's formal instructions, ratified by the king, directed him to undertake research in 'astronomy, geography, navigation, physics and the different branches of natural history'.[3] Memoirs prepared by the Académie des Sciences (Academy of Sciences) and the Société d'Histoire naturelle (Natural History Society) stipulated the work of savants, naturalists, and draughtsmen. The objects to be collected included: 'the clothing, weapons, ornaments, furniture, tools, musical instruments and all the effects used by the diverse populations visited'. The instructions specify moreover that all 'drawings', 'natural curiosities', 'descriptions', 'observations', and 'other objects' should be transferred at voyage end to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, who would determine those to be reserved for public collections.[4] Hesmivy d'Auribeau, who took charge of the expedition after Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's death at sea on 20 July

1793, implemented the instructions in Surabaya by ordering all participants to hand over their log books, journals, papers, drawings, and natural history and ethnographic collections. While it is known that the naturalists La Billardière and Claude-Antoine-Gaspard Riche disobeyed this instruction, it seems likely that others also retained objects they had collected.[5] When La Billardière, Riche, the artist Piron, and several other known republican sympathizers were sent to imprisonment in Samarang, they might well have taken certain objects with them.[6]

Passion for collecting

The activity of collecting was integral to the 18th-century Enlightenment in Europe. An expansive science studied the stars, classified the planet's plants and animals, and charted its seas, continents, and islands. From the 16th century, 'the scholar emerged as a third leading power in society', complementing the priest and the ruler, but not tied to any social class.[7] During the first half of the 18th century, consolidation of earlier theories led to sharper awareness of the intrinsic value of assembling collections of 'naturalia' (products of nature) and 'artificialia' (human productions), though the distinction between 'natural' or 'cultured' was not clear-cut.[8] In France, differentiation of products of nature and 'objets des sauvages'—objects made by so-called 'savages'—saw the establishment of the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (National Museum of Natural History) in 1793 and the short-lived Muséum des Antiques (Museum of Antiquities) in 1795. These museums were charged to collect, study, and safeguard natural history and ethnographic collections, respectively.[9]

Very much a man of his time, Louis XVI had not escaped the urge to possess exotic things. He asked his ambassadors sent to foreign places to bring back 'savage' objects for display in the Cabinet du roi (royal cabinet).[10] Collectors were eclectic: they 'did not make systematic effort to acquire either representative samples of a totality or artefacts of particular kinds'.[11] The 'taste for collecting' was ardent, 'like a game played with utter passion'.[12]

Moreover, Pacific Islanders were themselves avid collectors of objects, materials, and impressions, as demonstrated by the European iron nails, wool, cloth, and motifs worked into some objects.[13] As the historian Jennifer Newell states: 'From their first encounters, Pacific Islanders and Europeans were fascinated by each other, and the passion for collecting the material creations of the other was mutual'.[14] In all cases, this shared passion could be considered as translating a spirit of enquiry and as a search to understand the world. Reciprocal exchanges marked these encounters. For Indigenous people, exchange was a strategy to propitiate, entice, and forge relationships with alien visitors, but might also have served to neutralize the potentially disruptive forces of those visitors.

The Dutch East Indies

The objects from the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux expedition now held in museums and discussed in Part 2 were collected during the voyage by French savants, officers, and seamen. They were ultimately despatched to Europe by surviving expedition members and by colonial officials or traders. The trade connections of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company, henceforth

VOC) and the emerging colonial empire of the Netherlands were both pivotal in the peregrinations of these objects.

The city of Batavia (now Jakarta) had, since its founding in 1619 by Jan Pieterszoon Coen, been the hub of the VOC's interconnected trade network in Asia. By the mid-18th century, the VOC held more or less effective power in Batavia, some north Javanese coastal towns, the west coast of Sumatra, parts of Ambon, the Banda Islands, and areas around Makassar and Menado on the island of Celebes (Sulawesi).[15] With the establishment on 24 April 1778 of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences), the Dutch colonial elite expressed the desire to research and document the inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago and their customary practices and productions. Colonial officials collected and donated many objects to the society for display in its museum.[16] It is likely, but so far unproven, that the Society or some of its members obtained materials from survivors of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition during their long stay in Java, following the anchorage of the *Recherche* and the *Espérance* at Surabaya on 27 October 1793.[17] By this stage, the VOC was losing its dominance of Asian commerce to the English East India Company, which was trading in textiles, opium, and tea.[18]

The VOC and the Dutch colonial web

The dispersal of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections from Java is largely explained by the interconnectedness of the VOC—which ultimately ceased to exist by the end of the 18th century—and the Dutch state which took over colonial administration of the East Indies in 1800.[19] Dirk van Hogendorp, who as VOC Resident in Surabaya initially prevented the French ships from anchoring there, had been the company's Second Resident in Patna in West Bengal (India) in 1786.[20] The Bengal, and specifically the Patna connections are important with respect to three Tongan clubs currently held at the Zeeuws Museum via the Van Citters family.[21] The extra-Javanese network might have contributed to the acquisition of a large collection of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux materials by Peter Anker, governor of the Danish-Norwegian colony of Tranquebar (Tharangambadi, India) from 1788 to 1806. The Anker collection is now held by the Universitetsmuseet (University Museum) in Bergen, while plaster casts of some of these objects are in the Kulturhistorisk Museum (Museum of Cultural History) at the University of Oslo.[22]

Willem Arnold Alting, the penultimate governor-general of the VOC from 1780 to 1796, ultimately gave the ships permission to enter Surabaya harbour. It was, however, under his governance that the ships were confiscated and finally sold at auction in Batavia on 20 December 1794. He thus contributed to the dispersal of the objects and other collections made during the voyage.[23] Moreover, Alting was also directly connected to Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh, who amassed the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection now held by the Tropenmuseum.[24] Nederburgh had been sent to Indonesia in 1792 by the Dutch Stadtholder Willem V to reorganize and revitalize the failing VOC. Nederburgh and Alting headed the General Commission assigned this task. However, before they could implement changes in the running of the VOC, war broke out with France.[25] Despite the Commission's failure to carry out improvements, by 1794 Nederburgh had become the most powerful man on Java through careful negotiations

and ruthless power games. He thus gained access to objects collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage which had ended up in Semarang, on the Javanese north coast, and were identified by Nederburgh's protégé Van Boekholtz in 1797.[26]

Nederburgh and Dirk van Hogendorp were also linked in their disagreement over how the VOC should be managed. As Resident in Surabaya, Van Hogendorp was worried about mismanagement in Batavia by Nederburgh and accused Van Boekholtz of treason because he had handed over the Banda Islands to the English in 1796. Nederburgh, who saw in Van Hogendorp a serious threat to his ascension, accused the latter of malfeasance and clamped him in irons on 1 January 1798.[27] Nederburgh also had a fraught relationship with Johannes Gothofredus Hartman, a Council of Justice Officer. When Hartman disagreed with Nederburgh about the organization of meetings, Nederburgh's wrath was such that he had Hartman arrested for insubordination. Hartman probably collected Bruni d'Entrecasteaux objects for his friend Arnold Adriaan Buyskes whose grandson donated the collection now held in the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden.

The revolution in France in 1789 destabilized Europe. French declaration of war on Austria on 20 April 1792 ensured a French attack on the Netherlands' southern neighbour, the Austrian Low Countries (now Belgium). A period of severe tension ensued between the Netherlands and France, culminating in France's effective declaration of war on Willem V on 1 February 1793.[28] The upheaval in the home country had distant impacts in the Dutch East Indies and the VOC. However, trade via the Sunda Strait continued under the recently appointed Director-General Johannes Siberg who was, amongst other things, charged to ensure continued observation of the Sunda Strait as an obligatory passage.[29] It is most likely due to this mandatory passage that objects from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition were obtained by the US trader Nathaniel Bowditch and eventually made their way to the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts.[30]

Ethnographic objects collected during the voyage and now held in French museums were probably repatriated directly by crew members and other participants in the expedition. These men had endured a crisis in Java between republican and monarchist supporters and managed not to succumb to dysentery or other diseases. Those who did not take up official VOC functions were repatriated in 1794 and 1795. However, many experienced further misfortune. A Dutch fleet bearing most of the survivors was captured by the English and the French collections and documents were confiscated. La Billardière finally managed to recuperate his collections with the help of Joseph Banks.[31] Some items collected by La Billardière were later acquired by the banker Jules Paul Benjamin Delessert and ultimately reached museums in Lausanne, Switzerland, and Le Havre, France.[32] The pilot Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul eventually returned to France via the Netherlands. Objects collected by him were later deposited in the city museum in Dunkerque.[33] A few artefacts now held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac in Paris, which might well have been collected during the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux expedition, have suggestive connections to Dominique-Vivant Denon, owner of a famous cabinet of curiosities. Other objects in the same museum are plausibly associated with that voyage but their trajectories are obscure.[34]

Conclusion

The simple note inserted in Halle de Longuerüe's log book has encouraged the disentangling of relationships and conjunctures to produce rich narratives of collection, dispersal, and reassemblage. The objects gathered during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage and discussed in Part 2 now constitute collections that are 'the outcome of historical events, travels and transactions, and an always emerging assembly, one continually undergoing reconfiguration and revaluation, as people engage with it or in relation to it'.[35] These objects testify to the great creativity and technical skills of the Pacific Islanders who made them. They were traded, given, received, or taken by different parties involved in encounters. Traded objects, gifts, and acquisitions, both in situ and subsequently, register desires for power, profit, control, or self-aggrandizement. However, their survival has resulted from the complex webs of social relations, circumstance, and museum history unravelled in this book.

Notes

1 Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique …* (Paris, 1986):142.

2 See Chapter 1.

3 Anon., 'Memoire du Roi pour servir d'instruction particulière au S^{r}. D'Entrecasteaux …', 16 September 1791, SHD (MAR BB^{4} 992); Richard, *Une grande expédition*:62.

4 Anon., 'Memoire du Roi'.

5 Richard, *Une grande expédition*:184–6.

6 Ibid:188.

7 Schulz, 'Notes on the History of Collecting and of Museums in the Light of Selected Literature of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Collections* 2:2 (1990):205.

8 Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (Cambridge, 2005):40, note 47; Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1990):46.

9 Daugeron, 'Entre l'antique et l'exotique: le projet comparatiste oublié du "Muséum des Antiques" en l'an III', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 2 (2009):143–76; 'Classement et rangement des "objets des sauvages" vers 1800: l'ordre méthodique comme écriture des objets', *Culture & Musées* 14 (2009):39–41.

10 Jacquemin, 'Origine des collections dans les musées parisiens: le musée du Louvre', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 90 (1990):48.

11 Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1991):138.

12 Rheims, *La vie étrange des objets* (Paris, 1956):28, quoted in Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', in *The Cultures of Collecting* (London, 1994):9.

13 For example, Leiden RV-34-6; Dunkerque BA.1972.00.493; and MQB – JC 71.1946.0.51 X.

14 Newell, 'Irresistible Objects: Collecting in the Pacific and Australia in the Reign of George III', in *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2003):246.

15 Van den Doel, *Het Rijk van Insulinde: opkomst en ondergang van een Nederlandse kolonie* (Amsterdam, 1996):11; Gaastra,

Geschiedenis van de VOC: opkomst, bloei en ondergang (Zutphen, 2012):69.

16 Hardiati, 'Van Bataviaasch Genootschap naar Museum Nasional Indonesia', in *Indonesia: de ontdekking van het verleden* (Amsterdam, 2005): 11–15. In 1914, the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen donated a large proportion of its collection to the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden. The part remaining in Jakarta was incorporated in today's Museum Nasional Indonesia (National Museum of Indonesia). It seems likely that as yet unidentified objects collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage are lying in museum depots in both Leiden and Jakarta. Possible candidates in Leiden include two New Caledonian clubs (RV-1877-1 and RV-1877-2), a decorated New Caledonian spear (RV-1877-123), a Tongan dance paddle (RV-1877-3), two Tongan clubs (RV-1877-5 and RV-1877-16), two Tongan-Fijian clubs (RV-1877-8 and RV-1877-9), two Tongan headrests (RV-1877-6 and RV-1877-7), and one short whalebone Māori club (RV-1877-13).

17 Between 1779 and 1950, the Bataviaasch Genootschap published its research findings irregularly in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*. However, it has so far proved impossible to confirm whether its members collected objects from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, as no official records are available for the period 1792–1814.

18 Van den Doel, *Het Rijk van Insulinde*:11–12.

19 Gaastra, *Geschiedenis van de VOC*:179.

20 Ibid.:53, 107.

21 Chapter 10.

22 Chapters 6, 7.

23 Richard, *Une grande expédition*:181–92.

24 Chapter 9.

25 Steur, 'The Activities of S.C. Nederburgh as Commissioner-General (1791–1799)', *Itinerario* 9:2 (1985):212, 214, 220.

26 Richard, *Une grande expédition*:227; van Duuren and Mostert, *Curiosities from the Pacific Ocean …* (Amsterdam and Leiden, 2007):31–3.

27 Steur, 'Activities of S.C. Nederburgh':220; Van Meerkerk, *De gebroeders Van Hogendorp. Botsende idealen in de kraamkamer van het koninkrijk* (Amsterdam and Antwerpen, 2013):133

28 Wilschut, *Kleine geschiedenis van Nederland*, vol. 7, *De tijd van pruiken en revoluties 1700–1800* (Zwolle, 2008):133–9.

29 Gaastra, *Geschiedenis van de VOC*:64, 116–17, 179.

30 Chapter 11.

31 Richard, *Une grande expédition*:197–213.

32 Chapter 12.

33 Chapter 5.

34 Chapter 4.

35 Thomas, *Art History Lecture Series, Gordon H. Brown Lecture*, vol. 13, *A Critique of the Natural Artefact: Anthropology, Art & Museology* (Wellington, 2015):17.

CHAPTER 4

Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris

BRONWEN DOUGLAS

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From 15 October 2013 to 26 January 2014, a spectacular exhibition called *Kanak: l'art est une parole* (Kanak: art is a word), curated by Emmanuel Kasarhérou and Roger Boulay, was held in the Garden Gallery of the Musée du quai Branly.[1] If the museum's permanent galleries have been accused of sacrificing ethnographic particularity to a timeless universalizing aesthetic,[2] temporary exhibitions such as this help redress the imbalance. Among the most impressive objects displayed was a superb *hache-ostensoir*, ceremonial axe (71.1946.0.51 X; Figure 4.3; see feature), one of only three New Caledonian items featured in the published 'selection of major works' from the museum's holdings—in a total of 157 objects, 40 are from Oceania (the Pacific Islands, Island Southeast Asia, and Australia).[3] Nearly 60 cm high, the axe has a slender, nearly circular blade of polished green jadeite more than 20 cm across. The handle is wrapped in cords made of roussette (*Pteropus* sp.) fur dyed red with the root of *Morinda citrifolia* and braided through coir cordonnets. The base is a half coconut shell lashed with similar braid.[4]

Speculating histories

On seeing a photograph of this axe in the museum's online catalogue,[5] I was struck by its strong resemblance to Piron's sketch of a 'Nboot' (Figure 4.2), drawn in New Caledonia in 1793. Boulay, who also noted the likeness, suggested that it was 'one of the oldest Oceanic objects held in French national collections' and among the first items acquired by the new Musée d'Ethnographie (Museum of Ethnography) du Trocadéro in 1879. He and Kasarhérou concluded that this instrument was 'probably' a legacy of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition but allowed that its subsequent history was cryptic and largely 'undocumented'.[6]

The actual axe differs from Piron's drawing in that a long roussette fur cord, decorated with white shells and ending in bobbles, is wound around the handle. Examining the axe in 2014, Julie Adams, Curator Oceania at the British Museum, noticed a small plug of blue European cloth inserted in a bobble (Figure 4.1).[7] Indigenous artisans customarily decorated prestigious objects with cordage coloured blue with dye obtained from *Desmodium* leaves and treated with lime. The local product was quickly supplanted by European blue yarn when it became available.[8] Early travellers reported that Kanak greatly

Figure 4.1. Julie Adams's photograph in 2014 of a fabric insert in a roussette fur bobble on the bwar (hache-ostensoir)*, ceremonial axe, held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (71.1946.0.51 X).*

valued coloured cloth. Georg Forster, naturalist on Cook's second voyage, remarked that people at Balade in 1774 'admired every thing that had a red colour, particularly red cloth or baize'. French naturalists in 1793 found them 'especially interested in red cloth' and that they 'demanded cloth and iron in exchange for their effects'. In 1803, during a British visit to Baie de Saint-Vincent, in the southwest, the inhabitants bartered food, weapons, and other objects 'for small pieces of cloth and linen, mostly blue', though preferring 'scarlet and crimson'. Two 'large green turtle' were exchanged for 'the sleeve of an old blue jacket cut in two'.[9] It is therefore conceivable that the blue plug dates from before or during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's visit.

The axe's evident age and quality, the near identity of drawn and actual objects, and the lack of conflicting documentation encourage the inference that it was acquired during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's visit to Balade. Cook and his companions did not mention this striking artefact.[10] However, the extra cord and its imported fabric insert invite further conjecture. Most likely, the cord was added to the axe in a museum. Yet an alternative hypothesis is not inconceivable: that the French saw the axe in 1793 when Piron drew it; that it was not collected then; that it was subsequently embellished with a fringed cord, inset with prestigious blue foreign cloth; and that decades later, after the establishment of a mission at Balade in 1843 or the island's annexation in 1853, this high status object was presented to a locally respected missionary or colonial figure. One candidate for such an honour is Victor de Rochas, a naval surgeon who travelled widely in the new colony during nearly three years' service in the late 1850s. Devoting himself to a 'study of the country and its inhabitants', he published a valuable ethnography.[11] The first acquisitions of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro included several New Caledonian items collected by Rochas who had initially donated them to the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris in 1860. Among them was 'a large jade axe', 'green in colour' and 'perfectly polished'. It was undoubtedly one of the earliest *haches-ostensoirs* obtained by a European but even then high quality specimens were 'very rare'.[12] I pose the insoluble but evocative question: Was one and the same axe sketched by Piron, donated by Rochas, and finally deposited in the Musée du quai Branly?

bwar—Kanak *hache-ostensoir*, ceremonial axe

Bronwen Douglas

At Balade in New Caledonia on 28 April 1793, several Kanak men swam to the *Recherche*, carrying a 'remarkable' instrument they called '*nbouet*'. This artefact had not been reported by Cook or his shipmates 19 years before. Rossel, editor of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's narrative, described it:

> The main piece comprises a piece of perfectly polished serpentine, not very thick, worked into a circle or oval, and sharp-edged; it might be six or eight *pouces* [inches, 16–22 cm] in diameter. The handle, about a *pied* [foot, approximately 32.5 cm] long, is made from a piece of wood fixed to the main piece by rattans passed through several holes pierced in the stone, and then tied along the handle with cords of flying fox fur. This handle ends in a kind of base formed from a half coconut shell, also decorated with flying fox fur cords.[1]

A similar object had earlier been exchanged surreptitiously. According to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, this 'rare' item of great local value so excited French 'curiosity' that the inhabitants brought them 'several' more. By another account, they were 'seduced by presents' into selling 'a great number' to officers and men alike. Ignorant thus far of the instrument's purpose, the Europeans were horribly enlightened when a man mimed with 'ferocious avidity' on a crewman how it was used to dissect the body of a fallen enemy, preparatory to cooking and eating the flesh.[2]

Piron sketched one such object and labelled it 'Nboot' (Figure 4.2). A collective New Caledonian vocabulary published in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's *Voyage* lists '*bouatte* or *boëte*' as the local term for 'Instrument with which they cut up human victims'. Variants of these words are defined in several unpublished vocabularies as 'hafted stone for carving' ('*boête*'), 'sharp-edged green stone' ('*bouàte* or *bouaite*'), and 'knife or stone axe' ('*boatte*').[3] Along with '*nbouet*', they are French phonetic renderings of the word *bwar,* stick or club, in the *nyelâyu* language of Balade—the linguist Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre noted in 1998 that the final consonant (r) was 'still pronounced [-ɽ] … by certain aged speakers'.[4]

The very close resemblance between Piron's 'Nboot' and the magnificent *hache-ostensoir*, ceremonial axe, now held by the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (Figure 4.3), suggests the identity of sketch and object.[5] Another *hache-ostensoir* (see Figure 12.2) in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire in Lausanne, Switzerland, is a near match for an '*Nbouet*' engraved in La Billardière's *Atlas* (see Figure 12.3).[6] The French designation *hache-ostensoir* dates from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage. Alluding to the *ostensoir* or monstrance in which the consecrated host is displayed during the Catholic mass, an officer explained: 'its shape led us to name it Blessed Sacrament'.[7]

It is unclear if the usage of the '*nbouet*' demonstrated to the French was partly or entirely symbolic. Roger Boulay and Emmanuel Kasarhérou, specialists in Kanak material culture, were adamant that the 'fragility' of these finely crafted prestige objects precluded their use to dismember corpses, 'if not allegorically'.[8] They circulated in an elaborate regional exchange cycle but Boulay saw their primary function as display and diplomatic gift exchange. This 'somewhat secular character' perhaps explains the alacrity with which Kanak offered such axes to powerful newcomers whose alliance they sought; and why they became the 'paragon obligatory gift' on colonial ceremonial occasions after 1853.[9] The Catholic missionary-ethnographer Pierre Lambert, who served in New Caledonia from 1855 to 1903, referred only to the object's value as a 'treasure' carried by chiefs during public discourses or bestowed as a high status gift. His early 20th-century

Protestant counterpart Maurice Leenhardt was told by Kanak that it was used quasi symbolically to open the sternum of human bodies or separate head from torso. However, the precision work of removing skin and tendons was done with a sharp bamboo knife.[10]

Whether allegorical, ironic, deliberately intimidatory, or literal, the Kanak man's shipboard performance with the '*nbouet*' provoked his appalled French audience to unanimous condemnation. Their judgement that the 'anthropophagous' Kanak were 'ferocious savages' inaugurated a long series of similar verdicts professed until the late 20th century.[11]

Notes

1 Rossel in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:338, note *; La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II:215.

2 Ibid.:215–17; Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:338–9; Fréminville, *Nouvelle relation du voyage …* (Brest, 1838):283–5; see Chapter 2.

3 Anon., Gicquel Destouches, and Hesmivy d'Auribeau, [Vocabulaires], 1792–4, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 1[4]); Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:578.

4 Ozanne-Rivierre, *et al.*, *Le nyelâyu de Balade (Nouvelle-Calédonie)* (Louvain-Paris, 1998):22, 78.

5 Boulay and Kasarhérou, 'La hache ronde, dite hache-ostensoir', in *Kanak …* (Arles, 2013):48–51.

6 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800): plate 38 (fig. 19); 'Table des planches …', in *Relation*, II, Tables:107.

7 La Motte du Portail, 'Voyage de la frégate l'Espérance …', 26–27 April 1793, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 13[1]).

8 Boulay, 'The Ceremonial Axe called "Monstrance" of the Kanaks of New Caledonia', *Tribal Art* 13:52 (2009):71; Kasarhérou, 'Haches-ostensoirs et porte-lames', in *Kanak*:53.

9 Boulay, 'The Ceremonial Axe':72–4, 80, 82; Leenhardt, *Gens de la grande terre* (Paris, 1937):95.

10 Lambert, 'Mœurs et superstitions de la tribu de Bélep, Nouvelle-Calédonie', *Missions catholiques* 12 (1880):165; Leenhardt, *Notes d'ethnologie néo-calédonienne* (Paris, 1930):27–8.

11 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:337, 359; Douglas, 'Fighting as Savagery and Romance: New Caledonia Past and Present', in *Reflections on Violence in Melanesia* (Leichhardt and Canberra, 2000):53–64; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:216.

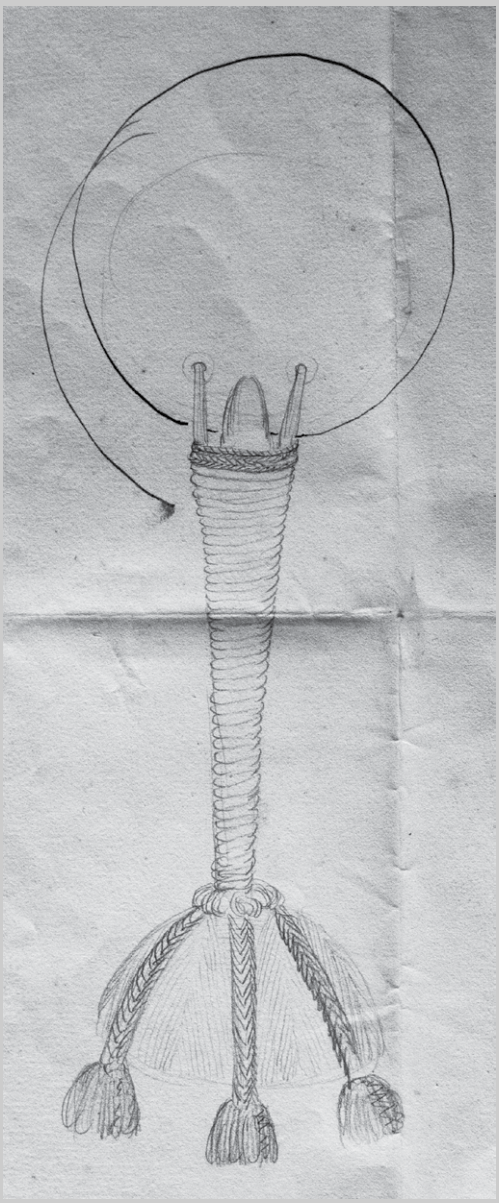

Figure 4.2. Piron's sketch of a Kanak 'Nboot' held in the Archives nationales de France, [1793], pencil on paper (MAR 5 JJ 5[2]).

Figure 4.3. Kanak bwar *(*hache-ostensoir*), ceremonial axe, from New Caledonia, probably collected in 1793 during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (71.1946.0.51 X).*

Museums and collections

In a prodigious work of historical detection and interpretation, Sylviane Jacquemin unravelled the erratic trajectories of Parisian museums over two centuries of creation, merger, neglect, disappearance, and re-emergence. In these unstable settings, Oceanic ethnographic collections and objects were serendipitously acquired, transferred, and lost.[13]

The Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro was opened in the wake of the Universal Exhibition of 1878 in Paris, was attached to the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (National Museum of Natural History) in 1926, and became the Musée de l'Homme (Museum of Man) in 1937.[14] A decade later, the ethnologist Maurice Leenhardt—long-term Protestant missionary in New Caledonia, now director of the Oceania department of the Musée de l'Homme—published a coloured plate of the aforementioned *hache-ostensoir*, attributed to that museum, in a work on Oceanic art.[15] The plate, to my knowledge, was the first representation of this instrument since Piron's sketch. The conundrum of its history is compounded by the figure '1946' in the inventory number, marking the year of acquisition by the Musée de l'Homme and problematizing the object's purported derivation from the founding collection of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. The ethnographic holdings of the Musée de l'Homme, including this axe, were transferred to the Musée du quai Branly in 2004 and constitute the bulk of the new museum's collection.[16]

Captions to reproductions of the axe in the catalogue of the *Kanak* exhibition source it to the former Musée naval (Naval Museum) du Louvre,[17] a link I have not seen elsewhere. If the object were indeed a foundation acquisition of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, it was probably not previously held in the Louvre. The Musée de Marine (Navy Museum) du Louvre was revived in 1827 to celebrate recent scientific voyages and display their material bounty, including 'the curious productions of newly discovered countries'. It was rebadged Musée naval in 1830 and the ethnographic collection was reconstituted in 1850 as an independent Musée d'Ethnographie. By the 1870s, that collection's relevance was disputed, as public taste for the exotic waned and scholarly interest shifted from 'curiosities' to the supposedly objective racial science of anthropology—a key concern of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro.[18] The collection was dispersed in the early 20th century amongst national and provincial museums. Certain items eventually reached the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro but the major recipient was the Musée des Antiquités nationales (National Antiquities Museum) at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Thence, some elements were relocated in 1984 to the Musée des Arts africains et océaniens (Museum of African and Oceanian Arts), renamed Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie in 1991, and finally to the Musée du quai Branly in 2003.[19]

Conjecturing liaisons

A handful of other objects now held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac may plausibly, though not conclusively, be ascribed to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage: a Kanak *mweeng* or *tidi*, hat (71.1917.1.2 D); a decorative band for the hat (71.1930.54.1 D); two male Kanak statuettes (72.56.125; 72.56.126); a Tongan female statuette (72.56.127); one of four Tongan *helu*, comb (72.84.237.4); and a Tongan *sisi fale*, a high-ranking coconut fibre waist garment (71.1930.54.153). As with the

hache-ostensoir, any such attribution is a partly imaginative exercise based on ocular resemblances between actual objects and early visual representations, correlated with exiguous traces of their museum histories, mainly unearthed by Jacquemin.

Kanak hat and band

The plumed Kanak hat is widely known as *tidi* but called *mweeng*, hat in general, in the *nyelâyu* language of Balade.[20] Though inventoried separately by the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, the band is shown adorning the hat in the online catalogue (Figure 4.4). The *mweeng* is a stiff, open-ended cylinder made of rings split lengthwise from the stalks of a *Smilax* species, intricately laced together with fine cords forming a chevron pattern, and dyed black. The band is decorated with nacre, shells, and flying-fox fur.[21] Given their near identity to the 'bonnet' with its band depicted in La Billardière's *Atlas* (Figure 4.5), the objects held by the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac are almost certainly among the extant material vestiges of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, notwithstanding exiguous subsequent archival traces. A list of 'objects traded with the natives' compiled by Halle de Longuerüe, sub-lieutenant on the *Recherche*, mentions 'bonnets garnished with fronds and feathers'.[22] Several voyage vocabularies include renditions of *mweeng*: '*mouenne*' or 'mouen', defined as 'hat' or 'bonnet'.[23]

Since Kanak regarded the head as noble, all its appurtenances were sacred personal objects, only exchanged during public rituals 'to seal an alliance or a friendship'.[24] Something of the value and restricted entitlement of such *mweeng* was discerned by early European visitors to Balade. In 1774, Cook's artist Hodges drew a Kanak man wearing a 'stiff black cap' which also features in a plate of New Caledonian artefacts, mainly weapons, in the narrative of this voyage.[25] Georg Forster said they placed 'great value' on the caps while Cook thought they were 'only worn by men of note or warriors', who quickly put 'a large sheet of strong paper' to similar use—an early instance of Kanak propensity to innovate with novel materials.[26] Two decades on, La Billardière saw a 'cylindrical bonnet, adorned with plumes, shells, etc.', worn by 'two chiefs' called '*theabouma* in their language'. *Teâ Puma* is the title of the *teâmaa*, high chief, of Balade, previously recorded by Cook as '*Tiā Booma*'. They came to the *Recherche* to negotiate peace with the visitors after numerous clashes, offering Bruni d'Entrecasteaux a placatory gift of food, an axe, and barkcloth.[27] The French might have received the prestigious 'bonnet' with its decorative band on this occasion, as gage of alliance. The senior surgeon Pierre Renard remarked that the hats were 'rare', worn only by 'old men', and 'quite hard to procure'. The Catholic missionary-ethnographer Lambert later reported that this headgear was worn preferentially by 'elders'.[28] Exclusivity, in conjunction with the rapid replacement of Indigenous materials by introduced fabrics, probably explains the relative rarity of these objects in museum collections worldwide.[29]

If the museum history of the *hache-ostensoir* is enigmatic to near obscurity, those of the *mweeng* and the band are only marginally less so. The hat can be traced from 1878 when it was displayed, without its band, on a life-sized model of a so-called 'cannibal' Kanak warrior in the Galerie ethnographique du Musée d'Artillerie (Ethnographic Gallery of the Artillery Museum) (Figure 4.6). This was one of 72 mannequins, including 19 representing Oceanian subjects, created to illustrate war as practised by

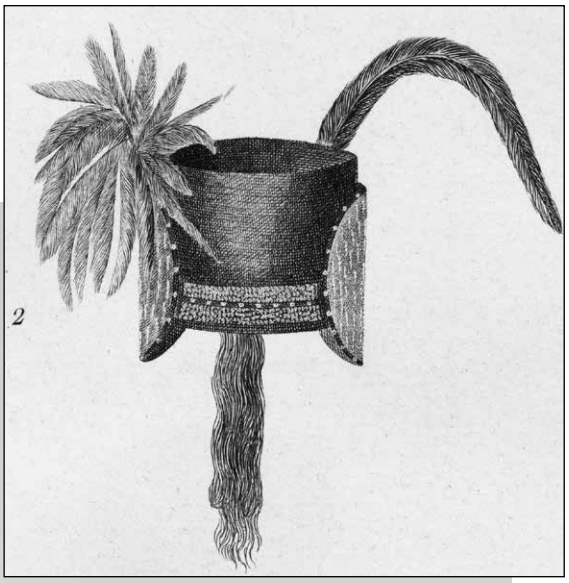

Figure 4.5 (right). Fig. 2 of plate 37 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a Kanak hat with its band, identical to objects in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Anon., 'Bonnet', 1800, engraving.*

Figure 4.4. Kanak mweeng *or* tidi*, hat, and band from New Caledonia, almost certainly collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (71.1917.1.2 D, 71.1930.54.1 D/RMN-Grand Palais, 15-585156 NU).*

Figure 4.6. Photograph of a life-sized model of a Kanak warrior in the Galerie ethnographique du Musée de l'Armée, c. 1890–1910, wearing a mweeng *or* tidi*, hat, now held in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, from the photographic collection of the Musée de l'Armée (2005.3.47/RMN-Grand Palais 06-506117).*

'inferior races' at the Universal Exhibition. In the interests of authenticity, the heads were modelled on 'specimens' of plaster busts cast from living subjects and held in the Muséum d'Histoire naturelle. The mannequins were subsequently reconstituted as a permanent exhibition of the Musée d'Artillerie, which was absorbed into the Musée de l'Armée (Army Museum) in 1905. The bulk of the mannequin collection and their accoutrements, including the Kanak *mweeng*, were transferred to the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1917.[30] The hat band has a separate, longer inferred historical trajectory stretching back to the ethnographic collection of the Musée naval du Louvre,[31] though its earlier movements and the date and process of its acquisition are opaque. It would have been relocated to the Musée des Antiquités nationales between 1908 and 1911 and certainly joined the hat in the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1930. Both objects ultimately reached the Musée du quai Branly in 2004 via the Musée de l'Homme.[32]

Kanak and Tongan statuettes

The anthropomorphic statuettes, two attributed to New Caledonia (Figures 4.7, 4.8) and one to Tonga (Figure 4.9), have the longest, clearest museum histories of any of the objects proposed here as relics of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage. None is depicted in La Billardière's *Atlas* nor mentioned in the expedition texts, but all were once held in the renowned cabinet of curiosities assembled from the late 18th century by Dominique-Vivant Denon. A remarkably versatile artist, traveller, diplomat, bureaucrat, and connoisseur, Denon was appointed director-general of the Napoleonic Muséum central des Arts (Central Arts Museum) in 1802. He presided over the looting of the art treasures of occupied Europe, the creation of the Musée Napoléon, and its partial dismantling with the repatriation of most plundered materials after 1815. The modern Louvre emerged with the museum's reconstitution as the Musée royal in 1816. The vast and varied contents of Denon's cabinet were sold in the year following his death in 1825. They included a substantial assemblage of the products of 'savage industry', listed under 'Mélanges' (Miscellaneous) in the cabinet's catalogue.[33] The ethnographic collection was purchased by the Maison du Roi (royal household) and transferred to the new Musée de Marine in 1829.[34]

Inference on the possible presence of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage items in Denon's cabinet depends on correlating extant written and visual information: from the Denon catalogue; from several Musée de Marine inventories succinctly summarized by Jacquemin;[35] from La Billardière's *Atlas*; and from two lithographed plates of 'barbaric' and 'savage' objects owned by Denon (Figures 4.10, 4.11). These plates—published posthumously in 'a kind of Monumental Encyclopedia' planned by Denon—include numerous items produced by populations recently encountered in the South Sea.[36] The catalogue lists three wooden 'fetishes in human form'. Two correspond to Figures 2 and 6 in the first plate, described as 'wooden figures, in human form; one male, the other female'. The female wears a loincloth (probably barkcloth).[37] The figures are certainly early representations of two objects held since 2003 in the Musée du quai Branly and the female is undoubtedly Tongan, now lacking the loincloth. The strong likelihood that the male figure is Kanak is confirmed by Julie Adams's observation of a lightly etched *tidi*, hat band, on its head.[38]

Figure 4.7. Kanak statuette from New Caledonia, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, originally from the collection of Vivant Denon, now held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (72.56.125/RMN-Grand Palais, 15-552482 NU).

Figure 4.8. Kanak statuette from New Caledonia, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, originally from the collection of Vivant Denon, now held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (72.56.126/RMN-Grand Palais, 15-552488 NU).

The Kanak statuettes, both male, are approximately 29 cm high. They were evidently used in particular rituals but were desacralized, and therefore disposable, when stripped of protective wrapping.[39] The Tongan item is nearly 37 cm tall and apparently represents a goddess. There are few recorded examples in museum collections. Like the *hache-ostensoir*, it is one of the 'major works' included in the published celebration of the holdings of the Musée du quai Branly.[40] While all three statuettes once belonged to Denon, their Bruni d'Entrecasteaux origin is problematic, particularly with respect to the Tongan object. No known reciprocal connections can be traced between Denon and French voyagers who had travelled in Oceania, or between voyagers' collections and Denon.[41]

The hypothetical trail is most convincing with respect to the Kanak statuettes. Cook and Bruni d'Entrecasteaux led the only European expeditions during which significant material culture collections might have been acquired in New Caledonia before 1825, when Denon died.[42] No such object is mentioned in contemporary reports of Cook's

Figure 4.9. Tongan statuette, possibly collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, originally from the collection of Vivant Denon, now held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (71.56.127/RMN-Grand Palais, 15-542736 NU).

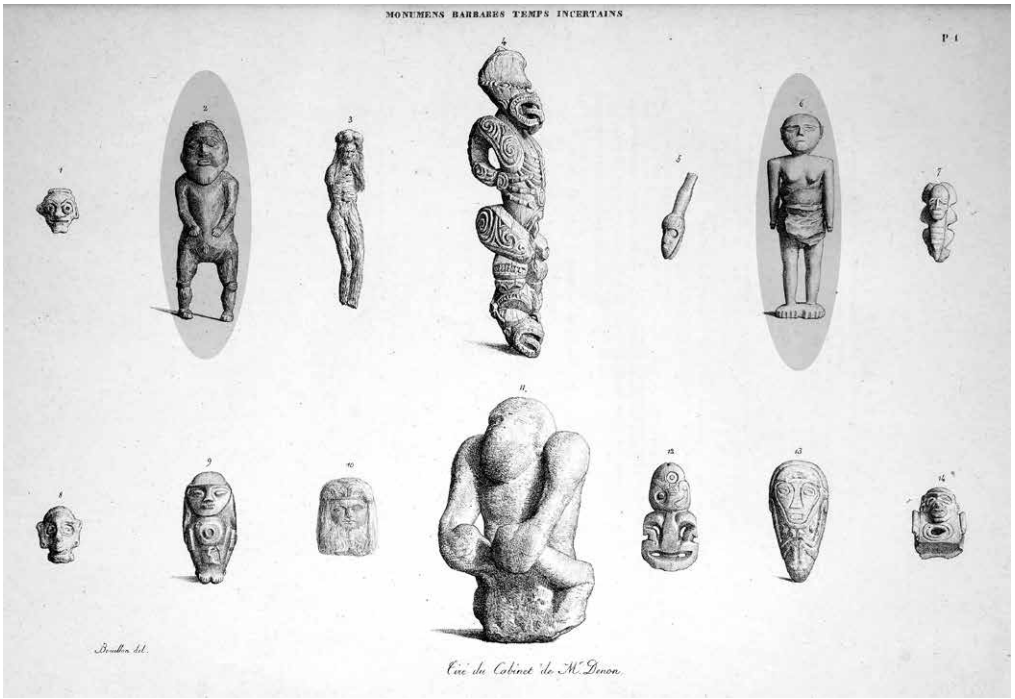

Figure 4.10. Plate 1 of Duval's Monuments des arts du dessin *(1829), depicting items held in the cabinet of curiosities of Vivant Denon. Bouillon, 'Monumens barbares …', lithograph.*

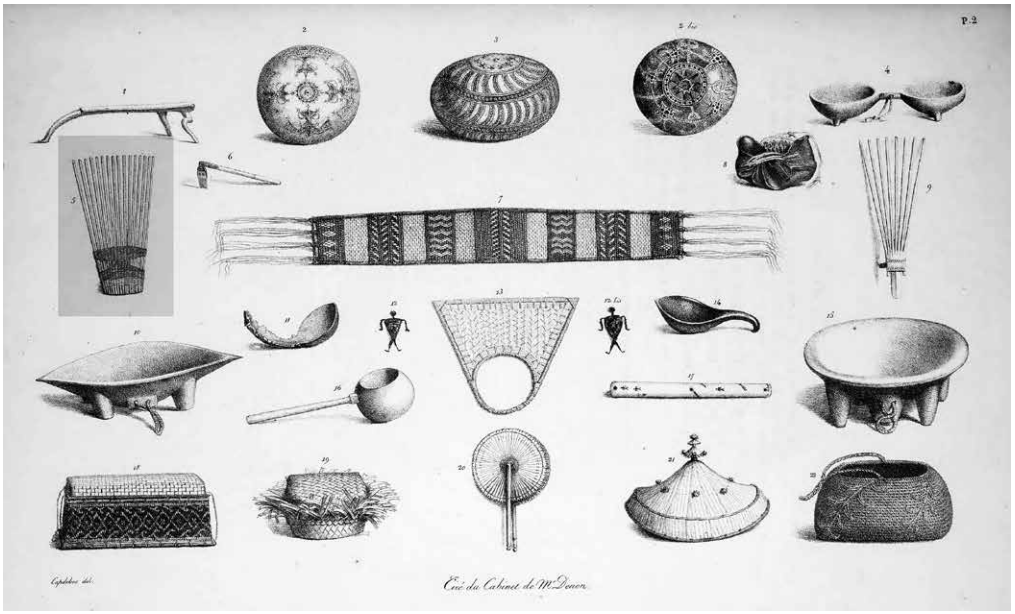

Figure 4.11. Plate 2 of Duval's Monuments des arts du dessin *(1829), depicting items held in the cabinet of curiosities of Vivant Denon. Capdebos, 'L'art chez les sauvages …', lithograph.*

brief visit to Balade in 1774, when the onshore activities of Cook and the Forsters were severely constrained by illness; nor do they feature in known Cook voyage collections in modern museums. It is therefore logical to conclude that they are relics of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition.[43] The Tongan situation was more complicated. Cook's crews spent a total of 14 weeks in various parts of the archipelago during three visits between 1774 and 1777, accumulating a vast number and range of objects.[44] Over the following decades, many were dispersed amongst institutional and private collections across Britain and western Europe, including France. Moreover, the presence in Tonga from the late 1790s of resident English missionaries and visiting traders or whalers multiplied the conceivable avenues by which artefacts might have been channelled to Europe. However, given the strong case for a Bruni d'Entrecasteaux origin of the Kanak statuettes, that for the Tongan object is bolstered by numerical association with them: the three objects still bear successive inventory numbers, inherited after 1984 by the Musée des Arts africains et océaniens from the Musée des Antiquités nationales, where they had been transferred from the Musée naval du Louvre between 1908 and 1911.[45]

Tongan comb

Several Tongan objects representing 'savage art' in the second Denon plate (Figure 4.11) are identifiable with items sourced to his 'ancient collection' in the online catalogue of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Notably, a 'peigne' (comb) depicted in Denon's plate is virtually indistinguishable from a *helu*, comb (72.84.237.4; see Figure 8.8), now held in the museum and attributed to Denon. Made from coconut leaf midribs lashed to form a darker, woven triangular pattern, this object also closely resembles a 'peigne' engraved in La Billardière's *Atlas* (see Figure 8.9), which is in turn remarkably similar to a *helu* (RV-34-25; see Figure 8.10) in the Leiden collection.[46] As with the other Tongan materials discussed in this chapter, this comb cannot be linked definitively to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage. However, the ocular sequence from pictures to museum object supports that provenance.

Tongan coconut fibre waist garment

The *sisi fale* held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (Figure 4.12; see feature) is ascribed to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage almost entirely on the basis of its near identity with a 'tablier de bourre de cocos' (coconut fibre apron) reproduced in La Billardière's *Atlas* (Figure 4.13).[47] It does not appear in a Denon plate. Like the Kanak hat band, this high-status object was part of the ethnographic collection of the Musée naval du Louvre and was ultimately received by the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro from the Musée des Antiquités nationales in the consignment of 1930. The online catalogue of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac sources it to 'L'Espérance'—consort to the *Recherche* on Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition.[48] It is the only such specific association I have seen applied to the objects considered in this chapter.

sisi fale—Tongan coconut fibre waist garment

Billie Lythberg and Melenaite Taumoefolau

An 18th-century *sisi fale* held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (Figure 4.12) is one of about twenty extant in museum and private collections worldwide. Each is a complex assemblage of light- and dark-brown components woven from the fibrous integument of *kaka*, young coconut leaf, embellished variously with circular beads of shell and coconut, red feathers, small conical shells, animal teeth, and the occasional piece of fish jawbone or pearl shell. These are attached to a fibrous backing, or joined together in rows extending from a waistband, to form a garment to be worn around the waist. No one example is believed to be complete: their red feathers were of such value beyond Tonga that they were often disassembled for trade as European voyagers moved through the Pacific; while their repeated individual components might have suggested that they could be divided without loss of the sense of the whole. The components themselves take the form of circles, crescents, stars, and rectangles. These motifs are also seen on 18th-century Tongan clubs and on a dance paddle held in Bergen, Norway (BME 8, see Figure 7.4), as both incised and inlaid ivory designs.[1]

The example in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac comprises lengths of intricately woven circular and strip-like elements attached to a rough plait of plant fibre. It is attributed to the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux due to its resembling so closely the 'tablier de bourre de cocos' (coconut fibre apron) depicted in an 'Effets' (effects) plate in La Billardière's *Atlas* (Figure 4.13). Indeed, the present state of the *sisi fale* not only correlates with this engraving, but also suggests that it has neither been modified nor has it degraded since it was drawn for the engraver by an unknown artist. Perhaps most notably, the engraving shows the same rough plait holding its component parts together. The rudimentary nature of this braid, with its fraying ends, suggests that the *sisi fale* is not, in fact, complete but is rather an accumulation of components awaiting final assembly. The collection of such 'works in progress' by 18th-century explorers exemplifies their interest in not only completed 'artificial curiosities', but also their constituent materials and stages of manufacture. It is conceivable that the finely constructed elements here assembled would eventually have been attached to a waistband of similar quality.

Sisi fale and other finely made garments and regalia of this period are associated with the Tu'i Tonga, the paramount ruler of Tonga, and his immediate family, the *fale'alo*.[2] The *sisi fale* were worn only by chiefly women and associated with dances performed in honour of the Tu'i Tonga. Such objects of prestige often bore names alluding to their particular status. The term *sisi fale* is a composite, literally meaning a garment or waist garland (*sisi*) and a house (*fale*).

Mafimalanga, the incumbent orator of the noble Tungī, explains that here the term *fale* is precise, referring to the Tu'i Tonga's house which was oval and made of coconut palm materials.[3] The round shapes predominant in many *sisi fale* components, including the example in question, imitate both the overall shape of the *fale* of the Tu'i Tonga and its distinctive named rafters. One of the rafters that support the roof is called *feleano* and is bent in a semicircular fashion in the narrow sides of the house, while the main, completely circular rafter is called *aoniu*. The compound word *sisi fale* is a *heliaki*: the Tongan art of saying or depicting something indirectly by alluding to a point of *similarity* and using it to represent or to be *symbolic* of the other thing. In this case, *sisi fale*, literally 'house waist-garland',

is an indirect reference to the Tuʻi Tonga himself and his *mana* or *hau* (status), via his house shape and the shape of the *feleano* and *aoniu* and also via the coconut palm materials employed to make his *fale* and the *sisi fale*.

No single English word adequately conveys the layers of meaning and reverence imbuing the Tongan term for this high-ranking regalia, while the French word *tablier*, apron, used by La Billardière has highly inappropriate domestic connotations.

The engraving in the 'Effets' plate is thought to be the only extant image made of a *sisi fale* by an 18th- or early 19th-century European voyager.[4] However, the stylized and composite waist garments shown on four of five young women dancers in the foreground of an engraving of a 'Danse des îles des Amis, en présence de la reine Tiné' (Dance of the Friendly Islands in the presence of Queen Tiné) (see Figure 17.2) include garland-like decorative girdles suggestive of *sisi fale* components.[5] As there is clear artistic licence in the depiction of the Tongans' barkcloth and woven mat waist garments in comparison to existing examples of these items, the same may apply to the dancers' girdles. In this case, the engraving would constitute not only another representation of *sisi fale*, but perhaps the only one of these highly-ranked garments actually being worn—in this case to honour 'Queen Tiné' who was probably Tuʻi Tonga Fefine Nanasipauʻu.[6]

Less elaborate garments recalling *sisi fale* are still used today in the dance costume of *ula* dancers, an all female group dance with slow, graceful hand movements that is the remnant of the Tuʻi Tonga's female entertainment.

Notes

1 Mills, "*Akau Tau*: Contextualising Tongan War–clubs', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 118:1 (2009):7–46; Weener, 'Tongan Club Iconography: An Attempt to Unravel Visual Metaphors through Myth', Journal of the Polynesian Society 116:4 (2007):451–62.

2 Herda and Lythberg, 'Featherwork and Divine Chieftainship in Tonga', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 123:3 (2014):277–300; Herda, Lythberg, Mills, and Taumoefolau, 'What's in a Name?: Reconstructing Nomenclature of Prestige and Persuasion in Late 18th-Century Tongan Material Culture', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 126:4 (2017):443–68; Kaeppler, 'Eighteenth Century Tonga: New Interpretations of Tongan Society and Material Culture at the Time of Captain Cook', Man n.s., 6:2 (1971):204–20. See Chapter 17.

3 Personal communication, Mafimalinga, 13 December 2017. Tungī is one of the highest of Tonga's 33 noble titles. It is held only by a member of the Royal family. The present holder is Prince Tungī, grandson of King Tupou IV, who himself held the title before he became king. Before him, the title was held by his father, the Prince Consort of Queen Sālote Tupou III.

4 Giglioli, 'The Cook Voyage Collection in Florence', in *Cook Voyage Artefacts in Leningrad, Berne, and Florence Museums* (Honolulu, 1978): 94–5.

5 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800):plate 27.

6 Chapter 17.

Figure 4.12. Fragment of a Tongan sisi fale*, coconut fibre waist garment, probably collected in 1793 during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (71.1930.54.153 D).*

Figure 4.13. Fig. 15 of plate 32 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a Tongan 'apron' made of coconut fibre, identical to an object in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Pérée, 'Tablier de bourre de cocos', 1800, engraving.*

Tenuous linkages

A caption in the *Kanak* exhibition catalogue labels an anthropomorphic 'sculpture à planter' (stick figure) (71.1887.67.1), held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, as 'probably' collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's sojourn in New Caledonia. Its museum history is abridged to 'former Bertin collection (pre-Revolutionary cabinet of curiosities), then prince Bonaparte (1887)'.[49] However, the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux attribution is dubious. The caption wrongly identifies the Bertin concerned as Henri Léonard Jean-Baptiste, a leading royal bureaucrat of the later Ancien Régime who died in 1792 and whose considerable cabinet of curiosities—mostly Chinese but 'probably' including some Oceanic items of 'mysterious' origin—was partly acquired by Denon.[50] The online museum catalogue names Bertin as Auguste.[51] He was a 19th-century wholesale jeweller whose Oceanic collection—including the sculpture—was partly purchased for the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1887 with funds supplied by the geographer and ethnographic collector Prince Roland Bonaparte.[52]

Two Māori artefacts feature in the plate of 'barbaric' objects in Denon's cabinet (Figure 4.10), both misassigned: the prow of a canoe to the 'Savages of New Holland'; and a *hei tiki*, greenstone pendant, as a 'Peruvian idol'.[53] Two similar *hei tiki* attributed to Denon are held by the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (72.84.225, 72.84.226). However, neither Māori object can be convincingly linked to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's or any other specific expedition, because so many alternative channels existed for their transport to Europe before 1825. The prow is unlikely to have been traded during a brief seaborne encounter and neither it nor an ornament recognizable as a *hei tiki* is mentioned in any of the detailed French descriptions of their exchanges with Māori in canoes on 11 March 1793.[54]

Conclusion

Excavating possible histories for the materials discussed in this chapter is a tantalizing deductive exercise in juggling more or less credible liaisons between physical objects, inventory numbers, visual or written representations, and archival fragments. I salute Jacquemin's achievement in navigating the 'poverty of the archives' to disentangle plausible connections or their absences. I endorse her suggestion that 'paucity' of information on the provenance and history of the early ethnographic holdings of modern French museums stems from a late 18th-century 'phenomenon of mobility'. As entire cabinets changed hands or their contents scattered, collections lost 'their identity' and objects became 'anonymous', 'without author and without history'.[55] This informational dearth, compounded by the long instability of French institutions themselves, at once frustrates historians' empirical responsibilities and liberates their imaginations. The result is a patchy but suggestive historical mosaic, with outlines inferred rather than definitive.

Notes

1 Kasarhérou and Boulay, ed., *Kanak: l'art est une parole* (Arles, 2013).

2 Clifford, James, 'Quai Branly in Process', OCTOBER 120 (2007):3–23; Price, *Paris Primitive …* (Chicago, 2007):169–78; 'Return to the Quai Branly', *Museum Anthropology* 33:1 (2010):11–21.

3 Martin, 'Foreword'; Boulay, 'Axe-monstrance: New Caledonia', in *Musée du quai Branly …* (Paris, 2009):7, 264–5.

4 Boulay, "The Ceremonial Axe called "Monstrance" of the Kanaks of New Caledonia', *Tribal Art* 13:52 (2009):70–1, 82, note 3.

5 MQB, 'Hache-ostensoir' http://www.quaibranly.fr/fr/explorer-les-collections/base/Work/action/show/notice/594295-hache-ostensoir/page/3/.

6 Boulay, 'Axe-monstrance':265; 'The Ceremonial Axe':70, 76; 'L'invention: la découverte', in *Kanak*:75; Boulay and Kasarhérou, 'La hache ronde, dite hache-ostensoir', in *Kanak*:48–51.

7 Email, Julie Adams, 18 September 2014.

8 Boulay, 'The Ceremonial Axe':75, 82, note 5.

9 Deschamps, 'Journal de mon voyage sur "la Recherche"', in *Louis-Auguste Deschamps 1765–1842: sa vie—son œuvre* (Saint-Omer, 1970):40; G. Forster, *A Voyage Round the World …* (London, 1777), II:381; [Kent], 'Account of Part of the South-west Side of New Caledonia …', *Athenæum* 2 (9–10):238, 335; La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II:190.

10 There may be a subtle trace of a ceremonial axe in J.R. Forster's rendering of 'a hatchet' as *bābbānèw*. The missionary-ethnologist Leenhardt translated *bāwadu* as 'stone axe' but the linguist Ozanne-Rivierre equated Forster's term with *paawadu*, an archaic *nyelâyu* word for the object called *hache-ostensoir* by the French. J.R. Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage Round the World …* (London, 1778): facing 284; Leenhardt, *Langues et dialectes de l'Austro-Mélanésie* (Paris, 1946):408; Ozanne-Rivierre, *et al.*, *Le nyelâyu de Balade (Nouvelle-Calédonie)* (Louvain-Paris, 1998):141.

11 Rochas, *La Nouvelle-Calédonie et ses habitants …* (Paris, 1862):i–ii.

12 Anon., 'Objets offerts à la Société', *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1 (1860):511; Jacquemin, 'Objets des mers du sud …' (Paris, 1991):197; Rochas, *La Nouvelle-Calédonie*:186.

13 Jacquemin, 'Objets'.

14 Ibid.:184–260; Hamy, *Les origines du Musée d'Ethnographie …* (Paris, 1890):21–67.

15 Leenhardt, *Arts de l'Océanie* (Paris, 1947):75–7, 144.

16 Anon., 'History of the French Institutions that Housed the Collections of the Musée du Quai Branly', in *Musée du quai Branly*:456–7.

17 Boulay and Kasarhérou, 'La hache ronde':48, 50, captions 19, 20.

18 Hamy, 'Rapport sur le développement et l'état actual des collections ethnographiques …', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 6e série, 20 (1880):352–5.

19 Anon., 'History of the French Institutions'; Jacquemin, 'Objets':19–22, 46–88, 101–13; 'Origine des collections océaniennes dans les musées parisiens: le musée du Louvre', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 90 (1990):47–52.

20 Leenhardt, *Langues et dialectes*:419; Ozanne-Rivierre, *et al.*, *Le nyelâyu de Balade*:127, 234, 268, note 12.

21 Kasarhérou, 'Coiffures et coiffes', in *Kanak*:34–6; Lambert, 'Mœurs et superstitions de la tribu Bélep, Nouvelle Calédonie', *Missions catholiques* 12 (1880):104.

22 Halle de Longuerüe, 'Notes des objets traités avec les naturels des îles des amis,

N^lle. Calédonie et autres contrees', in [Journal], 1791–4, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 10).

23 Anon., Gicquel Destouches, and Hesmivy d'Auribeau, [Vocabulaires], 1792–4, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 1[4]); Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:575; La Billardière, 'Vocabulaire du langage des naturels de la Nouvelle-Calédonie', in *Relation*, II, Tables:58; Ozanne-Rivierre, *et al.*, *Le nyelâyu de Balade*:234.

24 Kasarhérou, 'Coiffures et coiffes':34.

25 Hodges, 'Man of New Caledonia', 1774, NLA (PIC Drawer 666 #R754); François-Germain Aliamet after William Hodges, 'Man of New Caledonia'; John Record after Charles Chapman, [Ornaments, weapons, &c. at New Caledonia], in Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World …* (London, 1777), II: plates 39, 20. This hat 'probably belonged to the Forsters', was once 'in the Oxford collection', but was 'missing' in 1978. Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities' …* (Honolulu, 1978):242.

26 Cook, *Voyage*, II:119; Forster, *Voyage*, II:398.

27 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:200–1. See Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook …* (Cambridge, 1955–74), II:544; Douglas, 'A Contact History of the Balad People of New Caledonia 1774–1845', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 79 (2):186–7.

28 Lambert, 'Mœurs':104; Renard, cited in Godin, 'Maisons, chemins et autels', in *De jade et de nacre* (Paris, 1990):78, caption, fig. 30a.

29 One such hat, acquired in 1898, is held in the BM (Oc1898,0704.48), and there is a fine example in the Melbourne Museum (X 2015). Submitted by French colonial authorities in New Caledonia to the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition in 1866, it was subsequently presented to the 'ethnotypical' collection then housed in the Public Library of Victoria. Anon., *Intercolonial Exhibition, 1866: Official Catalogue* (Melbourne, [1866]):10, 99; Anon., *Catalogue of the Objects of Ethnotypical Art in the National Gallery* (Melbourne, 1878):103.

30 Anon., 'Galeries ethnographiques du Musée d'artillerie à l'hôtel des Invalides', *Revue d'Anthropologie* 2^e série, 1 (1878):179; Duhoussez, 'Galerie ethnographique du musée d'artillerie', *L'Illustration* 1830 (23 March 1878):187; 1832 (6 April 1878):219; Jacquemin, 'Objets':175–85; Kasarhérou, 'Coiffures et coiffes':34.

31 Ibid.:34, caption 9.

32 Jacquemin, 'Objets':105–8, 216–17.

33 Denon, 'Fragment d'un écrit de M. Denon sur la formation et la composition de son cabinet', in Duval, ed., *Monuments des arts du dessin …* (Paris, 1829), I:24; Dubois, *Description des objets d'arts qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le Baron V. Denon …* (Paris, 1826):297–300.

34 Jacquemin, 'Objets':30; 'Vivant Denon et quelques curiosités des mers du sud', in *De jade et de nacre*:213–15.

35 Jacquinot, 'Objets':22–5; 'Origine des collections océaniennes':49–50.

36 Dubois, *Description*, v; Duval, ed., *Monuments*, I.

37 Dubois, *Description*:299; Duval, ed., 'Planche 1':1, in *Monuments*, I; Jacquinot, 'Objets':33.

38 Emails, Julie Adams, 18 September 2014, 10 October 2016.

39 Boulay, 'Les statuettes', in *De jade et de nacre*:162–7.

40 Marie-Claire Bataille-Benguigui, 'Statuette: Tonga Islands', in *Musée du quai Branly*:282–3. See Roger Neich, 'Tongan Figures: From Goddesses to Missionary Trophies to Masterpieces', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116:2 (2007):223–4, 266–7.

41 For a detailed analysis of possible provenances of Oceanic items in Denon's cabinet, see Jacquemin, 'Objets':29–41.

42 British vessels anchored along the west coast of New Caledonia during this period. The first in 1793 involved no significant contacts with local inhabitants. Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes: his Voyage and Life …* (London: 1912):46–52. Exchanges occurred throughout William Kent's month-long visit to Baie de Saint-Vincent in 1803. Eliza Kent, the commander's wife, listed objects received in return for so-called 'trifles' (which were anything but to local people): fish, turtle, yams, sugarcane, spears, clubs, fishing nets, cloth, and baskets. [Kent], 'Account':237–9, 335–6. However, the *hache-ostensoir* did not feature in the material culture of this region.

43 Boulay, 'Les statuettes':162.

44 Cook, *Voyage*, I:191–25; II:8–22; Cook and King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean …*, I:225–421 (London, 1784).

45 Jacquemin, 'Objets':107–8.

46 Duval, 'Planche 2':1, in *Monuments*, I; La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800): plate 32 (fig. 21); La Billardière, 'Table des planches …', in *Relation*, II, Tables:105.

47 Ibid. See also Kaeppler, 'Eighteenth Century Tonga: New Interpretations of Tongan Society and Material Culture at the Time of Captain Cook', *Man* n.s., 6:2 (1971):212.

48 MQB, 'Jupe' http://www.quaibranly.fr/fr/explorer-les-collections/base/Work/action/show/notice/589956-jupe/page/1/

49 Boulay, 'Statuettes et statues à planter anthropomorphes', in *Kanak*:119, caption 79.

50 Denon, 'Fragment':22; Jacquemin, 'Objets':126–7.

51 MQB, 'Sculpture anthropomorphe masculine' http://www.quaibranly.fr/fr/explorer-les-collections/base/Work/action/show/notice/339403-sculpture-anthropomorphe-masculine/page/1/

52 Jacquemin, 'Objets':208; Peltier, 'From Oceania', in *'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art …* (New York and Boston, 1984), I:102, 120, note 17.

53 Duval, 'Planche 1':1, 3, in *Monuments*, I; Jacquemin, 'Objets':30–3.

54 See Chapter 6, feature.

55 Jacquemin, 'Objets':11–12, 127.

CHAPTER 5

Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque

HÉLÈNE GUIOT AND CLAUDE STEEN-GUÉLEN

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In 1829, and more successfully in 1838, the town council of Dunkerque (Dunkirk), in northern France, appealed to 'the generosity of collectors, naturalists and others' in order to assemble works and objects to set up a museum.[1] The council members did not suspect that some of the materials received would turn out to be associated with the scientific naval expedition led by Bruni d'Entrecasteaux in search of La Pérouse from 1791 to 1794. On 21 May 1838, the son of the seaman Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul donated to the museum 22 objects attributed to the Friendly Islands (Tonga), Celebes or Macassar (Sulawesi, Indonesia), and New Caledonia. However, the objects' historical source is not mentioned in the museum's accession register.[2] It was not until the end of the 20th century, after years of research, that a link was established between Raoul the donor, the Oceanian objects, and the French naval expedition.

Fragmented trajectories

The story begins with Ange-Jean-Victor Raoul, a doctor who settled in Dunkerque in 1837 and seems to have been encouraged by his father Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul to give the new museum a number of objects collected by him during his voyage under Bruni d'Entrecasteaux on the frigate *Recherche*.[3] Born at Tréguier-Minihy in Brittany, Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul served from 1786 to 1790 as *timonier*, helmsman, on the frigate *Astrée*, alongside his older brother Joseph-François.[4] Their shipmates included the first pilot Jean-Baptiste-Philibert Willaumez. When Bruni d'Entrecasteaux returned to Europe on the *Astrée* from his post as governor-general at Ile de France (Mauritius), he came to appreciate the abilities of the three men. On taking command of the *Patriote* in mid-1890, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux appointed Willaumez as first pilot, Joseph-François Raoul as second pilot, and Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul as assistant pilot. All three men subsequently joined him on the *Recherche*. Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul's name appears on the vessel's muster roll in August 1791 as second pilot on the forthcoming 'voyage to the end of the world', while his brother served as *chef de timonerie*, chief helmsman and signaller. Both Raouls would undertake hydrographic missions during the voyage.[5]

Arrested in Surabaya on the expedition's collapse in Java in 1794, the Raoul brothers were among 32 crew members shipped to Europe on a Dutch convoy which was captured en route by the English. The Raouls were eventually repatriated via Rotterdam, where the French consul arranged for their return to France by canal and ship. They landed at Dunkerque at the end of 1795.[6] In the course of subsequent professional missions, Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul and his brother established regular relations with that city.[7] After settling there in 1837, his son Ange-Jean-Victor Raoul donated 22 Oceanian objects inherited from his father to the town museum, thereby endowing that institution with a collection of rare historical interest.

The Raoul donation

The identification in museums of artefacts collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition is a tricky process. Transcription mistakes in inventories, loss of markings, and the inherent fragility of organic materials, along with the vagaries of the passage of time, have combined to efface information about such objects. As previously mentioned, the Dunkerque museum's accession register makes no reference to this expedition. It is well known that the cases containing the natural history and ethnographic materials collected by the naturalist La Billardière were confiscated in Java, eventually returned via England to France, and dispersed after their arrival there.[8] It is also known that certain objects were obtained in Java by officials of the Dutch East India Company.[9] The naval instructions on collecting and classifying items of material culture during the voyage are clear: each object was to carry a tag and a catalogue number; remuneration had to be fair; and the French were to act with 'much kindness and humanity'. Notwithstanding the 'very strict' orders regulating barter, personal purchases or exchanges by crew members doubtless took place.[10]

In principle, individual transactions might be expected to leave few traces.[11] However, such pessimism ignores the perseverance of researchers who, two centuries later, succeeded in linking the name Raoul, as recorded in the inventory of the collections of the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC (Museum of Fine Arts) in Dunkerque, with the expedition of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. Hélène Richard's history of the voyage established the wider scholarly framework within which Sylviane Jacquemin made the connection with the Raoul family.[12] In the process, identity and history were restored to the objects. In comparison to the massive official assemblage, the small size of both the Raoul collection and its constituent objects perhaps explains their survival. Textiles, combs, or necklaces can be folded, rolled, or slipped into clothing. Being easily hidden, they might be carried in a sailor's pack.

The accession register of the Dunkerque museum lists 22 objects donated by Raoul: 'four arrows, three pieces of cloth, three combs, two necklaces, one tattoo instrument, two flutes, two coconut fibre cords from Tongatabou (Friendly Islands), one dagger from Celebes or Macassar Island, two fish hooks, one spear head from New Zealand, one game bag from New Caledonia'.[13] However, only seven objects can be definitely identified today, while four other attributions are hypothetical, though more or less likely.

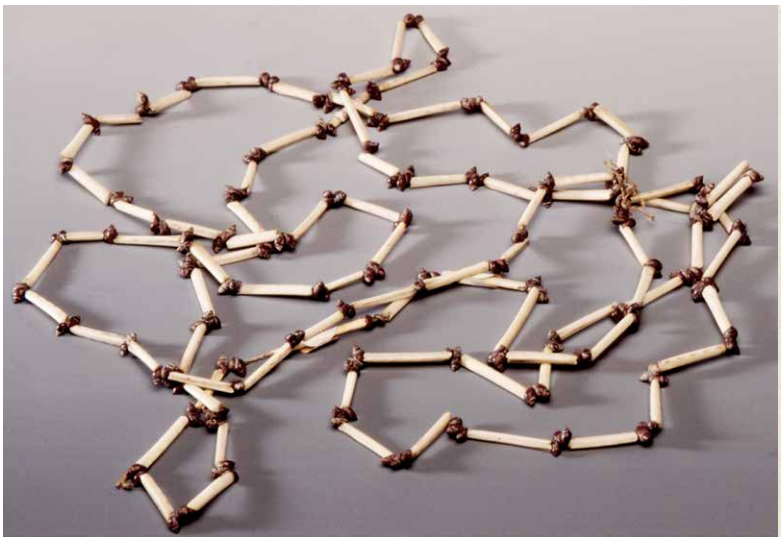
Figure 5.1. Four Tongan helu*, comb, three of them from the Raoul donation in the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.1365.1–4).*

Figure 5.2. Tongan hau*, tattooing comb, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, from the Raoul donation in the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.1343).*

The seven identified objects

Five of these items certainly originated in Tonga: three *helu*, comb (Figure 5.1); a *hau*, tattooing comb (Figure 5.2); and a *kafa*, plaited coconut fibre cord (BA.1972.00.1382). Two others were almost certainly obtained in Tonga: a long fringed *kie*, mat (BA.1972.00.1372) and a white *ngatu*, barkcloth (BA.1972.00.1332). Since the museum holds four Tongan combs under a single old inventory number, it is impossible to distinguish the three donated by Raoul. Made from the midribs of coconut palm leaves, held together by woven brown and black plant fibres, these combs somewhat resemble one engraved in La Billardière's *Atlas* (see Figure 8.9).[14]

The tattooing comb (Figure 5.2) measures 4.4 cm and consists of two blades—one turtle shell, the other pearl shell—joined by two coconut fibre ties. The distal end of the pearl shell blade is finely carved with 17 teeth. Traces of black pigment are still visible on the object. As is evident from the remains of the fibre ties on the turtle shell blade, this type of comb was put perpendicularly on top of a handle and held in place by the lashing, a fixing mode characteristic throughout western Polynesia.[15] While La Billardière noted that most Tongans were 'tattooed on all parts of the body',[16] we found no direct observation of tattooing practices in the accounts of the expedition. However, the presence of relatively precise tattooing terms in the vocabularies collected during the French stopover in Tongatapu, together with the depiction in the *Atlas* of a 'Femme des îles des Amis' (Woman of the Friendly Islands) with arm and shoulder tattoos, indicates that the topic was discussed with local residents.[17] These fragments are valuable, given the little information available on tattooing in the Tongan archipelago.



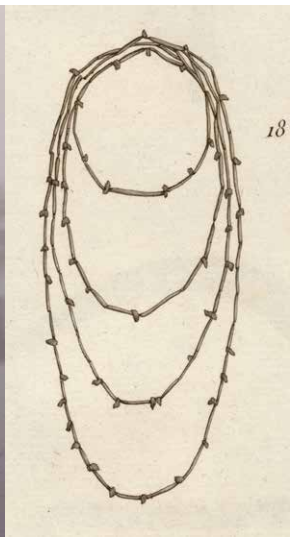


Figure 5.3 (left). kahoa, *necklace, probably Tongan, probably from the Raoul donation in the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.1340).*

Figure 5.4 (right). Fig. 18 of plate 32 in La Billardière's Atlas *showing a Tongan necklace resembling an object from the Raoul donation in the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque. Pérée, 'Collier', 1800, engraving.*

Hypothetical inclusions

Two scholars, Jacquemin and Agnès Rotschi, argued that certain other items should be associated with the Raoul donation. In a report on her inventory of the Dunkerque Oceanian collection in 1993, Jacquemin suggested four likely inclusions: an ornament 'that the inventory attributes to Dr Raoul';[18] a white barkcloth; a necklace, because two Tongan necklaces are listed in the Raoul collection by the museum's accession registry; and a small mat. We concur in the case of the last two objects.

The ornament (BA.1972.00.1329) comprises an assemblage of 38 small white shells (genre *Natica*). It is reproduced in Karl von den Steinen's comprehensive survey of Marquesan art.[19] Jacquemin reasoned that, since the museum's entire Marquesan collection was 'brought back by Jolly, one might ask whether an error about the donor's identity did not slip into the inventory when the collection was catalogued'.[20] However, since Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition did not visit the Marquesas, we do not include this ornament in the Raoul donation. The same conclusion must be drawn with respect to the barkcloth (BA.1972.00.1453), which shows characteristics of cloth made in Hawai'i—namely, motifs impressed into the thickness of the fibres by the relief decoration of the mallet. As Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's route did not include the Hawaiian Islands, we cannot associate this barkcloth with the Raoul collection.

In contrast, the *kahoa*, necklace (Figure 5.3), made of shell beads and the long bones of birds, closely resembles one depicted in La Billardière's *Atlas* (Figure 5.4). Two similar objects are held in the Cook-Forster Collection at Universität Göttingen (University of Göttingen), one of which was certainly collected in Tonga during Cook's voyages.[21] The Dunkerque necklace, then, can surely be attributed to the Raoul donation. The small rectangular mat (BA.1972.00.493; Figure 5.5; see feature), partly decorated with European materials, is also plausibly associated with Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition via Raoul.

According to Rotschi, who undertook an inspection of the Dunkerque museum in 1997 and 1998, an ornament of fibres, shell beads, and feathers (Figure 5.6) is of Tongan origin and should be considered part of Raoul's gift, though she provided no supporting argument for her claim. This plait is composed of bicoloured coconut fibre with disks of perforated shell inserted at regular intervals, together with small red, yellow, and whitish feathers. The object is reminiscent of necklaces worn in Tonga but its length suggests a waist ornament. The conjunction of its constituent materials equally evokes the *sisi fale*, waist garment, worn by eminent Tongan women.[22]

With comparative reference to the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection in Leiden's Museum Volkenkunde, we propose to add one more object to our list of items potentially resulting from this voyage. A panpipe (Figure 5.7) is similar in construction to one held in Leiden (RV-34-15), though considerably smaller.[23] Composed of six bevelled pipes lashed together with coconut fibres and decorated with pyrographic dots, this wind instrument seems likely to be a *mimiha* of Tongan origin.

kie—Tongan small fine mat

Hélène Guiot

In her 1993 inventory of the Oceanian collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC in Dunkerque, Sylviane Jacquemin hypothesized that a small Tongan *kie*, mat (Figure 5.5), should be listed among the Raoul donation of objects collected during the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux.[1] She did so on the grounds that the 1838 accession register of the Dunkerque museum includes 'three pieces of cloth' from Tongatapu in the Raoul donation.[2] Two can be convincingly identified as a long fringed mat (BA.1972.00.1372) and a white barkcloth (BA.1972.00.1332). Logically, then, the third is the small Tongan mat (BA.1972.00.493).

Probably a sitting mat, the *kie* is 91 x 63 cm, rectangular, and mostly made from diagonally plaited *Pandanus* leaves split into fine strips, on average 2.5 mm wide. Each side has a short, uneven fringe. Small tufts of fibres—today red, black, green, or blue in appearance—are inserted into the plaiting and form dotted or continuous lines in rectilinear or broken patterns. Similar mats are common in the Western Pacific archipelagoes. Made by women, they were decorated with red feathers and constituted true wealth which circulated in ceremonial prestations.[3] The adornment of the Dunkerque mat comprises fibres separated from European fabric. Exotic materials are regularly incorporated into Oceanian productions. The Islanders, who much valued mats ornamented with red feathers, attributed equal value to other imported materials, which in this case were brought by European voyagers. The decorative process enhanced the collective value of the constituents—of the object as a whole and the various persons who participated in its exchange.

Exchanges structured, and to an extent still structure, Pacific societies, for they formalize social bonds, create networks, and impel a permanent dynamic. Even if the arrival of Europeans modified processes of acquisition, Oceanian people instituted exchanges not only to integrate unknown materials into their universe, but also to establish durable relations between their world and that of the visitors.[4] What story could be told by this small mat? European voyagers visiting the archipelago before the advent of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition might have left a uniform jacket or a commander's coat in exchange for goods produced by the Islanders. The cycle was launched. Tongans integrated the power of the new object into a mat, one of their emblematic productions. This precious item of female wealth, imbued with great value, was offered to a subsequent new arrival, in this case Bruni d'Entrecasteaux or a shipmate, in return for unknown recompense. So the Islanders perpetuated the cycle of exchanges, strengthening links with a view to forging lasting relations whereby the two communities, that of the visitors and that of the Tongans, were encompassed within a common social and cosmic system.

Notes

1 Jacquemin, 'Inventaire des collections océaniennes …', December 1993, MBA – LAAC.

2 Anon., 'Registre d'inscription des objets donnés par les habitants de la Ville de Dunkerque pour la formation d'un musée', 1829–39:133, CAD (2R4).

3 For example, Kaeppler, 'Kie Hingoa: Mats of Power, Rank, Prestige and History', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108 (1999):168–232.

4 For example, Coppet, 'Iles Salomon: objets achetés mais aussi offerts dans l'espoir que s'institue une relation', in *Le voyage de La Korrigane dans les mers du Sud …* (Paris, 2001):130–2.

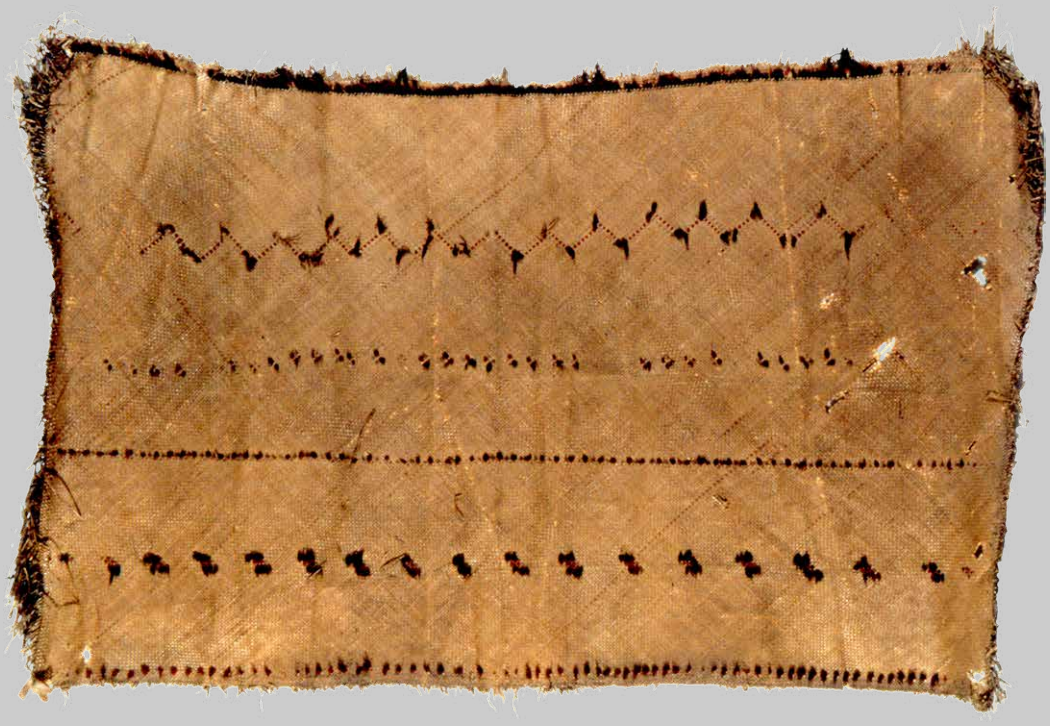


Figure 5.5. Small Tongan kie*, mat, possibly collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, probably from the Raoul donation in the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.493).*

Figure 5.6. Tongan nau, *waist adornment or belt, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, from the Raoul donation in the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.1338).*

Figure 5.7. Tongan mimiha, *panpipe, possibly collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, from the Raoul donation in the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.1287).*

Conclusion

At this point, in addition to the seven objects clearly attributable to Raoul's donation, four other pieces can plausibly be added to the list. It is therefore important to extend the study of this collection and to crosscheck the whole body of data, notably those relating to the donors, the different registers, and the city archives. Certain objects might really be associated with the Raoul collection but bear the names of other donors. What were the possible links between such persons? Is it reasonable to posit transcription errors as in the case of the Marquesan ornament? Why is there no mention of 'Raoul' in the inventory registers for some objects manifestly resulting from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition?

The identification of objects stemming from the voyage of the *Recherche* and the *Espérance* always inspires a certain interest in France, given its well known vicissitudes. The striking history of these objects continues in the collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC in Dunkerque.

Notes

1 Carlier, *M. Benjamin Morel …* (Dunkerque, 1862):109–10. The mayor's initial appeal was reported in *Feuilles d'annonces judiciaires, commerciales et maritimes de Dunkerque*, 25 July 1829.

2 Anon., 'Registre d'inscription des objets donnés par les habitants de la Ville de Dunkerque pour la formation d'un musée', 1829–39:133, CAD (2R4).

3 For a detailed study of the life, naval career, and Dunkerque connections of Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul, see Tomasek, 'De l'Océanie à Dunkerque …', *Revue historique de Dunkerque et du littoral* 45 (2012):135–48.

4 The muster roll of the *Astrée* first mentions Raoul in 1786 as a *timonier* taking mathematics lessons, who was promoted to assistant pilot after the end of the campaign in March 1790. Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul, [Dossier individuel], n.d., SHD (MAR CC^{7} 2088).

5 Ibid.; Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique …* (Paris, 1986):258–61.

6 Ibid.:206.

7 For example, in March 1802 (7 germinal an X), both Raouls were ordered to Dunkirk to work under the hydrographer Beautemps-Beaupré on his survey of the north coast of France. Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul was promoted to first class hydrographer and *capitaine de frégate*, commander, in 1811 and retired in 1834. Raoul, [Dossier individuel]; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:260–1.

8 Jacquemin, 'Objets des mers du sud …' (Paris, 1991):36.

9 Chapters 3, 8, 9, 10.

10 Anon., 'Memoire du Roi pour servir d'instruction particulière au S^{r}. D'Entrecasteaux …', 16 September 1791, SHD (MAR BB^{4} 992); Jacquemin, 'Marins et collections: les collectes des expéditions maritimes', in *La découverte du paradis …* (Paris, 1997):43–4.

11 'Journals' written by the Raoul brothers were among the documents repatriated to France from England in 1802 but they are logbooks or hydrographic journals rather than personal diaries. Louis-Guillaume

Otto to Ministre de la Marine, 30 prairial an X (18 June 1802), in SHD, 'Expédition du contre-amiral d'Entrecasteaux …', 1785–1810 (MAR BB^4 993); ANF, [Marine, Service hydrographique], 1791–4 (MAR 5 JJ 14).

12 Jacquemin, 'Inventaire des collections océaniennes …', December 1993, MBA – LAAC; 'Des objets océaniens rescapés de l'expédition d'Entrecasteaux (1791–1794)', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 99 (1994):207–8; Richard, *Une grande expédition*. Jacquemin worked in the context of a 1993 study of Oceanian collections in French public institutions, notably in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region, which culminated in a exhibition in 1997–8 with an accompanying catalogue. Notter, ed., *La découverte du paradis* … (Paris, 1997).

13 Anon., 'Registre':133. The register was opened on 25 May 1829 and gives donors' names, positions, and precise dates until 1839. The donations are numbered by lots, 1–591, with more or less detailed descriptions of the objects. Raoul's gift is numbered 133.

14 La Billardière, *Atlas* … (Paris, 1800): plate 32 (fig. 21).

15 Galliot, 'Pe'a et Malu, le tatouage à Samoa (1722–2010) …' (Marseille, 2010).

16 La Billardière, *Relation du voyage* … (Paris, 1800), II:176.

17 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage* … (Paris, 1808), I:570; La Billardière, 'Vocabulaire de la langue des îles des Amis', in *Relation*, II, Tables:55; *Atlas*: plate 30 (fig. 1).

18 Jacquemin, 'Inventaire': fiche 8.

19 Von den Steinen, *Les Marquisiens et leur art*, vol. 3, *Les Collections* (Papeete, 2008): aH, 7.

20 Jacquemin, 'Inventaire': fiche 8. Louis-Victor Jolly was a naval administrative officer stationed in the Marquesas in 1847–8.

21 NMA, 'Necklace *tuinga kahoa*'; 'Neck Ornament', in *Cook's Pacific Encounters* … (Canberra, 2018): Oz 196; Oz 197. See also Kaeppler, '306–307: Necklace *Kahoa*', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 2009):199.

22 Kaeppler, 'Kie Hingoa: Mats of Power, Rank, Prestige and History', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108:2 (1999):172–4. See Chapter 4, feature.

23 See Chapters 8, 15.

CHAPTER 6

Universitetsmuseet, Bergen

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The first 43 entries (BME 1-43) made in the original accession register of the ethnographic collections of the Universitetsmuseet (University Museum) in Bergen, Norway, are identified as follows:

> A collection from the Caledonian Islands, collected during D'Entrecasteaux's expedition to the South Seas in 1791–93 in search of Admiral La Perouse. The collection originates from the collections of the previous governor of Tranquebar, Major-General Peter Anker. After his death it was bought from his heir, Major-General Erik Anker, in Christiania.[1]

This description, together with the minutes of a subsequent board meeting of Bergens Museum on 18 November 1835, comprise the only extant documentation of this important collection.[2] When the objects were rediscovered in the museum's storage cupboards in 1997, we suspected that no one had actually touched them or investigated the collection's history during the 172 years since its arrival in Bergen.

At the meeting in November 1835, the chair of the board H.W.K. Christie, who had founded the museum ten years earlier, reported on the results of his two months' stay in Christiania (Oslo), negotiating with several natural scientists the exchange of natural history collections of birds, human skeletons, seashells, and minerals. He had been in conversation with the King and received promises for a series of donations to Bergens Museum. As a token of commitment, he was given a silver cup as an initial gift. He also received various donations from contacts among the bourgeoisie: a gold medallion, a silver coin, a flint dagger and bronze ornament, a poisoned arrow from Java, and a collection resulting from the archaeological excavation of a burial mound close to Bergen. But the major item reported during this meeting was a collection from the Pacific that Christie had bought from one of the leading families of the capital, the Ankers—the purchase 'of weapons and economic tools from the Caledonian islands that were brought to Batavia by the French expedition under Admiral D'Entrecasteaux that was sent out to search for the expedition of La Perouse'.

This announcement is followed by a listing of the 71 objects in the Pacific collection. Three natural history items also came with the purchase from Anker—two tigers' heads and a lion's head. The collection cost 22 *speciedaler*,[3] and the board unanimously agreed that this money could be taken from the museum's account. The composition of the collection is listed as: six bows; a bamboo quiver containing 36 arrows; fifteen more arrows; three spears; two fans made of leaves; 'a tool resembling a lemon reamer' (a barkcloth beater); 'a tomahawk with a serpentine blade'; a 'wooden shaft missing its stone head'; nine clubs of different sorts; a fish hook made of bone; and a coin 'with four thick lines on each side'.[4] When these objects were incorporated into the ethnographic collection, the coin and the three animal heads were transferred to their respective places in the coin and natural history collections. Their present locations are unknown. As indicated above, the Anker materials were given the first 43 numbers in the original accession register of the ethnographic collections. Today, a total of 44 arrows are listed—seven have been lost or misplaced from the original purchase—and the remaining objects are registered in accordance with the original list.

Tracking provenance

The particular concern of this chapter is to trace the objects in the Bergen collection to their places of origin and where possible to particular episodes of exchange mentioned in the French voyage texts. Careful scrutiny of such episodes provides suggestive clues as to the provenance of particular objects. In turn, this rich collection charts a trajectory of key encounters during the voyage itself—the first hesitant meetings with people at Buka and the Admiralty Islands; the intense visit to Tongatapu; the problematic stay in New Caledonia; and the fleeting, increasingly tense engagements with people in the Solomon Islands and islands east of New Guinea.[5]

Material encounters

In following the expedition's trail for such clues, I draw mainly on Rossel's edition of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's journal, published post mortem in 1808.[6] It is clear from this text that one of the explicit scientific purposes of the voyage was to establish contact with local populations and learn about their way of life. As such, the ethnographic items collected were intended to testify to extraordinary encounters in a laboratory of Enlightenment philosophies. The travellers' firsthand accounts say much about these early engagements between Europeans and Pacific Islanders.

The earliest possible provenance of pieces in the Bergen collection occurred as the expedition sailed through the Solomon Islands to Buka (Papua New Guinea) in mid-1792. On 15 July, several canoes manned by about 70 men approached the vessels at the island's northern extremity. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux noted:

> The natives showed us bows and arrows that they appeared to want to fire, which did not seem like a good omen; but we soon realized that they were offering them to us in exchange, and were demonstrating their use in order to encourage us to buy them. Of their own accord, without our asking, they attached one of their bows to the line tethering the plank on which we were giving them knives, nails, small mirrors and a piece of red muslin: this gesture

Figure 6.1 (left). Detail of a husul*, bow, probably collected in Buka, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 19).*

Figure 6.2 (right). Detail of a spear with obsidian point, possibly originating in the Admiralty Islands, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 13).

> excited our generosity, and each of us hastened to pass them what he had to hand; but then they became more reserved, and whatever we gave them, they only sent back arrows. Red cloth seemed to please them more than iron, mirrors, and even cutting tools.[7]

Thus, after initial success in purchasing a single bow, the men of the *Recherche* could only obtain arrows. However, the Bukans were subsequently so entranced by a violin, on which one of the officers played 'a rather lively air', that they offered in exchange not only a second bow but some clubs. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux noted that the crew of the *Espérance* bartered more successfully for artefacts because many more Islanders approached that vessel.[8] This encounter is the possible source of a bow (Figure 6.1) and several arrows in the Bergen collection (see feature).

A few days after leaving Buka, the expedition anchored for a week in Carteret Harbour (Lamassa Bay) in New Ireland. There, the ships replenished with wood and water but obtained almost no provisions and made no contact with local residents.[9] In late July, the French again encountered a 'considerable' Indigenous population in the Admiralty Islands, though Bruni d'Entrecasteaux refused to land due to the ever-present danger of reefs and the inhabitants' reported hostility towards earlier European voyagers. At La Vendola (Nauna), they counted 'about 150 persons' on the beach, eager to engage in exchanges. According to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, 'they rid themselves willingly of their arms, their ornaments, and finally of everything we asked for'. At

Figure 6.3. Detail of a bow, probably originating in Ambon (Maluku Province, Indonesia), held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 20).

a small island off the northeastern tip of much larger Manus Island, the travellers obtained ornaments, arms, and 'even the shells which covered their nudity', in return for nails which the people seized 'with the greatest avidity' while ignoring everything else offered. The weapons received were limited to 'spears ending in a hard, sharp stone and the kinds of arrows thrown by hand'. No bows or clubs were seen.[10] Two spears with obsidian points (BME 13–14; Figure 6.2) held in the Bergen collection might well have been among these items. One such object is depicted in the *Atlas* of the naturalist La Billardière, who added in the 'Table des planches' (Table of plates): 'its upper extremity terminates in a piece of volcanic glass'.[11]

One bow (Figure 6.3) and two palm leaf fans (BME 42–43) in the collection probably originated in Ambon (Maluku Province, Indonesia), where the Dutch had a fort. The expedition spent more than a month in Ambon restocking, before rounding New Holland (Australia) and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and re-entering the

Pacific in early 1793.[12] No further linkage with objects held in Bergen occurred until 11 March when the vessels surveyed Three Kings Islands and the northern extremity of New Zealand (see feature). Bruni d'Entrecasteaux expressed little ethnographic interest in the inhabitants who visited the ships in three canoes, since their customs and manners were 'so well known and described' by earlier voyagers that 'it would have been difficult to add anything' to existing knowledge. However, the Māori men spent a late afternoon and evening trading and communicating with the crews:

> We began to trade with them: they had fish, mats; weapons, such as javelins, spears, one of which measured 16 feet long, a perfectly polished club of hard stone; fishhooks of all sizes, made of shells and animal bones, fishing lines of New Zealand flax, much better braided than our finest threads…. We gave them axes, nails and a few pieces of cloth. They seemed to prefer worked iron over other objects…. They parted with some of their necklaces and we realized with horror that they included human bones.[13]

This encounter is the only possible source for the Māori objects in the Bergen collection, which include a magnificent adze handle, missing its blade (Figure 6.4), and an extraordinary fishhook made from human rib bone (Figure 6.6).

The Bergen collection holds several particularly interesting objects obtained during the expedition's next landfall in Tongatapu, during a complex set of more or less tense relationships with the Islanders. The very high-ranking Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u, known to the French as 'Queen Tiné', visited the *Recherche* and subsequently held a grand reception in honour of the visitors, attended by several thousand people.[14] Bruni d'Entrecasteaux reported that the participants in a dance performance each carried 'a little paddle', drawn in action in a field sketch by Piron of a

Figure 6.4. Wooden handle of a Māori toki poutangata*, adze, collected in Aotearoa-New Zealand and held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 10).*

Encountering Māori and their artefacts

Billie Lythberg and Mānuka Hēnare

During the late afternoon of 11 March 1793, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and his men on the *Recherche* and the *Espérance* made brief contact with a small group of Māori men in three *waka*, canoe, off Cape Maria van Diemen, the westernmost point of the North Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand (see Figure 2.6).[1] Whereas the Māori refused to board the ships, 'several' Frenchmen 'got down into the canoes'.[2] This meeting produced two well known portraits of Māori (Figure 6.5), drawn by the artist Piron and published as engravings in the *Atlas* of the naturalist La Billardière.[3] The encounter involved intentional transactional intensity on the part of Māori and ambivalent reception and perception by the French.

The European accounts reveal indirect familiarity with these people and their conduct derived from precedents, particularly the voyages of Cook and their own compatriot Marion du Fresne, whose narratives featured among numerous items in the expedition's well-stocked shipboard library.[4] In 1772, Marion du Fresne and 24 shipmates had been killed and their bodies partly consumed by Māori in the Bay of Islands. The following year, Cook's colleague Furneaux lost 10 men in similar fashion at Queen Charlotte Sound (Totara-nui).[5] Two decades later, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and his companions were haunted by foreknowledge of the past actions of 'these wretched cannibals', as the chief helmsman Joseph-François Raoul put it and La Billardière openly acknowledged.[6] Such collective memory is implicit in the reaction of Hesmivy d'Auribeau, first officer on the *Recherche*, to the proffering of a Māori ornament made of 'a piece of human bone': 'a custom as revolting as it is barbarous'. In practice, the contradictions between Māori repute, appearance, and actions perplexed the voyagers and fuelled the oscillating emotions expressed in their reports. So Hesmivy d'Auribeau and Raoul also praised the 'good faith in the exchanges' and the 'good and kindly behaviour' of these Māori, about whom 'we had only good to say'.[7] Similarly, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and La Billardière professed pleasure at the 'good faith' and 'scrupulous exactness' of their dealings, alongside 'horror' that 'part of a human forearm' should be worn as a 'kind of trophy' by a 'fierce savage' who performed an ironic pantomime of 'cannibal' glee.[8]

The French journals document in detail the material aspects of these exchanges. In return for the voyagers' 'scrap iron[,] some pieces of cloth and glass', plus 'knives and nails, which they greatly prized', the Māori gave 'everything they owned': 'fish, fishing lines[,] fishhooks[,] clubs and spears, sorts of cloaks made of straw and native flax … shell bracelets, stones of a kind of jasper and pieces of human bone that they wore around their neck'; some 'would go so far as to give their paddles[,] having nothing else'.[9] La Billardière noted that 'these Savages even stripped off their clothes in order to acquire our objects of exchange', while 'Bruni d'Entrecasteaux thought that they 'appeared to prefer worked iron' over anything else.[10] Halle de Longuerüe, sub-lieutenant on the *Recherche*, observed that the Māori they met 'seemed to be only fishermen; and indeed we caught many fish from them.'[11] While possibly the case, they appear to have paddled intentionally from the shore to meet the Europeans. La Billardière recorded seeing a large fire lit on the loftiest of the hills skirting the sea,[12] probably kindled as a signal when the ships were sighted.

Moreover, apart from the varied Māori artefacts in the collection of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University,[13] the Universitetsmuseet (University Museum) in Bergen holds a *matau*, fishhook,

made from human rib bone (Figure 6.6) and the handle from an adze of the *toki poutangata* type (BME 10; see Figure 6.4).[14] Both have particular qualities suggesting their donors' premeditation, however brief their opportunity to prepare for the encounter.

Toki poutangata—literally, adze to strike a person; figuratively, ceremonial adze or baton of rank—have both ritual and practical functionality.[15] They are instantiations of the status and prestige of people who have used them and physical representations of ancestral ties. Formerly, the battles they attended and the warriors they despatched would have further added to their significance. Their finely carved and embellished wooden handles incorporate a *manaia* figure, a guardian being with a bird's head and human body which carries messages between the earthly realm of mortals and the domain of the spirits. This underpins their use in *karakia*—formal appeals to spiritual forces and beings—and other rites connecting the human and spiritual worlds and the *tapu*, restriction, prohibition, and *mana*, status and personal efficacy, associated with them.[16] Today, such *taonga*, treasure, continue to be used in this way: punctuating oratory, recalling tribal histories, and cutting the first notch in canoes or tribal houses or applying their finishing details for ceremonial purposes.

The blades of *toki poutangata* were functional and usually made of *pounamu*, a nephrite found specifically in the South Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand. The *toki poutangata* in Bergen has lost its blade but was probably exchanged with one. Its receipt by French voyagers in the far north of the North Island is material testament to a lively local economy and the expansive trade networks encompassing all of Aotearoa.[17] When a great *rangatira*—leader, person of high status—died, the handle of their *toki poutangata* was often buried with them but the blade was passed down to their heir; notches on the side of the blade recorded the generations it had passed through.[18] The Māori men might have carried the *toki poutangata* with them that evening for the purpose of *karakia* to sanctify their fishing. Or perhaps they took it to their meeting with the Europeans for its protective qualities and then offered it to them as a *taonga*, a gift to cement a relationship. Its current location in a museum far distant in space and time no doubt also signifies a Māori desire for iron and other European goods so strong that even sacred treasures were not immune to being traded.

La Billardière admired the finely polished stone sinker we believe now resides in the Peabody Museum (PM 67-10-70/244; see Figure 11.1). Bruni d'Entrecasteaux acknowledged that the intricately twined flax fishing lines the French received were 'much better braided than our finest cords'.[19] Raoul listed 'fishhooks, of bone and shell', among the items traded by the Māori visitors, while La Billardière and Bruni d'Entrecasteaux noted their 'different shapes' and 'sizes'.[20] But Hesmivy d'Auribeau found them 'neither well made nor of a shape fit for ordinary use'. On the other hand, he also noted the 'quite large quantity of fish they gave us'.[21] This patent contradiction hints at the great range of local variations in Māori fishhook design for particular fish species, of which the French knew nothing.

Hooks made with human bone shanks or barbs, such as the one now in Bergen (Figure 6.6), have a special place in Māori oral traditions. For example, Māui, a trader, explorer, and great ancestor well known throughout Polynesia, is said to have fished the North Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand—Te Ika-a-Māui, the fish of Māui—from the sea using a hook made from the jawbone of his ancestress. The Bergen fishhook is simple, without ceremonial embellishment, and looks very functional, but is nevertheless a significant object. Human bone was a prized material, especially when obtained from an ancestor or an enemy. Whilst an ancestor's bones were revered and honoured—the bone pendants and necklaces acquired by the French might well have been such relics—the use of an enemy's bones in utilitarian objects such as fishhooks was a direct

insult, thereafter illustrative of the bearer's *mana*, authority, and prestige.

The small assemblage of Māori artefacts attributed to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition and now held in Bergen and the Peabody Museum are material residues of exchanges made during a brief encounter. They testify to the ambivalence provoked in the French protagonists, who 'knew' in advance that 'these Savages … devour human flesh', but 'regarded it as a mark of the greatest confidence that they had no qualms about giving us all their weapons'.[22] The written traces of these transactions detail vividly the Māori actions which provoked the visitors' trepidation and relief, but say nothing of Indigenous motivations for bestowing a valuable *toki poutangata* and a human bone fishhook on strangers so fleetingly met.

Notes

1 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:271–3; La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II:83–7.

2 Gicquel Destouches, 'Nottes', 11 March 1793, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 14[1]).

3 See Collins and Hannah, 'Through Classicising Eyes: Revisiting Piron's Images of Pacific Islanders from d'Entrecasteaux's Voyage', *Journal of New Zealand Art History* 29 (2008):27–9; Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768–1850 …* (Oxford, 1969):111.

4 Thevenard [Ministre de la Marine], 'Etat sommaire des livres de voyage, de navigation, de phisique, d'histoire naturelle et autres remises à M. d'Entrecasteaux …', n.d., in SHD, 'Expédition du contre-amiral d'Entrecasteaux …', 1785–1810 (MAR BB[4] 992). See also Ollivier, *Extracts from New Zealand Journals…* (Wellington, 1986):17–21.

5 Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World …* (London, 1777):254–60; Crozet, *Nouveau voyage à la mer du sud …* (Paris, 1783):88–126; Salmond, *Two Worlds …* (Auckland, 1991):386–402; *Between Worlds …* (Auckland, 1997):102–5.

6 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:87; Raoul, [Journal], 11–12 March 1793, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 14[1]), in Ollivier, *Extracts*:48.

7 Ibid.:50; Hesmivy d'Auribeau, [Journal de mer], 13 March 1793, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 13[6]) in Ollivier, *Extracts*:30, 32.

8 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:272; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:85–6.

9 Gicquel Destouches, 'Nottes', 11 March 1793; Raoul, [Journal], in Ollivier, *Extracts*:48, 50.

10 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:272; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:85.

11 Halle de Longuerüe, 'Journal', 10–11 March 1793, in Ollivier, *Extracts*:46.

12 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:83.

13 Chapter 11.

14 Chapter 6.

15 Personal communication, Wayne Ngata, Māori Language Commissioner, January 2018.

16 Personal communication, Lewis Gardiner, master carver, January 2018.

17 See Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry: Māori Tribal Enterprise in Early Colonial New Zealand* (Auckland, 2006); Adrienne Puckey, *Trading Cultures: A History of the Far North* (Wellington, 2011).

18 Dorota C. Starzecka, Roger Neich, and Mick Pendergrast, *Taonga Māori in the British Museum* (Wellington, 2012):68.

19 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:272; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:85.

20 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:272; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:84; Raoul, [Journal], in Ollivier, *Extracts*:48.

21 Hesmivy d'Auribeau, [Journal de mer], in Ollivier, *Extracts*:30.

22 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:84–6.

Figure 6.5. [Figs 1 and 2] of Plate 25 of La Billardière's Atlas *portraying two of the Māori men encountered by Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition at sea off the north coast of New Zealand. Copia after Piron, 'Sauvage de la Nouvelle Zéelande'; 'Jeune sauvage de la Nouvelle Zéelande', 1800, engraving.*

Figure 6.6. Māori matau, *fishhook, made from human rib bone, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 40).*

Figure 6.7 (left). Tongan apa'apai*, club, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 1).*

Figure 6.8 (middle). Fijian ula tavatava*, throwing club, collected in Tongatapu and held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 7).*

Figure 6.9 (right). Kanak barkcloth beater from New Caledonia, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 41).

'Danse de tongatabou' (Dance in Tonga) (see Figure 18.1).[15] One such object, decorated with shell inlays of the moon and stars (BME 8; see Figure 7.4), is in the Bergen collection. So are three decorated clubs (BME 1–3; Figure 6.7) and a *tukipitu*, bamboo stamping tube or ceremonial percussive instrument (BME 21; see Figure 15.1), which was filled with arrows on arrival in Bergen because Anker had mistaken it for a quiver.

Bruni d'Entrecasteaux found it 'truly surprising' that Tongans sailed so often to the Fiji Islands and noted the 'frequent wars', 'communications', and 'exchange' between the groups. Much impressed by the 'fine figure' and 'great intelligence' of a Fijian man seen in Tongatapu, he extrapolated from this single personal encounter a generalization about the 'inferiority' of Tongans to Fijians in military performance, craftsmanship, and

Figure 6.10 (left). Wooden handle of a Kanak axe from New Caledonia, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 11).

Figure 6.11 (right). Fig. 21 of plate 38 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a Kanak axe from New Caledonia resembling an object in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen. La Billardière, 'Hache de serpentine emmanchée de bois', 1800, engraving.*

intelligence.[16] Such intergroup relations were no doubt the source of the typically Fijian *ula tavatava*, throwing club (Figure 6.8), in the Bergen collection, as well as a *gugu*, club (BME 4), with a design that—according to Fergus Clunie—originated in Viti Levu.[17]

On departure from Tongatapu, the expedition sailed westwards to New Caledonia where they spent 18 days in the northeastern port of Balade. The Bergen collection holds five objects of typically Kanak manufacture: two hardwood clubs (BME 5–6); an adze handle missing its stone blade (BME 9), resembling one in Leiden's Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection (RV-34-10; see Figure 8.1), as well as another held by the British Museum (Oc.7948); a barkcloth beater (Figure 6.9), also similar to one in the British Museum (Oc1944,02.1141); and a simple axe handle, also without a blade (Figure 6.10)—perhaps the 'wooden shaft missing its stone head' mentioned in the museum board minutes. The last item is nearly identical to the handle of an axe engraved in La Billardière's *Atlas* (Figure 6.11) and labelled 'Serpentine axe hafted with wood'. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux reported exchanges with the men manning several canoes which visited the ships after

Figure 6.12: Detail showing the barb of an arrow from Santa Cruz, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 38).

their arrival at Balade. So hungry were the people that, far from providing provisions, they exchanged 'everything they had in their canoes' for a few coconuts. He did not specify the objects received but La Billardière mentioned 'spears and clubs'.[18]

The Bergen collection holds many arrows spanning the categories typical of the Melanesian inventory (see feature). For example, in May 1793, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux sought unsuccessfully to anchor at Santa Cruz (eastern Solomon Islands). Numerous Islanders came out to the ships in canoes, eager to trade. Two boats sent in search of an anchorage were surrounded by 20 or 30 canoes. Amicable exchanges were under way when a man fired an arrow which wounded one of the sailors. The French returned fire and shot the assailant. His companions abandoned the canoe which was seized and taken on board the *Recherche*. It contained three bows and three bundles of arrows. These were the only intact arrows received, since the Islanders snapped the points of those they traded. Some of the arrows held in Bergen (Figures 6.12, 6.14) might have been obtained during this encounter or during another meeting two days later off the island's north coast.[19]

Other arrows in the Bergen collection were probably acquired during subsequent encounters with Islanders in canoes as the expedition coasted past the southern Solomon Islands, the Louisiades, and the D'Entrecasteaux group. No further meetings are reported during the passage north of New Britain, south of New Ireland, and along the north coast of New Guinea. Fear of Indigenous violence, difficult sailing conditions, and bad weather discouraged the French from landing between New Caledonia and Waigeo, northwest of New Guinea. Such fleeting contacts as did occur were all initiated by Islanders.

Java to Bergen

The Bergen collection—which certainly constitutes only a small fraction of the total number of ethnographic objects collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition—followed a trajectory of its own after the ships reached Java in October 1793. Though I have found no documentation on how Peter Anker obtained the objects in question, his personal history suggests likely possibilities. From 1788 to 1806, he served as governor of the Danish colony of Tranquebar (Tharangambadi), on the southeast coast of India. Anker's major political challenge in these years was to negotiate relations between the British, the French, the Dutch, and the local Rajah in order to secure trade and shipping back to Scandinavia. In 1793, the little colony became involved as a neutral party in the war that had united almost all European governments against Revolutionary France. The Dutch colonies, including the Netherlands East Indies, were at that stage also at

Archery equipment

Andy Mills

Much of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection in the Universitetsmuseet (University Museum) in Bergen consists of archery equipment. The toxophilite craze had spread throughout Western Europe during the 18th century and remained strong thereafter,[1] explaining in part why the crew collected and studied projectile weapons so keenly—though professional military interest was no doubt also a factor. Indeed, it is the meticulous descriptions of the naturalist La Billardière that enable the Bergen archery collection to be traced to several specific locations: Ambon (Maluku Province, eastern Indonesia), Buka (eastern Papua New Guinea), Santa Cruz (Temotu Province, eastern Solomon Islands), and Tongatapu (southern Tonga). Apart from Ambon, represented only by a bow, the collection comprises both bows and arrows from each of these Oceanic cultures. Exemplifying the strongest archery traditions encountered, this typological division probably retains some of the original integrity it had when the expedition ended in Batavia. That said, stylistic variation in archery equipment is more poorly understood than almost any other aspect of Pacific art history and cultural attributions are challenging, to say the least. The Ambonese bow (Figure 6.3) is an exquisite artwork, finely gilt and overpainted with delicate vine scrolls suggestive of Islamic influence.

In Buka, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and La Billardière both commented on the sharp trading of local men, who approached the French vessels on 15 July 1792 in several canoes, including a large war canoe, and quickly showed their familiarity with exchange. The Frenchmen noted their immediate proffering of 'a very fine bow' but, while the Islanders were henceforth happy to exchange arrows, they refused to part with further bows. La Billardière admired their skilled bowmanship and 'industry' in fabricating arms, which they 'worked with much care'. They coated their bowstrings with 'a kind of resin', so they resembled catgut, and protected the centre of their bows with a fibre binding. He remarked on the 'artistic' bindings used to reinforce their arrows at the nock and where the hardwood head was socketed into the lightweight shaft.[2] The Bergen Museum's eight Buka arrows (BME 26–30, BME 34–6) demonstrate both the shaving down of arrowheads for aerodynamic balance and a range of fine barbing patterns. The Bukan bow in this collection (Figure 6.1) is of a basic type produced from the lowlands of southeastern New Guinea eastwards throughout the Massim and Bismarck Archipelago. As tall as a man and carved in black palmwood (*Borassus flabellifer*) with a flattened D-shaped section, its fifteen remaining woven split cane collars were applied to prevent the fibrous wood from splitting under compression. The asymmetrical hourglass shaped nocks provided a double fixing for the loops of the bowstring which were originally sealed with a parinarium nut paste.

Ten months later, the expedition spent three days off Santa Cruz.[3] The Islanders disarmed the arrows they traded by snapping off their tips (probably to retain the human bone points which were derived from their own deceased relatives), but a canoe containing three bows and three bundles of intact arrows was seized following a violent clash. One bow in the Bergen Museum is probably traceable to the Santa Cruz Islands (BME 15), with its lenticular section in a golden hardwood and asymmetrical nocks (one a rounded dovetail and the other a slender cone). It is the longest bow in the collection and seems, appropriately, to blend stylistic characteristics from the east and the west. However, identifying the geographical origin of this bow was made significantly more difficult because the string from BME 17 or BME 18, both Tongan, has been

transferred on to it at some stage during its long sojourn in Bergen. Seven arrows in the Bergen collection (BME 12, BME 31–3, BME 37–9) match those described by La Billardiére in Santa Cruz or conform to later Santa Cruz styles. They exhibit worked heads of human arm or leg bone (Figure 6.12), foreshafts forked to accommodate bone slivers (BMD 33), fine overpainting in the red, white, and black style characteristic of Temotu Province (BME 32), and complex barbing.[4] Of particular note is a three-pronged fishing arrow (Figure 6.13) with three barbs along the inside of each jaw, loosely bound with fine coconut fibre to open around the prey and secure it. As with the Bukan arrows, these weapons differ significantly from the well known late 19th-century Temotu arrow style—only the long arrow (BME 12) exhibits the geometrically carved foreshaft so distinctive of Santa Cruz in later years.

In the meantime, the expedition had anchored at Tongatapu for 18 days. By contrast to the Buka and Santa Cruz items, the 29 Tongan arrows (BME 22–5) held in Bergen, eight with lost heads, are notably simple and unbarbed, although their socketed heads are fire-hardened and their *ʻolongā* fibre (*Pipturus argenteus)* bindings carefully glued with breadfruit gum. The length of Oceanic arrow shafts was generally determined to balance the head's weight in flight, and so these simpler Tongan arrows are considerably shorter than the others. Twenty-one have a double collar where the head enters the cane shaft, maximizing the force transmitted to the head upon impact. The collection's three *kaufana tangata*, lit. man bow, generally carved of mangrove wood (*Rhizophora mangle*) (BME 16–18), are remarkable pieces of technology. Possessing shallow grooves down their bellies and carved shield-shaped string guides below their conical nocks, they also exhibit elaborate knotted *ʻolongā* bindings around their middles to increase tensile resistance. One of them (Figure 6.14) also includes a slender wooden fillet inside its wrapped belly groove to increase compressive resistance. This is an extremely rare example of Oceania's only tradition of composite bow manufacture.

Notes

1 Grayson, *et al.*, *Traditional Archery from Six Continents* (Columbia and London, 2007):235–9; Thompson, *The Witchery of Archery …* (New York, 1878):3–4.

2 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:122–5; La Billardiére, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), I:222–30.

3 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:368–79; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:250–60.

4 Koch, *Materielle Kultur der Santa Cruz-Inseln* (Berlin, 1971).

Figure 6.13 (left). Fishing arrow collected in Santa Cruz (Temotu Province, Solomon Islands), held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 39).

Figure 6.14 (right). Tongan composite kaufana tangata, *man bow, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 18).*

war with France but by 1795, after France had defeated the Dutch Republic and set up a puppet regime in the Netherlands, the Dutch East Indies were aligned with France. The objects now held in Bergen presumably came into Anker's hands during this period.

During two decades in South Asia, Anker doubtless had opportunities both to travel to Batavia in Java, where the *Recherche* and the *Espérance* had ended up and were finally sold at auction, and to meet other travellers coming from Batavia. Moreover, Anker was a member of the 'local node of science', the Tranquebarske Selskab (Tranquebarian Society), which was modelled on and maintained regular contacts with the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences).[20] His biographer mentions that in 1795 Anker welcomed to his station a French captain and some sailors who had escaped from a British warship.[21] A letter from the French government in Ile-de-France (now Mauritius) honoured Anker for the goodwill he offered French refugees to Tranquebar during the war, despite strict orders from Great Britain to take them prisoner.[22] Such intercolonial links across the Indian Ocean were not uncommon. In 1801 Gicquel Destouches, who had been a pilot on the *Recherche*, sent a letter from Ile de France, where ill health had forced him to abandon Baudin's expedition en route to New Holland. Carried to Europe on a Danish ship, the letter reports that Achard de Bonvouloir, Gicquel's former shipmate on the *Recherche*, was 'no longer at Batavia', having departed several years previously in command of a small vessel and 'made his return to Trinquebart where it is believed that he stayed'.[23] There he presumably met Anker and perhaps assisted his acquisition of ethnographic objects from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition.

Peter Anker was a keen art collector and his collections would ultimately be central to the nation-building aspects of museum collecting in Copenhagen, Oslo, and Bergen.[24] Three years after his death in 1832, his heir Erik Anker turned the collection over to Bergens Museum. Christie, the museum's founder, and Anker were both central figures in the improvised parliament formed in 1814 to liberate Norway from Danish colonial rule and in subsequent drafting of the first Norwegian constitution.

Conclusion

Amongst the several extant museum collections of materials assembled during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage, that held in Bergen is notable for its wide breadth of provenance. It appears to include objects from most places, Van Diemen's Land excepted, where exchanges are recorded between members of the expedition and local populations—though no consolidated list is known to exist of items collected during the voyage. At the time of its accession by Bergens Museum, the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection testified not only to an intrepid voyage to the South Seas, to enlightenment, and to science, but also to the adventurous politics and diplomatic relations of Peter Anker in India and to the nation-building process in Norway.

Notes

1 UB, 'Katalog for de Etnografiske Samlinger', 1835–98, I:1, Kulturhistorie arkiv, UB.

2 UB, [Minutes of board meeting], 18 November 1835, Kulturhistorie arkiv, UB. See also Chapter 7. Bergens Museum was founded in 1825, incorporated into the new University of Bergen in 1946 as Historisk Museum, and is now Universitetsmuseet i Bergen.

3 The *speciedaler* was the Norwegian currency between 1816 and 1874. According to the Norges Bank, 22 *speciedaler* is equivalent to approximately NOK7,800 or €810 at 2016 values http://www.norges-bank.no/Statistikk/Priskalkulator/

4 UB, [Minutes of board meeting], 18 November 1835.

5 Chapter 2.

6 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I.

7 Ibid.:123.

8 Ibid.:124–5.

9 Ibid.:127.

10 Ibid.:131–9.

11 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800): plate 38 (fig. 25); see Figure 1.10; 'Table des planches …', in *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II, Tables:107.

12 Ibid.:155–67; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:289.

13 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:270–2; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:83–7.

14 Chapter 17.

15 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:293–4; Piron, [Esquisses], ANF (Marine 5 JJ 4). La Billardière called them 'a little club almost in the form of a paddle'. *Relation*, II:153.

16 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:311–14.

17 Clunie, *Fijian Weapons & Warfare* (Suva, 1977):54. See Chapter 16 for a detailed discussion of Tongan and Fijian clubs in relation to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition and the extensive regional networks in play.

18 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:330; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:184.

19 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:368–79.

20 Jensen, 'The Tranquebarian Society: Science, Enlightenment and Useful Knowledge in the Danish-Norwegian East Indies, 1768–1813', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40:4 (2015):542–5.

21 Nielsen, *General-Major Peter Anker, Guvernör i Trankebar* (Kristiania, 1870):56.

22 Ibid.:56–7.

23 Giquel Destouches, 'Copie des lettres que jai ecrite a M.^{r} Beaupré par un navire danois: Ile de France le 7 floreal an 9.^{e} [27 Avril 1801]', ANF (MAR 5 JJ 55), in 'Journal et autres documents de Pierre-Guillaume Gicquel', *The Baudin Legacy Project*:145, 149.

24 Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

Kulturhistorisk Museum, Universitetet i Oslo

ARNE ALEKSEJ PERMINOW

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Shortly after joining the Ethnographic Department of the Kulturhistorisk museum (Museum of Cultural History) of the University of Oslo in 2001, I investigated the Pacific collection of which I had been appointed keeper.[1] Like most European collections originating from the region, it was well stocked with wooden weapons. The 19th-century assemblage from the Tonga-Samoa-Fiji triangle consisted largely of clubs. I was startled by the feel of a particularly impressive, precisely carved Tongan *pakipaki*, paddle club (Figure 7.1). It seemed oddly out of joint at a straight, narrow crack close to the head. Inspecting the club more closely, I saw several chalky white spots gleaming through the dark brown or blackish colour of what otherwise looked like old ironwood (Figures 7.2). It was weighty enough but when I carefully knocked it with a key there was no wooden thump but the much more brittle, ringing resonance of plaster. Clearly, although this club materialized a Polynesian shape and patterns in Oslo, it had not been crafted by Polynesian woodworkers from the substance of a Pacific plant.

As I lifted other clubs on the same shelf, it became obvious that the plaster cast club was one of 13 highly naturalistic, convincing replicas of clubs and other implements fabricated in the western Pacific Islands. Apart from their ringing resonance, they stood out by having no attached labels or etched catalogue numbers. The storekeeper, who had been at the museum much longer than I, informed me that the plaster copies had 'always been around' but were uncatalogued and were not considered to be 'ethnographic objects'. They appeared not to have been exhibited within living memory and yet were treated with equal care as the rest of the collection. But where did they come from? Which wooden objects did they replicate? When, why, and by whom were they made?

This chapter attempts to solve the riddle of this particular, peculiar Pacific presence in the Oslo ethnographic collection by probing motivations for the establishment, development, and maintenance of such a collection in the capital of Norway from the middle of the 19th century. Unlike major colonial powers producing ethnographic collections in the wake of colonial encounters and entanglements, Norway was a budding nation state preoccupied with creating a nation and inventing a national identity after centuries of political and cultural dominance by historically more powerful Scandinavian neighbours. I argue that the casting of the Pacific artefacts

Figure 7.1. Plaster copy of a Tongan pakipaki*, paddle club, in the ethnographic collection of the Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo (UEM 49428-8).*

Figure 7.2. Detail showing a crack in the plaster copy of a Tongan pakipaki*, paddle club, in the Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo (UEM 49428-8).*

was more about representing Norway as a nation with international presence and agency than about building a Pacific presence there. The plaster copies serve as a lens through which to inspect the impulse for ethnographic collecting in the intellectual and political climate of an emergent nation state at Europe's periphery.

Casting copies

On examining the 13 casts more closely, I realized that I had seen a very similar set of objects elsewhere. In particular, a replica of a slim, elegant Tongan *paki*, dance paddle, with a crescent moon intarsia motif (Figure 7.3), bore a strong resemblance to one I had handled in the new storage facilities of the Universitetsmuseet (University Museum) in Bergen about two years previously (Figure 7.4). The eighth item listed in the Bergens Museum accession register, it is identified in Knut Rio's catalogue of Bergen's Oceania collection as one of the objects gathered during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage in search of La Pérouse and received by the museum in 1835 on the death of its owner Peter Anker. Rio's catalogue shows that the prototypes for twelve of the thirteen Oslo casts were artefacts BME 1–11 and artefact BME 41 in the Bergen accession register, all attributed to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition.[2] They comprise seven clubs (BME 1–7)—three

Figure 7.3. Plaster copy of a Tongan paki*, dance paddle, in the ethnographic collection of the Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo (UEM 49428-3).*

Figure 7.4. The original Tongan paki*, dance paddle, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 8).*

Tongan, two Fijian, and two Kanak (New Caledonia); a Tongan dance paddle (BME 8); Māori and Kanak adze handles (BME 9–10); a Kanak axe handle (BME 11); and a Kanak barkcloth beater (BME 41). The 13th item (UEM 49428-9) is a Tongan *apa'apai*, club, but it was gifted to Bergens Museum in 1826 by a watchmaker called Vahl, almost a decade before the purchase of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection in 1835.

Clearly, someone at the Oslo museum sufficiently valued these early Pacific artefacts to secure copies for the capital's ethnographic collection. But who and why? Was this investment of time and money prompted by a fascination for Pacific material culture, for Indigenous artefacts in general, or for the European discovery and exploration of the Pacific? Granting the urge to salvage bits of a supposedly vanishing world as a motivation for collecting in the rapidly modernizing contexts in which museums were established and grew in Europe, what was being saved or otherwise achieved here? After all, the objects had already been preserved for the future in the Bergen collection. Or was the replication project prompted by other concerns, turning plaster casts and artefacts into props on a stage set by more immediate concerns of present self-understanding?

Acquiring direct evidence about who secured the plaster copies is straightforward. There is, however, a dearth of archival materials relating to motives for the acquisition. Professor Yngvar Nielsen, director of the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum) at the University of Oslo for 38 years from 1878 until his death in 1916, acquired 30–40% of the present collection. In a report on the first 50 years of the ethnographic collection from its establishment in 1857, Nielsen mentioned acquiring the copies in 1903. He described them as a 'supplement' to one of the first collections he had procured for the museum as its new director in 1878—a large assemblage of maps, colour drawings, and paintings: 'This year's largest acquisition was a gift from Chamberlain Carl Johan Anker, containing 131 numbers (4411–4541) that have all in their time belonged to his father's brother, Governor and Major-General Peter Anker'. Nielsen added that Anker's collection was 'for a great part of his own making' and had been brought to Norway when he retired in 1806 after two decades as governor of the Danish colony of Tranquebar (Tharangambadi, India), near the end of the Danish-Norwegian union. Although Anker's Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection was sold to the Bergen museum by his heir and nephew Erik Anker in 1835 'for the meagre sum of 22 *speciedaler*',[3] the rest of his substantial colonial collection stayed with his heirs for some time longer. Nielsen's report laments its breakup.[4] As son-in-law of the prominent industrialist and last Norwegian noble titleholder Count Peder Anker Wedel Jarlsberg, a kinsman of Peter Anker's heir Carl Johan Anker, Nielsen was well positioned to make the acquisition of a collection of colonial images one of his initial acts as director of Oslo's Etnografisk museum.

Proximity to the Anker family doubtless provided Nielsen's opportunity to begin a Norwegian ethnographic collection of colonial artefacts. However, I argue that his key motivation was the collector's status as an exceptionally prominent Norwegian in an historically rare colonial position. Nielsen's enduring fascination with Anker's colonial career is evident in his 1871 biography of the governor. His clear focus is on Anker's general capability and agency as colonial administrator and on defending his governorship against accusations of disproportionate strictness towards native subjects and excessive passivity or compliance towards representatives of competing colonial

powers such as Britain. In the closing chapter, Nielsen mentioned several components of Anker's collection but was evidently then unaware of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux artefacts sold to the Bergen museum in 1835.[5]

However, by 1903 he clearly knew of their existence and was familiar with the aims and fate of the expedition itself.[6] Yet only two items in the museum archives, both from that year, throw light on the transactions whereby Nielsen acquired the plaster copies. A journal entry of 12 March reads: 'Preparator Dahl at Bergen Museum sends his collection of casts of the 12 clubs, for the total price of 130 kroner'.[7] And the following letter, dated March 9, was received from the Bergen museum, signed by the chief curator Kristofer Visted:

> Preparator Dahl has kept his promise to the extent that already on Saturday he could send the casts of the 12 clubs. He has asked me to notify you that the clubs with a hole in one of the ends should not be hung by them when mounted as they will hardly withstand it, and so he has bound them with bast fibre. For the whole work Mr Dahl requires 130 kroner: namely for the 11 casts, 10 kroner apiece, and for each of the 2 remaining, 8 kroner, and the packing material (two boxes), 4 kroner.[8]

Aside from glossing all the objects as 'clubs', this letter leaves no doubt that the prototypes for the Oslo plaster copies are in Bergen's Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection. It also indicates that Nielsen paid more relatively for the 13 copies—about NOK 10,750 (€1,150) in present values—than Bergen had paid for the whole collection in 1835—about present NOK 7,600 (€880).

Clearly, then, Nielsen valued the presence of the copies in Oslo but nothing in the archives discloses his reasons for ordering them. However, the warning in the Bergen letter about not mounting clubs with a hole in the end implies that the casts were intended to be displayed. Since the mounting of artefacts in the exhibition halls of a brand new museum building was under way in 1903, Nielsen presumably wanted the copies for the exhibitions opening in 1904.

Casting heroes

In a 1996 catalogue, Mary Bouquet noted that acquisition and exhibiting practice during Nielsen's directorship of the museum characteristically included the 'chain of connections' between the institution and the 'people from whom the figures came' as 'part of the "ethnography"'. She was struck that his guide to ethnographic objects displayed in the opening exhibitions emphasized the qualities and agency of the people who had acquired them and that he routinely included information about collectors and donors in the display of objects.[9] Nielsen's enduring fascination with Anker, which might have motivated him to connect the museum's collections and exhibitions to Anker's colonial career, is patent in his biography of Anker:

> Although the best years of his life were spent in prominent positions abroad, his mind was ever with the homeland … Few, indeed perhaps no Norwegians

> have in recent times been familiar with foreign culture and customs to the extent of Peter Anker, and yet none may more strongly have kept his Norwegian manner of acting and thinking.[10]

Anker's colonial paintings from Tranquebar acquired by Nielsen were prominently displayed in the South Asian section of the 1904 ethnographic exhibitions, as is confirmed by Nielsen's guide for the first of them: 'In Hall II the eyes immediately fall on the collection of colour drawings … made during the years 1788–1807 by Major-General Peter Anker, who during that time was Governor of Tranquebar'.[11] The plaster artefact copies appear not to have been exhibited alongside these paintings. However, they gave Anker a presence in the next exhibition hall, devoted to the 'Malay Islands, Australia and the South Seas Islands': 'Showcase 25 (left of window) contains a collection of casts of Melanesian weapons that were collected by Governor Anker and probably originate from the famous French explorer, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, who in 1791–1793 made a voyage in the South Seas, but whose expedition never returned to France'.[12]

The inclusion of the copies in the new museum's opening exhibition positioned Anker at the very forefront of European colonial expansion. Since the Oslo collection already contained numerous clubs and other weapons which could have been better deployed to illustrate the material repertoire of Oceania, it is reasonable to suggest that the plaster copies were exhibited precisely to emphasize Anker's international presence and colonial agency. Furthermore, their display to highlight Anker's colonial capabilities occasioned a further transformation of what were originally Pacific Islanders' material products: from 'Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's artefacts of French exploration' to 'Peter Anker's artefacts of Norway's colonial and international status'.

If direct evidence is lacking of Nielsen's motivation in acquiring the artefact copies, his preoccupation with the international agency and colonial ambitions of prominent Norwegians is nonetheless clear—not only in his biography of Anker but also in his other writings that further illustrate his strategy of bringing the rest of the world to Oslo. He wrote extensively both before and during his career as keeper of the ethnographic collection, but almost exclusively about the history of Norway. Modern Norwegian historians interested in the intense process of Norwegian nation-building between the end of the 'Danish era' in 1814 and the end of the union with Sweden in 1905 refer to him as a leading and politically very active 'conservative historian'.[13] Apart from his report on the first 50 years of the ethnographic collection,[14] Nielsen only discussed non-Norwegians in two short works. Neither is complimentary to Indigenous people and both appropriate aspects of local history, customs, or material culture in the interests of Norwegian national or Nordic racial glory.[15]

In the earlier of these works, Nielsen argued that Saami pastoralists were newcomers everywhere in Norway except in the northernmost region. He thereby upheld the interests of sedentary Norwegian farmers in conflicts with Saami about access to pasture further south. The report influenced politicians to conclude that Saami had only recently moved southward and that the Lapp Codicil of 1751 protecting their rights to pasture only applied in northern Norway.[16] The second work includes descriptions of the customary practices of Indigenous people in Greenland and North America and highlights variations in their material culture to exaggerate

the significance and endurance of Norse Medieval presence in North America.[17] Most contemporary Norwegian historians concurred that Norsemen engaged in only a short episode of exploration and temporary settlement along the northeast coast, probably in Newfoundland, around AD 1000. Such occupation was too episodic and too temporary for Nielsen who instead marshalled highly circumstantial historical and ethnographic materials to promote the dubious concept of a much longer, colonial-like Norse involvement in North America. That imagined settlement spanned a much larger territory, left clear traces, and was motivated by an impulse for heroic exploration and a desire for colonial expansion by the Norwegian king Harald Hardråde, whose death at Stamford Bridge, Yorkshire, in 1066 still marks the end of the Viking Age in Norwegian history. In the second part of the manuscript, Nielsen drew on differences in boatbuilding technologies between Inuits and other Native Americans—the construction of canoes rather than kayaks—to widen the span of old Norse influence in North America. He concluded by taking similarities between the old Norse game *knattleikr* and the game of *lacrosse* played by many Indigenous Canadian groups as proof that Norse presence and agency had lasted long enough to have an enduring cultural impact.

Casting nation

Thus, in one of very few works in which Nielsen addressed the ethnography, material culture, and customs of non-Norwegians, they serve entirely to demonstrate Norway's past international significance and to make *wanderlust*, capacity for heroic expeditions, and conquest of uncharted lands defining Norwegian qualities. So, in 1907 he rearranged the recently opened ethnographic exhibitions to accommodate the display of a large artefact collection from the Netsilik of the northeast coast of Canada in a separate *Gjøa-hall*, totally dominated by a floor-to-ceiling Norwegian flag (Figure 7.5). The artefacts had all been collected during Roald Amundsen's heroic search for the Northwest passage during the very years when Norway broke away from the union with Sweden and became an autonomous national state.

Nielsen was obviously fascinated by Norwegian heroism, exploration, and international exploits, as personified in prominent Norwegians such as the Viking king Harald Hardråde, the rare Norwegian colonialist governor Anker, and the world renowned explorer Amundsen. In a recent analysis of the nation-building significance of the Norwegian Trekking Association, of which Nielsen was the third chairman, the social anthropologists Gro Ween and Simone Abram identify him as an 'avid nationalist'.[18] For most present day readers, patriotic sentiments are blatant in his writings. However, his brand of patriotism was not nationalistic enough for many contemporary nationalist historians, for cultural purists fighting to rediscover a true Norwegian language, or for separatist politicians emphasizing Norwegians' unique national or racial qualities among Scandinavians, fighting to move power from King to Parliament, and aiming for full national autonomy. Nielsen, in contrast, was a personal friend of the Swedish King Oscar II and tutor of the Swedish Prince. He remained loyal enough to union with Sweden to earn the derogatory nickname 'amalgamationist'—a collaborator who favoured Scandinavian historical and cultural togetherness and the need for political 'amalgamation' over Norwegian uniqueness and political separation. Nielsen argued against the racialist

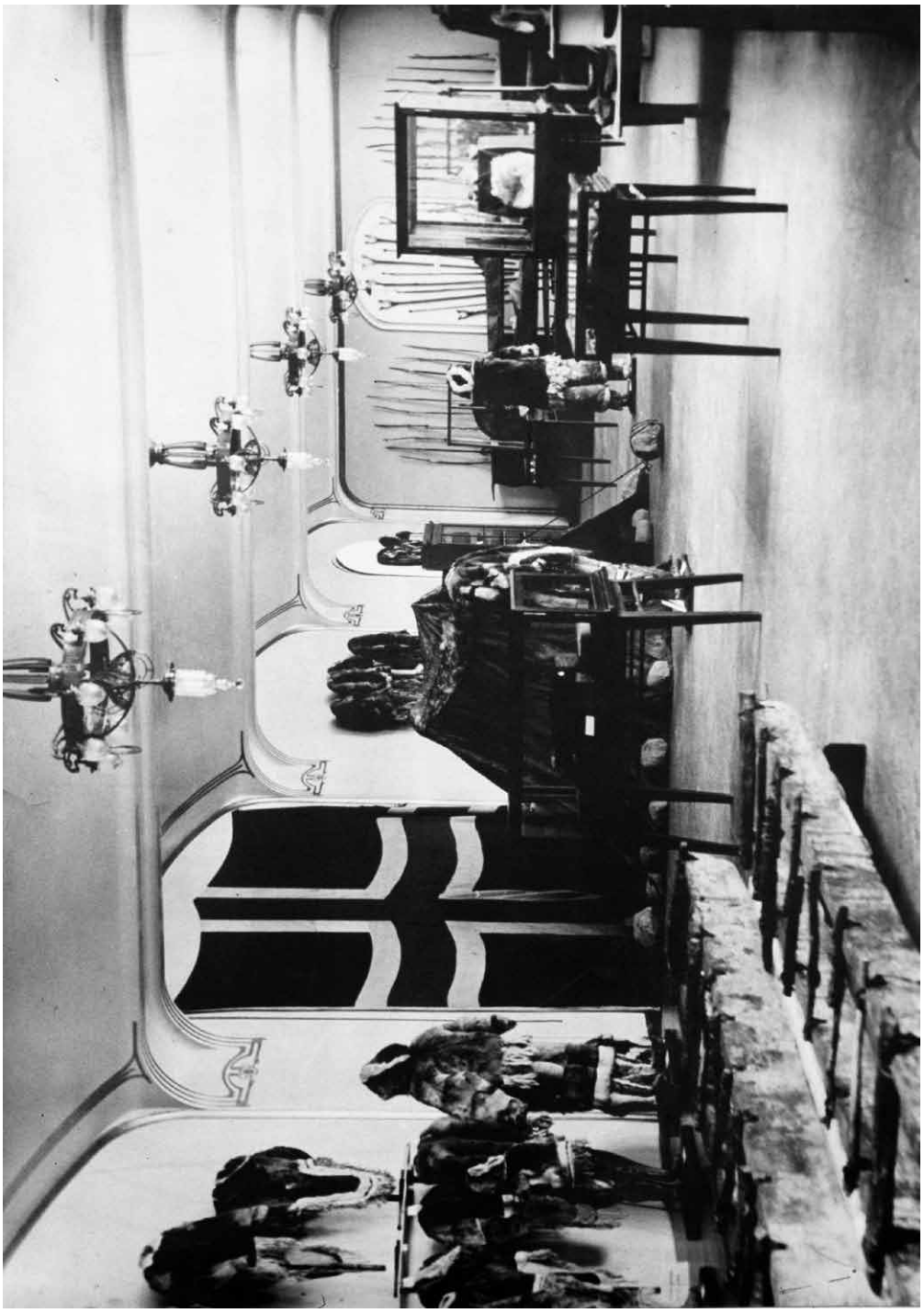

Figure 7.5. Photograph showing the Norwegian flag dominating the Netsilik artefacts collected by national hero Roald Amundsen during his Northwest Passage expedition and displayed in the new Etnografisk museum, Oslo, in 1907; held in the photo archive of the Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo.

immigration theories of the first keeper of the University's ethnographic collection, the nationalist historian P.A. Munch who maintained that Norwegians had broken off from other Teutonic tribes much earlier than the Swedes and the Danes and had entered Scandinavia in a first wave following a more northerly route. This vision of the past was historical justification for regarding Norwegians as more pure, unmixed, homogeneous, and uncorrupted than other Scandinavians, as true carriers of the original qualities that moved people north—an adventurous, stoic disposition and a freedom loving spirit. This historical vision idealized free and independent Norwegian farmers as the antithesis of Danish and Swedish aristocrats in the most nationalistic Norwegian nation-building project of the 19th century.

Notwithstanding Nielsen's celebration of equivalent qualities in Harald Hardråde, he argued strongly against the dominant nationalist notion that Norway consisted of two cultures and languages: one native, authentic, and conserved in Norway's rural regions from a 'Golden Age' of Norse autonomy and expansion before the union with Denmark; the other impure and inauthentic as the result of the immigration from Denmark and Sweden of foreign elites with a foreign language and different culture. On the contrary, Nielsen was a Scandinavianist, claiming that all Scandinavians shared common origins and a common history. According to the historian Øystein Sørensen, he was also a vocal 'neo-elitist' who argued that culture was a quality unevenly distributed between the opposites of backwardness and cultivation.[19] To him, economic and cultural elites, whether in Norway, Scandinavia, England, or the European continent, would spearhead cultural development and modernization. His approach represented an alternative nation-building project in Norway on the eve of the final breakdown of the union with Sweden. This 'neo-elitist', cosmopolitan project rejected the idea of rural national purity embodied in the free, independent farmer and instead valorized urban elites, modernity, and commercial and industrial growth as the means to develop a nation state equal to other civilized European countries. Nielsen was evidently fascinated by Harald Hardråde and Peter Anker as aristocrats and internationally recognized leaders rather than as carriers of original, exclusive Norwegian qualities. Their prolonged international experience fitted them to lead Norway from 'backwardness' to the level of civilization of the most culturally and economically powerful European nations. By the late 19th century, colonialism was widely regarded as the key to the relative global status of competing European states.

Conclusion

Cast at the behest of a museum director in an emergent nation state at the margins of Europe, the replication of objects from Bergen's Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection becomes, in Michael Taussig's terms, a very concrete act of copying fed into a wider program of magical mimicry where 'the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it'.[20] This perspective on mimicry's power to bring 'the real into being' represents Nielsen as a museum magician utilizing 'the mimetic faculty—the nature that culture uses to create second nature'.[21] By setting Nielsen's mimetic act in the wider context of his agendas and the contemporary intellectual and political climate of intense nation building, a second order mimesis appears: by presenting copies of items that Anker had repatriated a century before, Nielsen was

perhaps attempting to will into existence for Norway the international presence and agency otherwise associated with colonial powers. Such a strategy resembled Norway's persistent subsequent effort to cast itself as a nation able to make a difference, both in being the first to reach the ends of the world and in being able to resolve or alleviate global conflicts where great nations fail.

It is fitting to use a collection of copies as a point of departure for understanding the significance of ethnographic collections in a non-colonial nation like Norway. To an extent, a very large proportion of the 15,000 or so objects acquired by Nielsen were 'copies'. His other initial acquisition for the museum in 1878 was a substantial collection of Pacific duplicates from the Museum Godeffroy in Germany. Throughout his 38 years as museum director, a trade with German repositories in duplicates emerging from their late 19th-century colonial and commercial entanglements remained a very important source of ethnographic objects. It multiplied collections brought home by Norwegian sailors, traders, missionaries, and travellers. Thus, like the copied artefacts, the duplicates filling the new exhibition halls constituted a sleight of hand projecting an image of a nation with considerable international presence, though in fact they were products of the global efficacy of other, more powerful European nations.

Solving the riddle of the Oslo collection of copied plaster objects and answering the question of its provenance throws light on why ethnographic collections should be established not only by colonial powers, but even in a place barely rid of colonial domination itself. Furthermore, addressing this riddle and its implications contributes to an understanding of how ethnographic collections articulate with ideas of national identity and imaginaries of international importance in a wider world.

Notes

1 The research findings on which this chapter is based have been published in Norwegian as 'Kopier av internasjonal betydning—Nasjonal trolldomskunst ved Universitetets Etnografisk Museum ved inngangen til det 20. århundre', *Norsk antropologisk tidsskrift* 27 (2016):180–90.

2 Rio, *Oceania Gjenoppdaget i Bergen …* (Bergen, 1999):102; UB, 'Katalog for de Etnografiske Samlinger', 1835–98, I. See Chapter 6.

3 The *speciedaler* was the Norwegian currency between 1816 and 1874. According to the Norges Bank, 22 *speciedaler* is equivalent to approximately NOK7,800 or €810 at 2016 values http://www.norges-bank.no/Statistikk/Priskalkulator/

4 Nielsen, *Universitetets Ethnografiske samlinger 1857–1907 …* (Christiania, 1907):61–2. In a parallel complaint, Nielsen regretted the loss to Norway of 14 bronze statues and 10 other pieces of Hindu temple art from the Anker collection when the Norwegian Parliament declined to fund their purchase in 1842. They were bought by the Danish King Kristian VIII and eventually ended up in the National Museum in Copenhagen. Nielsen, 'General-Major Peter Anker, Guvernør i Trankebar', *Norsk Historisk Tidskrift* 1 (1871):382.

5 Ibid.

6 Nielsen, *Universitetets Ethnografiske samlinger*:61.

7 KMO, [Journal], 12 March 1903, Etnografisk arkiv, KMO.

8 K. Visted to Y. Nielsen, Bergen, 9 March 1903, in KMO, Incoming Letters, Etnografisk arkiv, KMO.

9 Bouquet, *Bringing it all Back Home – to the Oslo University Ethnographic Museum* (Oslo, 1996):67, 94.

10 Nielsen, 'General-Major Peter Anker':274.

11 Nielsen, *Nordmænd og Skrælinger i Vinland* (Christiania, 1905):21.

12 Ibid.:40. Strictly speaking, the original objects were not all 'weapons' and some were 'Polynesian', rather than 'Melanesian'.

13 Sørensen, *Kampen om Norges sjel* (Oslo, 2001):380.

14 Nielsen, *Universitetets Ethnografiske samlinger*.

15 Nielsen, *Lappernes fremrykning mod syd i Trondhjems stift of Hedemarkens amt* (Kristiania, 1891); *Fører i Universitetets Ethnografiske Musæum 1904* (Christiania, 1904).

16 Nielsen, *Lappernes fremrykning*.

17 Nielsen, *Fører i Universitetets Ethnografiske Musæum*.

18 Ween and Abram, 'The Norwegian Trekking Association: Trekking as Constituting the Nation', *Landscape Research* 37:2 (2012):160.

19 Nielsen, *Er der i Norge et Folk eller to Folk, en Kultur eller to Kulturer?: Inledningsforedrag ved en Diskusion i Studentersamfundet den 16de October 1886* (Oslo, 1886); Sørensen, *Kampen om Norges sjel*:380.

20 Frazer, *The Golden Bough: a Study in Magic and Religion*, part 1, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (London, 1911), I:52, quoted in Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: a Particular History of the Senses* (London, 1993):47.

21 Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*:105, 250.

CHAPTER 8

Museum Volkenkunde – Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden

FANNY WONU VEYS

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'Possibly from the voyage of d'Entrecasteaux', a remark describing a New Caledonian adze (Figures 8.1, 8.2) in a research report by Emmanuel Kasarhérou and Roger Boulay,[1] triggered the start of an archival and documentary quest into a potential Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection held by the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (National Museum of World Cultures) in the Netherlands and stored at the Museum Volkenkunde (Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden.

The paper trail

The Kanak adze is part of a group of 35 objects, most of which originate from the Pacific, except for a few items marked as 'Brazil?', 'Japan', or 'Guyana'. The objects series came with the following acquisition information: 'personal effects of the late Mr. P. Buyskes, bequeathed to the museum in 1864; previously belonged to the collection of Vice-Admiral A.A. Buyskes who acquired the objects before 1805'.[2] It appears that Pieter Johan Buyskes, acting on behalf of his father Pieter Buyskes after his death in 1863, offered the collection to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities). Between 2 and 7 April 1864, four letters were exchanged between Pieter Johan Buyskes and Conradus Leemans, director of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.[3] In the first, Buyskes stated that the objects in question were brought back from the East Indies by his grandfather, who told him they had come from New Zealand. Leemans replied that he would be very interested to receive the collection, as it would be a welcome contribution, not to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden but to the Rijks Ethnografisch Museum (National Museum of Ethnography). Manifestly in a hurry to get rid of his grandfather's collection, Buyskes's next letter was accompanied by three boxes with an itemized list. His main concern was to find a good home for the collection, whether as part of the ethnography or antiquities collections. Leemans gratefully received the boxes on 7 April 1864, transferred the collection to the then 'department of comparative ethnography of the Rijks Japansch Museum [National Japanese Museum]', and gave the assurance that the names of P.J. Buyskes's father and grandfather would always remain connected to the objects.[4]

How could Arnold Adriaan Buyskes procure Tongan, Fijian, New Caledonian, and possibly Australian artefacts before 1805? Born into an influential Enkhuizen family in 1771 as the son of Pieter Buyskes, the city's mayor, A.A. Buyskes was very likely familiar with the transitting of 'artificial curiosities' through Enkhuizen's Oost-Indisch Huis (East India House), one of the six chambers of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie

Figure 8.1. Kanak adze from New Caledonia in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-10).

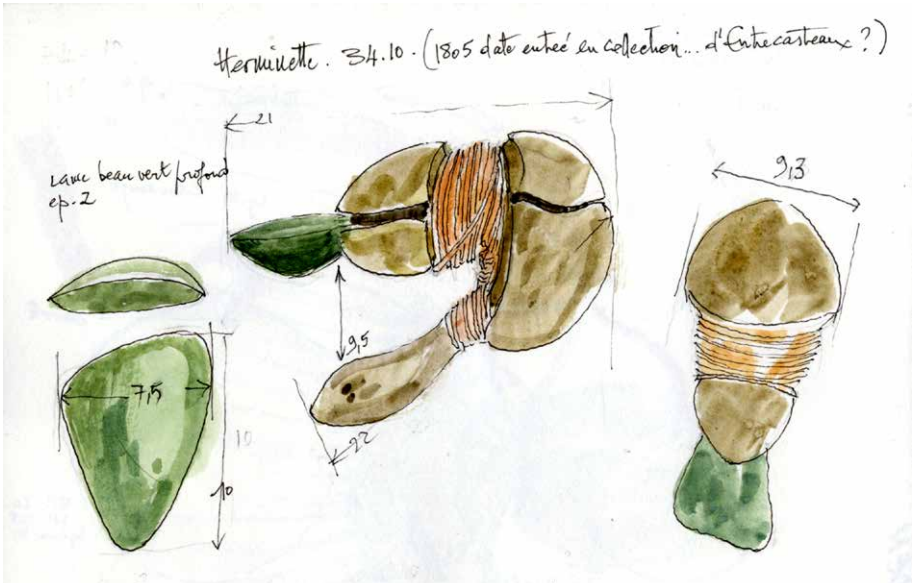

Figure 8.2. Roger Boulay's study of a Kanak adze from New Caledonia in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, 2012 (Collection of the author).

(Dutch East India Company, henceforth VOC).[5] Buyskes's professional career is characterized by three relatively long stays in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). As an eighteen-year-old, he was employed to survey ports and bays in the Dutch colony. On his return home on 21 June 1793, he worked on several military sites and as a hydrographer in the Dutch republic. When, on 3 January 1802, Buyskes left again for the East Indies he was entrusted with reclaiming Maluku from the English. Successfully accomplishing his mission, he returned to the Netherlands in 1804. Three years later, he received the title of Lieutenant Governor-General and became commander of the Dutch fleet in the East Indies. In an effort to safeguard commercial ships from piracy, he had small ships built to replace the larger vessels that had become non-operational. In 1808 he became commander of the land and sea forces in Surabaya in Java and after that worked for the French from 1810 until 1814. When the new United Kingdom of the Netherlands was established, he became the first Commander of the Sea and Commissioner-General in the East Indies from 1815 until 1819. After that, Buyskes stayed in the Netherlands and served his home country by giving advice in a variety of military and marine committees. He eventually died in 1838, aged 67, at Huize Valkenbosch near Loosduinen.[6]

Buyskes is said to have acquired the objects before 1805; that is during his first (1789–1793) or second (1802–1804) assignment in the East Indies. While no interest in objects transpires from his childhood in Enkhuizen or his official captain's logs,[7] private correspondence with his friend Johannes Gothofridus Hartman on 24 November 1794 reveals that the vice-admiral might have been sympathetic towards collecting. Indeed, Hartman wrote that he had been trying to send Buyskes some interesting objects. Not having found any so far, he promised to send some material as soon as possible, presumably in response to a collecting desire expressed earlier by Buyskes.[8]

What chance is there that J.G. Hartman might have sent ethnographic objects to Buyskes? In his position as the Council of Justice Officer, Hartman belonged to the influential class of people who administered the Dutch East Indies. On 5 December 1795, Hartman disagreed with the decision of Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh, the most powerful man in Java, to hold joint meetings of the Commissarissen-Generaal (General Commissioners) and the Hoge Regering ('High Government' or Council of the Indies).[9] He was subsequently arrested for insubordination in early 1796. Hartman was ordered to leave but his departure was so much delayed that the Dutch administration eventually told him to stay, after which he became the senior member of the Council of Justice. Hartman also knew François van Boekholtz who, while Governor of Banda in Maluku, had fallen into disgrace with Dirk van Hogendorp, Resident of Surabaya and its surroundings.[10] As the protégé of Nederburgh, Van Boekholtz collected thirteen objects from the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage, which are now in the Tropenmuseum (Museum of the Tropics).[11] Historical research and archival evidence make it clear that the 1790s were turbulent times in Java, with the power of the VOC dwindling, the Franco-British war being fought out in Europe, and the Netherlands occupied by France. While the paper trail cannot lead to any definite conclusion, the fact that Buyskes was linked to Hartman, who in turn knew Van Boekholtz and Nederburgh, makes it very likely that Hartman managed to obtain some of the objects collected on the *Espérance* and the *Recherche* during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition and passed them on to Buyskes.

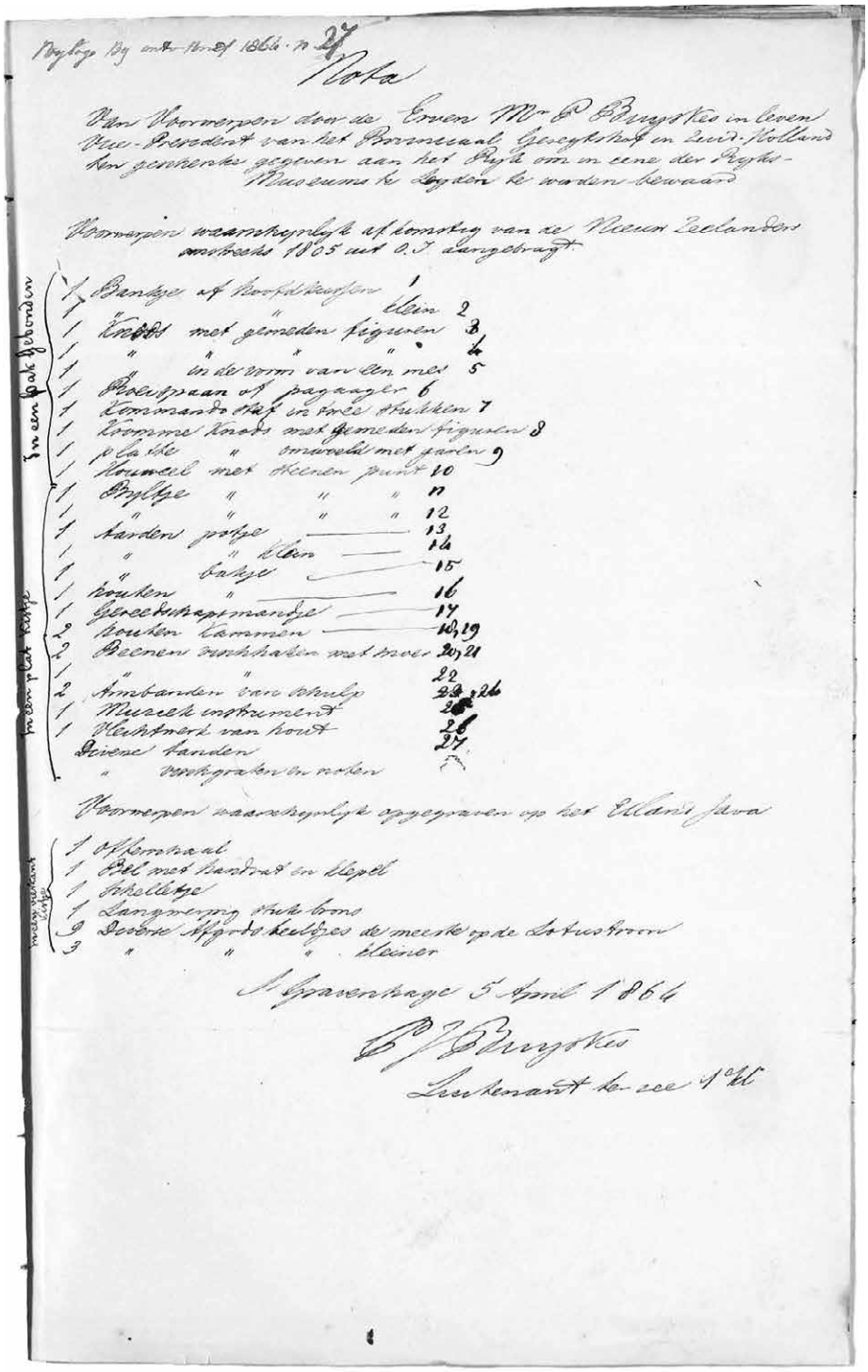

Figure 8.3. Itemized list of the Adriaan Arnold Buyskes collection drawn up by Pieter Johan Buyskes, 1864, in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden (NL-RMO_17.01.02/16_27.1864).

The collection

The Leiden Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection is particularly varied in terms of object types and in addition holds a few very rare pieces that are characteristic of late 18th-century Pacific material culture. When P.J. Buyskes gave the objects to the museum, his itemized list (Figure 8.3) was numbered 1 to 27 with an unnumbered 28th item.[12] Some of the Tongan and Fijian object types held in Leiden, but none of the New Caledonian, are depicted in the *Atlas* of the voyage compiled by the naturalist La Billardière.[13] Most of the engravings of Tongan and Fijian objects are attributed to Jacques-Louis Pérée.[14]

Headrests

There are three *kali*, headrest, in the collection.[15] The first item on the list is described by Buyskes as a 'stool or pillow'. This four-legged headrest (RV-34-16) closely resembles other late 18th-century examples.[16] The second two-legged headrest (RV-34-17) in Buyskes's list is of a type represented in La Billardière's *Atlas* (Figure 8.4) and described in his *Relation*.[17] Another item depicted in the same plate in the *Atlas* (Figure 8.4) corresponds in its general shape to an object in the Buyskes collection (RV-34-4) that was initially described as a 'bent club with carved figures', but was correctly identified as a headrest by Adrienne Kaeppler in 1969.[18] As with similar objects held in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University,[19] all three Leiden headrests could have been given by Tongans to members of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's crew.

Clubs

The Leiden collection holds three clubs collected in Tonga. Of two listed by Buyskes as 'club with carved designs',[20] one is a Tongan *pakipaki* with anthropomorphic motifs (RV-34-1; see Figure 16.3), while the other is a Fijian *bowai*, pole club, entirely covered in late 18th-century Fijian geometric designs (RV-34-2; see Figure 16.6).[21] On 30 March 1793, La Billardière described a gift of two beautiful clubs, of *Casuarina* wood inlaid with ivory, made to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux by the Tongan chief Fīnau. At a later date,

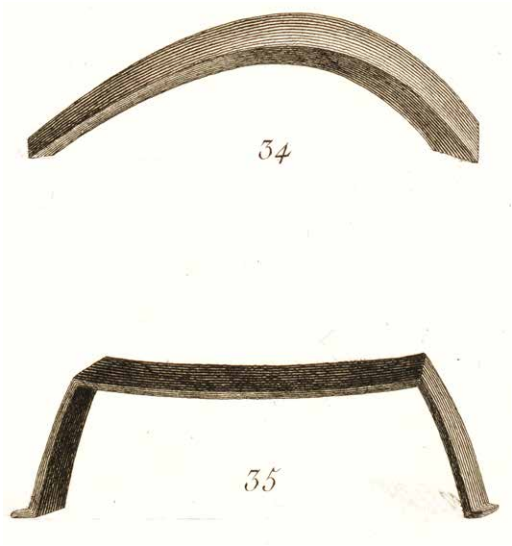

Figure 8.4. Figs 34 and 35 of plate 33 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing two Tongan* kali*, headrest, which resemble objects in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Anon., 'Oreillers de bois', 1800, engraving.*

Tongan ships carving

Fanny Wonu Veys

The zoning of the firm, gridlike background pattern on the surface decoration of a clapping stick held in the Museum Volkenkunde (Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden is easily recognizable as Tongan.[1] Strikingly, two three-masted European sailing ships are carved at one end of the stick, alongside coconut trees, breadfruit leaves, birds, and fish (Figure 8.5). The ships are remarkably similar, mirrored along a longitudinal imaginary central axis. Carving on Tongan clubs frequently incorporates anthropomorphic images, often carrying objects or holding weapons, as well as pigeons and other birds, the moon, stars such as Venus, turtles, and sharks.[2] However, the depiction of European ships is extremely rare. An 18th- or early 19th-century paddle club (*'akau tau*) depicts a single ship with a rudder which Kaeppler has identified as similar to the vessel commanded by the Dutchman Abel Tasman,[3] who made landfall in Tongatapu in 1643 on the small three-masted 'yacht' *Heemskerk*, accompanied by the three-masted flute *Zeehaen*. Both had a characteristic bulging shape under their decks which is visible on the club incision.[4] In contrast, the ships carved on the clapping stick resemble frigates with the sails furled.

Indeed, before the arrival of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition in 1793, several European vessels apart from Tasman's had visited the shores of Tongatapu. They included those of the Englishman Cook, who interacted intensively with Tongans during a total of more than a month spent in the island with the *Resolution* and the *Adventure* in 1773 and the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* in 1777; and those of the Frenchman La Pérouse, who anchored off the south coast for two days in 1787 with the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe* (Figure 8.6), but did not land and had few relations with Tongans. Assuming that the clapping stick carving represented two individual ships of the same type and not a mirrored image of a single vessel, only the French expeditions of La Pérouse and Bruni d'Entrecasteaux qualify as the carver's models because only they comprised two similar three-masted frigates. The surface decoration of this small area on the clapping stick could easily have been done by a *tufunga tata*, surface incisor,[5] during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's 17-day visit. However the carving could have been made several years previously. It would be profoundly ironic if a member of this expedition collected

Figure 8.5. Detail showing the carving of European ships on a Tongan clapping stick in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-6).

an object depicting La Pérouse's ill-fated frigates, for which they had been commissioned to search. Yet even the nails used to pin down the wood sliver of the musical instrument could conceivably have been obtained from the vessels depicted on its sounding board, which might in turn have been carved using metal acquired from La Pérouse's ships.

Notes

1 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau: Tongan Club Carvers & their Arts' (Norwich, 2007), I:254–382.

2 Ibid.:354–66.

3 Previously part of the James Hooper collection (no. 731), this club is currently in the Mark and Carolyn Blackburn Collection of Polynesian Art (no. 183). Kaeppler, *Polynesia: The Mark and Carolyn Blackburn Collection of Polynesian Art* (Honolulu, 2010):69, 256; Phelps, *Art and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas: The James Hooper Collection* (London, 1976):172–33.

4 A flute was a partly disarmed warship serving as a transport; a 'yacht' was a small, shallow drafted sailing vessel.

5 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau':62.

Figure 8.6. Lieutenant Blondela's view of La Pérouse's frigates Boussole *and* Astrolabe *off the coast of Maui, Hawai'i, in 1797, published in the* Atlas *of La Pérouse's voyage.*

the naturalist mentioned the numerous clubs covered in artistic surface carving that the French purchased from Tongans.[22] Amongst them, no doubt, are the two carved Leiden clubs. The third club in the Leiden collection (RV-34-3) is described as a 'club in the shape of a knife'.[23] The Tongan *mata*, knife club, depicted in La Billardière's *Atlas* as a 'Sorte de coutelas d'os' (Kind of cutlass made of bone) (see Figure 16.5),[24] resembles somewhat more closely the one held by the Tropenmuseum (see Figure 9.4), but the general unusual shape of that in Leiden is the same.

Musical instruments

Object number 7 on Buyskes's list is described as a 'commander's staff in two pieces' (RV-34-6). However, the ethnomusicologist Richard Moyle has demonstrated that it is actually a rare idiophone that has been obsolete for almost 200 years.[25] William Mariner, who was cast away in Tonga in the early 19th century, described this sounding board as 'a loose flat piece of hard wood, about three feet long, and an inch and a half square, fastened only at one end upon another similar piece'. It was played by beating it with two little sticks to produce 'a rattling sound'.[26] The Leiden collection further includes a Tongan panpipe (RV-34-15).[27] They were initially categorized as 'Brazilian?', but the lashing, the number of pipes, and the bevelled edges on some of them clearly point to a Tongan origin. Moreover, La Billardière mentioned that a few panpipes were collected during the expedition's stay in Tonga.[28]

Adzes

The Leiden collection holds three adzes, one of which is a Tongan example with lashing (RV-34-8).[29] A stone, probably of volcanic origin, is hafted in a T-shaped handle. Adzes were used for felling trees and carving out the rough shape of canoes.[30] Bruni d'Entrecasteaux commented in April 1794 that the Tongans got all their stones for making tools and cutting implements from Fiji as part of an exchange relationship between the archipelagos. However, he admitted to not knowing what the Tongans gave in return.[31]

The only two objects from New Caledonia included in the Buyskes collection were 'adze(s) with stone blades'.[32] One (RV-34-9) was exchanged with E.H. Giglioli in Florence but no photograph or drawing exists and its whereabouts are now unknown. Giglioli, a widely published zoologist, specialized in ornithology and ichthyology but also developed a keen interest in anthropology and archaeology. In order to carry out a comparative study on Stone Age material culture, he assembled a varied collection of stone implements of which this adze was probably an instance.[33] Although the so-called 'knee adze' was first observed and described during Cook's second voyage of 1772–5,[34] the anthropologist Roger Boulay suggested that the Leiden adze (RV-34-10; Figure 8.1) could very well be the oldest of its type. The tool is shaped in such a way that the carver could easily unlash the blade to sharpen and then remount it. It is possible that these types of adze could hold a ceremonial blade.[35]

Containers

'A wooden dish' in the shape of a bird (RV-34-21; see Figure 16.2), a *sedri ni waiwai*, oil container, of Fijian origin,[36] was probably used to store scented coconut oil with which the body was rubbed.[37] A very similar container was collected in Tonga during Cook's

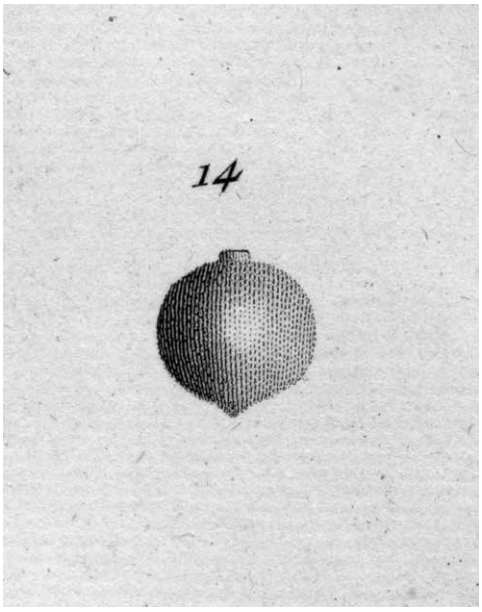

Figure 8.7. Fig. 14 of plate 31 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a* fangu*, Tongan oil container. Pérée, 'Fruit du* melodinus scandens*, que les femmes remplissent d'huile destinée à graisser différentes parties du corps', 1800, engraving.*

second or third voyage.[38] La Billardière explained at some length that coconut oil perfumed with the seed of the '*langa kali*' was very much favoured by Tongan women in order to have a smooth skin. Although a few containers for scented coconut oil were collected during the expedition's stay in Tonga (Figure 8.7), there is no mention of the bird shape type held in the Leiden collection.[39] A comparable item is held in the Peabody Museum at Harvard (PM 67-10-70/328).

Leiden's Buyskes collection includes two fibre containers. One (RV-34-22) is described as 'a tool basket' and is very similar to an object pictured in the *Atlas*.[40] Similar examples were collected during Cook's voyages. These types of baskets were probably used to hold freshly caught fish.[41] The second fibre container (RV-34-23) is made of four pieces of coconut sheath sewn together to form a long bag with a rounded end. Buyskes's list describes it as 'wooden weaving'.[42]

Personal adornment

The collection includes two similar 'wooden combs' (RV-34-24, RV-34-25) composed, respectively, of 17 and 21 coconut midrib prongs held in place with neat weaving.[43] The brown and black weaving in one of them (RV-34-25) results in a pattern of triangles with contrasting colours, which typifies 18th-century Tongan weaving. This comb resembles one engraved in the *Atlas* and another held in the Musée du quai Branly (72.84.237.4; see feature).[44]

It is not clear where the collection's 'two shell armbands' (RV-34-26, RV-34-27) originated.[45] Bracelets were collected in July 1792, during the expedition's visit to the Admiralty Islands, and in May 1793 in Santa Cruz (eastern Solomon Islands). However, these armbands might well have been obtained in New Caledonia where La Billardière mentioned that people wore bracelets made of shell, quartz, or other hard stones. Two of the Kanak bracelet types are depicted in his *Atlas*.[46]

helu tuʻu—Tongan comb and hair dressing

Billie Lythberg and Melenaite Taumoefolau

Eight Tongan *helu*, comb, which we can associate with the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux typify those collected in the 18th century. Held in Leiden (RV34-24; Figure 8.10), Lausanne (V/C-027, V/C-028), Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.1365.1–4; see Figure 5.1), and Paris (Figure 8.8), they are made from midribs of coconut leaflets woven together with fine coconut husk fibre into a radial armature.[1] The coconut fibre weaving, in shades of brown and black, is both functional and decorative, though the combs themselves are strictly ornamental. The generic term *helu* denotes functional combs used to dress the hair and also more elaborate standing combs, *helu tuʻu*, such as these. The inventiveness of their makers is evidenced by variations in the number of tines bound together, the patterns formed by their binding, and their decorative tops which taper to a triangle or are squared off. Made to stand upright in the hair of the crown of the head or to decorate beards, the points of their tines are softly rounded for the wearer's comfort.

William Mariner, who lived in Tonga from 1806 to 1810, described the making of *helu* as labour divided between higher- and lower-ranking women:

> Making of combs, the teeth of which consist of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, is also an employment of women of rank. Making thread is an occupation of females of the lower order: it is performed by twisting the separate parts of the thread, in the act of rolling them with the palm of the hand along the thigh, and by a return of the hand, twisting them together the contrary way.[2]

The elaboration of some *helu* for decorative purposes may also have differentiated chiefly (*ʻeiki*) from commoner (*tuʻa*) status and wearers.

The sombre tones and simplicity of these combs must have contrasted with the variety of hairstyles popular in Tonga at the time of the French visit. Describing the chief known to them as Finau, the naturalist La Billardière wrote: 'His hair powdered with lime was arranged in such a way that we might have thought him to be wearing a wig'. Likewise, 'Queen' Tiné wore her hair quite short and 'covered, as well as part of her forehead, with a reddish powder', possibly the local ochre, *ʻumea.* La Billardière also reported seeing many young girls with very short hair, except for a fringe around their heads which they had 'powdered with chalk' to make it lighter.[3] In 1773, Cook's naturalist Georg Forster had similarly described a wide array of Tongan stylistic hair treatments:

> Among the great numbers of people who surrounded our ships, we observed several whose hair seemed to be burnt at the ends, and were strewed with a white powder. Upon examination we found that this powder was nothing else than lime, made of shells or coral, which had corroded or burnt the hair.… We observed a man who had employed a blue powder, and many persons of both sexes who wore an orange powder, made of turmerick.[4]

The Tongan terms *navu* and *penepena* describe dressing the hair with lime—the second word is the cognate of the first in the Tongan royal language. From this dual terminology, we infer that lime-dressed hair was worn by both chiefly and commoner people.

Pictorial evidence of hairstyles seen by the French, viewed in conjunction with the voyagers' accounts, mitigates any presumption that artists or engravers superimposed European or classical

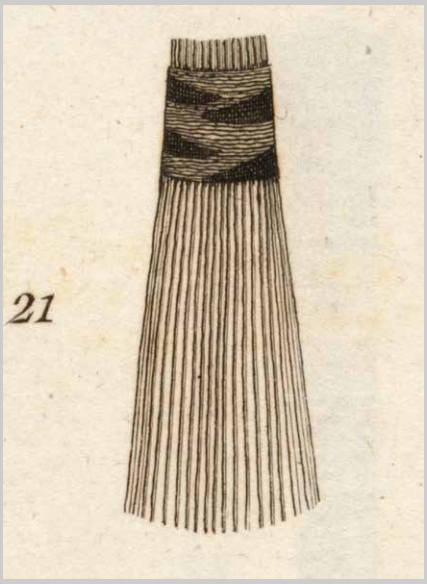

Figure 8.8 (left). Tongan helu tu'u, *comb, possibly collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, now held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (72.84.237.4/RMN-Grand Palais, 16-562140 NU).*

Figure 8.9 (middle). Fig. 21 of plate 32 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a Tongan* helu, *comb, closely resembling objects in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen and in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Pérée, 'Peigne', 1800 engraving.*

Figure 8.10 (right). Tongan helu tu'u, *comb, possibly collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-25).*

conventions on their subjects. A preparatory plate drawing by the artist Piron of 'Finau, chef des guerriers de Tongatabou' (Finau, chief of the warriors of Tongatapu) (see Figure 17.5) does depict a style resembling a wig, not unlike those worn, but quickly losing favour in revolutionary France.[5] Likewise, a plate entitled 'Danse des îles des Amis, en présence de la reine Tiné' (Dance of the Friendly Islands in the presence of Queen Tiné) (see Figure 17.2), shows Tiné sitting within her upright mat enclosure with other high-ranking women, all with short hair.[6] In contrast, five dancers in the engraving have loose, flowing hair, which might have been dressed with scented coconut oil. La Billardière described meeting two of 'King' Toubau's daughters, who wore an abundance of coconut oil on their hair.[7] His *Atlas* includes an engraving of a *fangu*, vial, in which such oil was contained and carried (see Figure 8.7). On another occasion, three of Toubau's daughters exchanged names with Frenchmen and made them a gift of 'very elegantly shaped combs'—one such object is engraved in La Billardière's *Atlas* (Figure 8.9).[8] It closely resembles two extant combs, one held in Leiden (Figure 8.10) and the other in Paris (Figure 8.8).

Apart from hairdressing, La Billardière also described in detail the time-consuming method employed by Tongan barbers to shave the face closely with the two valves of a sharp-edged shell. He further noted the enthusiasm of Tongan men for the rapid blade shaving technique of the ship's barber: 'They were struck with astonishment, when they saw how quickly our barber shaved several members of the crew'; he 'had the honour' of shaving Toubau's beard.[9]

These hints of shared experience of an intimate process such as shaving, along with the exchange of names and gifts to instantiate friendship, can help explain how Tongans presented these visitors with so many *helu tu'u*, chiefly combs, associated with the head, the most sacred part of the body.

Notes

1 Herda, Lythberg, Mills, and Taumoefolau, 'What's in a name?: Reconstructing Nomenclature of Prestige and Persuasion in Late 18th-Century Tongan Material Culture', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 126:4 (2017):454. See Chapters 4, 8.

2 Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands …* (London, 1817), II:295.

3 La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II:95, 123, 161.

4 G. Forster, *A Voyage Round the World …* (London, 1777), I:462–3.

5 Piron, [Dessins], [1792–5], MQB – JC (ICONO PP0184858).

6 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800): plate 27.

7 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:133.

8 Ibid., II:150–2.

9 Ibid., II:117, 120.

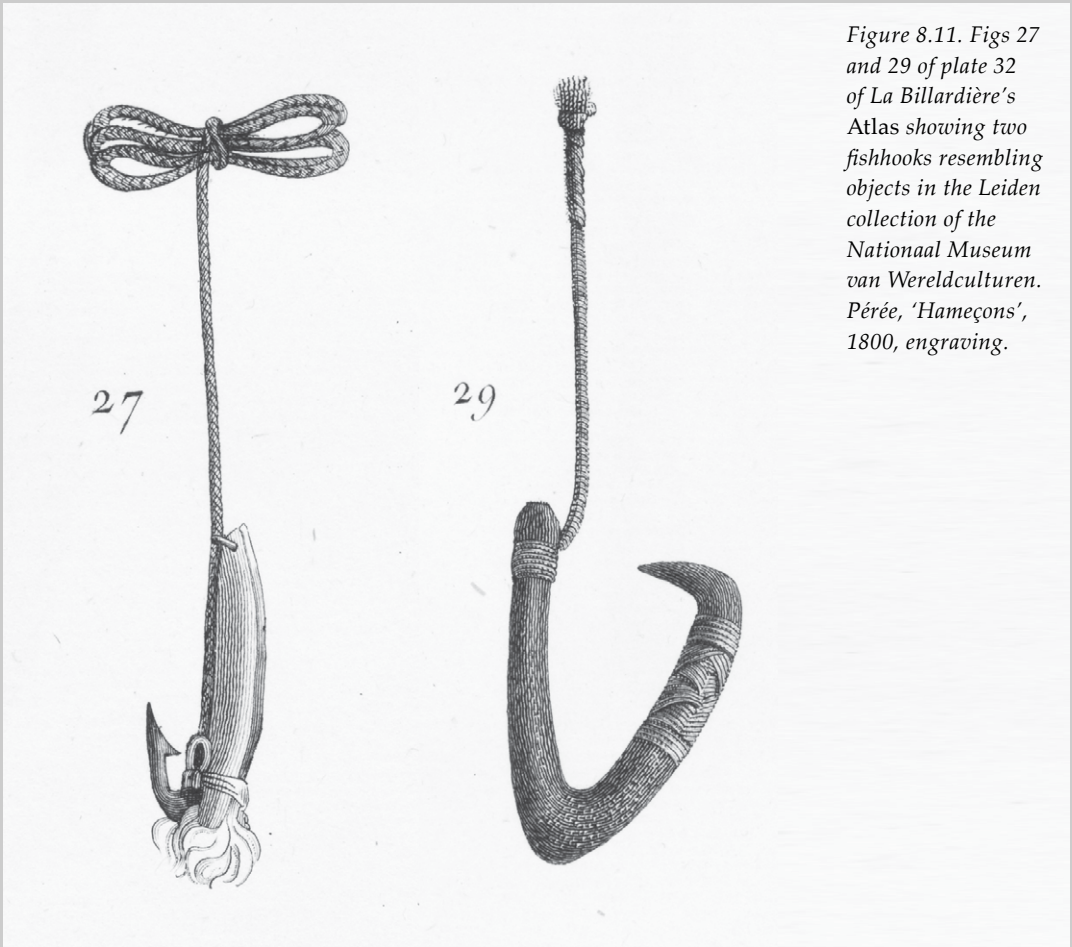

Figure 8.11. Figs 27 and 29 of plate 32 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing two fishhooks resembling objects in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Pérée, 'Hameçons', 1800, engraving.*

Fishhooks

There are three Tongan fishhooks in Leiden obtained during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition. La Billardière described several fishhook types, including one with a metal barb instead of the more habitual turtle shell or bone tip.[47] 'Two bone fishhooks with line', as described in Buyskes's list, closely resemble other 18th- and 19th-century examples.[48] Both have lines made of coconut husk fibre. One (RV-34-14) is a turtle shell hook mounted on pearl shell and lashed with coconut fibre. The other (RV-34-13) is comparable in overall shape to one depicted in La Billardière's *Atlas* (Figure 8.11),[49] but differs in the way the turtle shell hook is mounted on its shaft.[50] The body of the third fishhook (RV-34-12) is made of wood, though Buyskes listed 'a bone fishhook'.[51] The lashing is still intact, including the fibres that supposedly held a bone or turtle shell hook. This fishhook type corresponds to one in the *Atlas* (Figure 8.11),[52] although the angle of the wood is not as sharp. It is not clear how long ago the tip of the fishhook disappeared, whether before it was acquired by the Leiden museum or during a move of storage location.

Natural history specimens

The Leiden collection also holds a few natural history items for which the origin or collecting place is very difficult to establish. They include 'diverse teeth' and 'diverse fish bones and nuts'.[53] These *naturalia* include possible bottlenose dolphin teeth (RV-34-32), which might have been collected in Van Diemen's Land, and a pair of sperm whale teeth (RV-34-33), which might have been acquired in Tonga. I am unable to ascertain to which species of *Dasyatidae* a stingray tail (RV-34-30) belongs. Natural history researchers suggest that two long bones in the collection (RV-34-31) originate from the pectoral fin of a fish rather than the stings of a stingray.[54] Some Tongans support the hypothesis that these natural history specimens were used as weapons for ceremonial killing.[55]

Other objects

Buyskes's list catalogues one paddle, which apparently never reached the museum but did receive a registration number (RV-34-7).[56] The item 'Flat pieces of wood artfully connected to make some kind of thick bar or rope' appears next to number RV-34-28 in the museum inventory but is not mentioned in Buyskes's list. One can surmise either that this object is missing or that an administrative mistake occurred. Furthermore, an error by the museum resulted in one non-existent item receiving the registration number RV-34-11.

Finally, the list of Pieter Johan Buyskes includes a number of South American items and one Japanese object which might accidentally have been added to the Buyskes collection—otherwise devoted solely to objects from the Pacific Islands.[57]

Notes

1 Emmanuel Kasarhérou and Roger Boulay visited the Leiden Museum in 2012 to research its New Caledonia collection in preparation for the Kanak exhibition held at the Musée du quai Branly from October 2013–January 2014.

2 MV, Serie RV-34, Inventarisboek 2, 1864:178 (Archief NL-LdnRMV A03).

3 P.J. Buyskes to C. Leemans, Leiden, 2, 5 April 1864; C. Leemans to P.J. Buyskes, Leiden, 4, 7 April 1864, in RMO, Correspondentie (NL-RMO_17.01.02/16_26.1864; NL-RMO_17.01.02/16_27.1864; NL-RMO_17.01.01/20_24.1864; NL-RMO_17.01.01/20_28.1864).

4 Leemans to Buyskes, 7 April 1864. The recipient museum, now the Museum Volkenkunde, part of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, has changed names on numerous occasions. Leemans used both Rijks Ethnografisch Museum and Rijks Japansch Museum.

5 Gaastra, *Geschiedenis van de VOC: opkomst, bloei en ondergang* (Zutphen, 2012):30; Gelder, 'De wereld binnen handbereik**:** Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735', in *De wereld binnen handbereik* **…** (Zwolle and Amsterdam, 1992):25.

6 Molhuysen and Blok, ed., 'Buyskes, Arnold Adriaan', in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden, 1911), I:528–9.

7 NA, Admiraliteitscolleges IX Buyskes, 1783–1818 (1.01.47.05, 1–4).

8 G.J. Hartman to A.A. Buyskes, Batavia, 28 November 1794, in NHA, 'Collectie betreffende de familie Semeijns de Vries van Doesburgh: Arnold Adriaan Buyskes', NHA(142, 1.2.1.2.2.12).

9 Anon., 'Copie-stukken betreffende de vrijlating van de commandeur W.J. Andriesse, die samen met de Raad van Justitie J.G. Hartman te Batavia was gearresteerd op beschuldinging van insubordinatie', 1796, in NA, 'Collectie Nederburgh', 1431–1965 (1.10.59):283.

10 Kalff, 'Uit de laatste dagen der O.-I. Compagnie', *Onze Eeuw* 9 (1909):407–10; NA, 'Brieven aan Mevrouw Mr. Willem van Hogendorp-Van Haren betreffende geldzaken en de loopbaan van haar zoon Dirk in Indië', 1785–1794, Van Hogendorp (Aanwinst 1922), NA (2.21.008.69, 5).

11 Van Duuren and Mostert, *Curiosities from the Pacific Ocean …* (Amsterdam and Leiden, 2007):32–3. See Chapter 9.

12 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864.

13 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800).

14 BNF, *Jacques-Louis Pérée (1769–1832)* http://data.bnf.fr/atelier/15070624/jacques-louis_peree/

15 See Chapter 11, feature.

16 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 1. An example was collected by the Forsters in Tonga in 1773–4 and is presently at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (1886.1.1418). Hooper, *Pacific Encounters …* (London, 2006):263.

17 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 2; La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II:158.

18 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 8; Adrienne Kaeppler, 1969, in MV, Seriedossier RV-34, MV.

19 Chapter 11.

20 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: items 3 and 4.

21 See Chapter 16.

22 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:95–6, 143.

23 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 5.

24 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 33 (fig. 40); 'Table des planches …', in *Relation*, II, Tables:106.

25 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 7; Moyle, *Tongan Music* (Auckland, 1987):71. MV, Seriedossier RV-34, contains correspondence in 1983 between Richard Moyle and Dirk Smidt

relating to object RV-34-6.

26 Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands …* (London, 1817), II:329.

27 This item is simply described as '1 musical instrument'. Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 25.

28 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:163. See Chapter 15.

29 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 10: 'adze with stone point'.

30 St. Cartmail, *The Art of Tonga* (Honolulu, 1997):77.

31 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, (Paris, 1808) I:314.

32 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: items 11 and 12. A similar adze, without its blade, is held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection in Bergen (BME 9) and another in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne (V/B-027).

33 Mineo, 'Enrico Hillyer Giglioli: archéologue et collectionneur', in *Kanak: l'art est une parole* (Arles, 2013):149.

34 Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook …* (Cambridge, 1955–74), II:541.

35 Boulay, 'L'herminette-genou', in *Kanak*:76.

36 See Chapter 16.

37 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 16. See Kaeppler, '274 Bowl', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 2009):194.

38 The container is presently at the Weltmuseum, Vienna (Wien 52). Kaeppler, '274 Bowl'

39 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:142.

40 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 17; La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 31 (fig. 7). See Figure 1.6.

41 An example is a basket in the Cook-Forster Collection at the Universität Göttingen (University of Göttingen) (OZ 138). NMA, 'Basket *Kato kafa*', in *Cook's Pacific Encounters …* (Canberra, 2018): Oz 138; Menter, '293 Basket *Kato kafa*', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific*:196.

42 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 26.

43 Ibid.: items 18, 19.

44 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 32 (fig. 21).

45 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: items 23, 24.

46 La Billardière, Relation, II:245; Atlas: plate 37 (figs 5, 6). See Figure 1.9.

47 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:160–1.

48 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: items 20, 21; see also Augustin, '351 Fishhook', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific*:208; Hooper, *Pacific Encounters*:262–3.

49 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 32 (fig. 27).

50 After the Leiden collection underwent a move in 1997, the fishhook was reported missing and thereafter known only through a black and white photograph. However, in February 2015, the author discovered that the object had erroneously been labelled in conjunction with a piece of cord (RV-3787-7). It had therefore been untraceable by the digital tracking system used in the Leiden stores.

51 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 22.

52 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 32 (fig. 29).

53 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 27.

54 Personal communication, Alice van Duijn, Natuur Informatie Centrum Naturalis, Leiden, 15 May 2014.

55 Personal communication, Billie Lythberg, 14 April 2014.

56 Buyskes to Leemans, 5 April 1864: item 6.

57 Ibid.: items 9, 13, 14, 15, unnumbered [28], part of 27. These items include one club from Guyana (RV-34-5) listed in the Buyskes inventory as 'a flat club wrapped with thread'; three earthenware pots from South America (RV-34-18, RV-34-19, RV-34-20); one butter nut (RV-34-34) and one palm seed from the *Attalea funifera* (RV-34-35) which commonly grows in eastern Brazil; and one decorative object (RV-34-29) from the Japanese Edo period collection.

CHAPTER 9

Tropenmuseum – Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Amsterdam

TRISTAN MOSTERT

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In 2006, during preparation for a small exhibition of Oceanic clubs at Amsterdam's Tropenmuseum (Museum of the Tropics), curator David van Duuren and I rediscovered the interesting origins of eleven clubs from the Pacific that had been part of the collection since the museum's founding. While consulting the museum archives, Van Duuren found correspondence with the French historian Hélène Richard in 1977 indicating that the objects had been collected during the Pacific expedition of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. This revelation prompted us to investigate in detail the provenance of the objects. They turned out to have left such a rich paper trail that we were able to reconstruct their collection history almost from the moment the expedition was stranded on Java in 1794 to the moment they were incorporated into the Tropenmuseum.[1]

A well-documented history

The paper trail starts in early 1797, with correspondence between François van Boekholtz and Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh. The former had been Governor of Banda for the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company, henceforth VOC) but had fallen into disgrace the previous year for surrendering Fort Nassau, one of the main VOC fortifications in the Dutch East Indies, to the British without so much as a struggle. Relieved of his duties, he was now living in Semarang (Java) and was desperately trying to ward off judicial prosecution. To this end, he sought the favour of S.C. Nederburgh, commissioner-general of the VOC and at the time de facto the most powerful man in Java. Van Boekholtz wrote several letters to Nederburgh. In one, he evidently pointed out the existence of thirteen 'rarities from islands in the Pacific' and offered his services as a broker in helping Nederburgh obtain them from their current owner. Unfortunately, this particular letter is the only one missing from an otherwise impeccable archive—apparently because it was later used to prove the authenticity of the objects and was lost in the process (see below). Its existence is known because of subsequent correspondence—Nederburgh's positive reply of 23 January;[2] later correspondence about the logistics of getting the objects from Semarang, where Van Boekholtz had brought them, to Batavia, where Nederburgh was

stationed;[3] and the correspondence in which the letter is presented as proof of the origin of the objects.[4] The original letter might have added to an already rich paper trail by providing more information about the owner of the objects at the time and the way in which he had come to possess them after the collapse of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition a good two years earlier.

During more than a year spent in Java between the end of the expedition and his departure for Europe, the naturalist La Billardière had found it necessary to sell some of the objects collected during the voyage. Moreover, parts of the collection simply had to be left behind as there was not enough room on the VOC return fleet that took the bulk of the crews and their belongings from Batavia on 5 December 1794.[5] Various objects from the expedition now held in Dutch museums found their way to Europe in the luggage of high-ranking VOC officials. It is reasonable to assume that they originated from the parts of the collection sold or abandoned in Java. After receiving the items brokered by Van Boekholtz, Nederburgh returned to the Netherlands taking the thirteen objects with him.

More than three quarters of a century later, in 1876, Sebastiaan Cornelis Herman Nederburgh, grandson of the commissioner-general, responded to a call from the Indische Instelling (Indian Institute) in Delft. This was a training institution for colonial civil servants but also boasted a small museum which now sought to expand its collection by sending out a general call for objects. Nederburgh decided to give the thirteen objects on loan and later informed the Indische Instelling of their illustrious provenance, apparently by sending them Van Boekholtz's original letter.[6] When the Indische Instelling closed in 1900, the objects were returned to the Nederburgh family. Twelve years later, S.C.H. Nederbugh's son Cornelis Bastiaan Nederburgh determined to donate them to the ethnographical collection of Natura Artis Magistra, the zoological society that founded the Amsterdam Zoo. Correspondence at this time mentions the loss of Boekholtz's letter.[7] However, arrangements had already been made to incorporate the Artis ethnographic collection into the Koloniaal Museum (Colonial Museum) and the transfer was made only weeks after C.B. Nederburgh's donation. The objects have been in this collection ever since—after decolonization, the Koloniaal Museum was rechristened Tropenmuseum.[8] It now forms part of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen.

The objects

The Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Tropenmuseum consists of 13 objects—the aforementioned 11 clubs, one spear, and one pounder. They originate from New Britain, New Caledonia, Tonga, and Fiji. Interestingly, since the ships called at neither New Britain nor Fiji, it must be assumed that the objects originating there were collected elsewhere. A single club from New Britain (TM-A-1657; Figure 9.1) was presumably acquired in Buka in the northern Solomons (now in Papua New Guinea)—the nearest place with commercial contacts in New Britain where the expedition is known to have traded objects. This club, a long, straight, unornamented specimen made of black wood, must have been collected at sea on 15 July 1792 during the expedition's passage along the west coast of Buka.[9]

Figure 9.1 (right). baru*, club, from New Britain, probably collected in Buka, in the Tropenmuseum collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (TM-A-1657).*

Figure 9.2 (left). Fig. 37 of plate 33 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a club which closely resembles a Fijian* tuki*, beaked battle-hammer, in the Tropenmuseum collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Anon., 'Massue', 1800, engraving.*

Similarly, two clubs that certainly originated in Fiji must have been collected between 23 March and 9 April 1793 during the expedition's visit to Tongatapu,[10] which had extensive cultural, military, and commercial ties with eastern Fiji.[11] A heavy *tuki*, beaked battle-hammer (TM-A-1605), is definitely Fijian. The head curves away from the shaft and consists of a conical tip coming from a band of blunt protrusions. An engraving in La Billardière's *Atlas* depicts a 'massue', club, closely resembling this object (Figure 9.2). Also hailing from Fiji is an undecorated *gadi*, pole club (TM-A-1613), with a smoothly polished surface, not unlike a baseball bat.

The origin of another club is less certain—a *culacula*, paddle club (TM-A-1630), might have come from either Fiji or Tonga, as this type (with a paddle-like blade that could be used as both a shield and a melee weapon) was prevalent throughout the region. However, Andy Mills suggests that two stylistic features mark it as Fijian, rather than Tongan: a straight, transverse, raised reinforcing bar across the widest part of the blade and small, stepped cuts along the lower part of the blade.[12]

Five objects that are certainly Tongan must also have been collected during the expedition's two week stay in Tonga. They include a *tuki*, wooden food pounder (TM-A-1612), used to grind the fruits of the breadfruit tree to prepare *faikakai*, dumplings. An *apa'apai*, club (TM-A-1627), with its characteristic bands of protruding ribs that increase in number towards the broad striking end, is entirely carved with various patterns. A *pakipaki*, paddle club (TM-A-1626-a), with a tongue shaped blade is similarly carved with patterns divided into rectangular patches. Amid these patterns are small human figures that are specific to Tongan clubs (Figure 9.3). The other two Tongan items are also clubs, both classed as extremely rare by Andy Mills.[13] One is stellate-sectioned, with a shaft almost square in diameter and sides that become concave towards the striking end, so that it has four sharp edges at the head (TM-A-1628; see Figure 16.4). Following

Figure 9.3. Detail showing an anthropomorphic figure on a Tongan pakipaki*, paddle club, in the Tropenmuseum collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (TM-A-1626-a).*

Figure 9.4. mata*, knife club, collected in Tonga, in the Tropenmuseum collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (TM-A-812).*

earlier catalogues, Van Duuren and I originally believed this club to be Fijian but it has more recently been identified as Tongan.[14] The other rare Tongan club is a *mata*, knife club (TM-A-812; Figure 9.4), shaped like a long chopping knife. Only a few similar artefacts are known. Their shape was fashioned after European weapons that found their way into the region in the 18th century.

The objects collected in New Caledonia comprise a spear and three clubs. The wooden spear (TM-A-813) is 183 cm long, 2 cm wide, and has a handle made of plant fibres. Two of the clubs (TM-A-1595, TM-A-1614) have a conical head and phallic shape common in New Caledonian clubs. The second of these clubs closely resembles one engraved in La Billardière's *Atlas*.[15] Much more unusual is a T-shaped club (TM-A-1596; Figure 9.5), also represented in the *Atlas* (Figure 9.6). An almost identical item is held in the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden (RV-1877-1). Received from the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) in 1914, the Leiden club lacks earlier provenance but might well have been a relic of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, since the Society was founded in 1778 and quickly began collecting objects. The pickaxe shape is one of the rarest and oldest club configurations known.[16] All four New Caledonian objects must have been collected

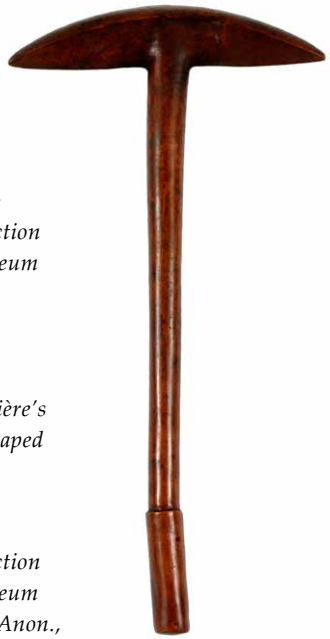

Figure 9.5. T-shaped Kanak club from New Caledonia in the Tropenmuseum collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (TM-A-1596).

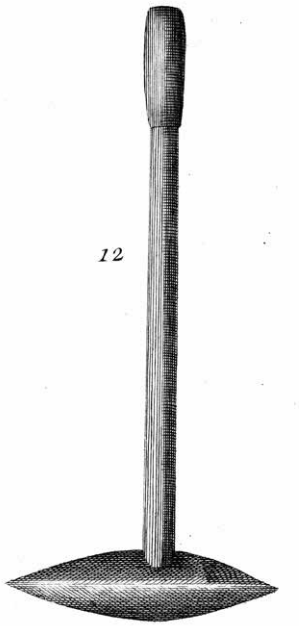

Figure 9.6. Fig. 12 of plate 37 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a T-shaped club collected in New Caledonia which is probably held in the Tropenmuseum collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Anon., 'Massue', 1800, engraving.*

during the French visit to Balade between 18 April and 19 May 1793.[17] Indeed, La Billardière's *Relation* refers several times to the purchase of weapons and to how they were made.[18]

Conclusion

The Tropenmuseum collection is exceptional because the travels of the objects can be tracked from the moment they arrived in Java to their acquisition by the museum, thanks to the colonial paper trail. Moreover, the objects themselves index regional patterns of exchange and in at least one case the weapon's shape embeds a trace of early encounters with Europeans.

Notes

1 Detailed documentation of the Tropenmuseum's Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection is mostly held in the Nederburgh family archive. NA, 'Collectie Nederburgh', 1431–1965, Nationaal Archief (1.10.59). Van Duuren and I described the collection in some detail at the time and the present contribution draws significantly on that research. Van Duuren and Mostert, *Curiosities from the Pacific Ocean …* (Amsterdam and Leiden, 2007). In this chapter, I gratefully include revised understandings of the origins of several items stemming from recent specialist research, particularly by Steven Hooper and Andy Mills. On the breakup of the expedition, see Chapter 1.

2 S.C. Nederburgh to F. van Boekholtz, Batavia, 23 January 1797, in NA, 'Collectie Nederburgh':680, fol. 162–3.

3 F. van Boekholtz to S.C. Nederburgh, Semarang, 13 February 1797, in NA, 'Collectie Nederburgh':712, fol. 706; S.C. Nederburgh to F. van Boekholtz, n.d., in Ibid.:680, fol. 188.

4 S.C.H. Nederburgh to J. Spanjaard, Den Haag, 7 May 1899, in NA, 'Collectie Nederburgh': 1419.

5 Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique …* (Paris, 1986):200–5.

6 S.C.H. Nederburgh to Spanjaard, 7 May 1899.

7 C.B. Nederburgh to N.P. van den Berg, Den Haag, 22 May 1912, in NA, 'Collectie Nederburgh':1419.

8 This part of the history of the collection is described in more detail in Van Duuren and Mostert, *Curiosities*:9–14, 31–7.

9 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:122–5.

10 Ibid.:276–324; La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), I:92–177.

11 See Chapter 16 for a detailed discussion of Tongan and Fijian clubs in the context of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux expedition. In a precedent for this indirect provenance, Cook also did not visit Fiji but collected Fijian objects, doubtless in Tonga. Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities' …* (Honolulu, 1978):206–7.

12 Personal communication, Andy Mills, 7 March 2018.

13 Chapter 16.

14 In a review of our book, Steven Hooper convincingly argued that the club was more likely to have been made in Tonga itself. Hooper, 'Reviewed Work: *Curiosities from the Pacific Ocean …*', *Pacific Arts* 7 (2008):43.

15 Ibid.: plate 37 (fig. 11). See Figure 1.9.

16 Boulay, 'Les massues et les casse-têtes', in *Kanak …* (Arles, 2013):251–7. A similar club was held in the Leverian Museum, founded in 1775 by Ashton Lever, until the collection was sold in 1806. Anders Sparrman, an assistant naturalist during Cook's visit to Balade in 1774, collected one of the oldest double-bladed clubs known. Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities'*:245. *Holophusicon, the Leverian Museum …* (Altenstadt and Honolulu, 2011):186.

17 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:330–61; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:178–248

18 Ibid.:184, 203, 215–16, 245–6.

CHAPTER 10

Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg

CAROLINE VAN SANTEN

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The Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen (Royal Zeeland Society of Arts and Sciences), established in Zeeland province in the Netherlands in 1769,[1] comprised a group of well-to-do people who, as a pastime, were engaged in the emerging natural sciences. Membership was only attainable on the recommendation of an existing member and was rather exclusive. It also brought obligations, like the compulsory donations of objects to enlarge the society's collection of natural history specimens, historical objects, and curiosities. Director Aarnout Matthias van Citters donated three Tongan clubs on 6 January 1808.[2]

The Dutch in India

Aarnout Matthias van Citters's surname suggests a well known family from the province of Zeeland in the Netherlands. However, Aarnout was born on 18 October 1780 in Surat, on the west coast of India, to Cornelis van Citters and Julia Dorothea van Wermelskirchen. Originally from Middelburg, his father came to India as a junior merchant for the Chamber of Zeeland of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company, henceforth VOC). Julia was born in Colombo, Sri Lanka, and met Cornelis in 1773 in Cochin in southern India where she was living with her stepfather Adriaan Moens, then director of the VOC district of Malabar.[3] At the time of Aarnout's birth, his father worked as a storehouse manager for the VOC in Surat. In 1784, the family moved to Bengal in northeast India. They lived first in the trading post of Patna and later in Chinsura, where Cornelis successively held the posts of merchant, head of the trading post, and chief merchant. Like the other VOC employees, the Van Citters family was well established in local European society. Despite the fact that the different nationalities—British, Dutch, Danish, and French—were trading competitors, their representatives maintained relations with one another, both professionally, with official visits to each other's trading posts, and privately, by attending each other's informal dinners and sometimes very lavish parties.[4]

In 1791, Cornelis van Citters became the director of the VOC district of Bengal. He held this position until the British took possession of all Dutch trading posts in India in 1795.[5] A year later, he repatriated to the Netherlands, probably taking passage on a British ship. This was unusual since VOC employees were expected to travel on VOC

vessels. Yet, due to organizational and financial problems within the VOC and also to the French occupation of the Netherlands, VOC shipping was very irregular from 1792 onwards. Whether the Van Citters family travelled to the Netherlands as one party is unknown. A letter book of VOC officer Johannes Cornelis Heijning contains several draft responses to letters he had received from Cornelis van Citters. Heijning's correspondence refers only to Van Citters himself and his travels home via St. Helena and London.[6] However, in a letter to Jan Pieter Baumgardt, Isaac Titsingh mentioned that Van Citters travelled together with his wife.[7] It was not unusual for the children of VOC employees to be sent to Europe without their parents, to live with relatives in order, for example, to receive proper education. No references to Aarnout Matthias have been traced so far but Titsingh recounted in letters to his brother Jan that one of Aarnout Matthias' younger sisters was supposed to travel to the Netherlands via England on a British ship at the end of 1791. However, her voyage was delayed or perhaps even postponed because of severe burns she sustained a few weeks prior to the intended departure.[8]

The Van Citters family settled in Cornelis's place of birth, Middelburg, but whether Aarnout attended the same Latijnse School (Latin School) there as his father is unknown.[9] However, he eventually went to the University of Leiden to study law. In July 1804, he graduated with the presentation of his judicial dissertation,[10] after which he established himself as a lawyer in Middelburg. On 6 February the following year, on the recommendation of president Nicolaas Cornelis Lambrechtsen of the Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen, Aarnout van Citters was appointed the society's director.[11] Later that year he married Digna Johanna van der Houte but the marriage remained childless. At the beginning of 1811, for reasons unknown, Van Citters resigned as director of the society, having already donated the three clubs.[12]

Possible acquisition routes

Van Citters's gift of the clubs lacks background information. In the society's register of donations, the clubs are described as 'Three pieces of wooden armaments of Indian savages'.[13] This brief description is quite uninformative. Objects about which scant information was available were often referred to either as coming from China or as 'Indian'—the latter term could signify American provenance but was also widely used in Europe as a general synonym for 'native'.[14]

Figure 10.1. Tongan pakipaki*, paddle club, in the Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen collection at the Zeeuws Museum (3600-BEV-Z-80).*

Since the three clubs are definitely Tongan, the question arises of how Van Citters might have acquired them. His family's ties with the VOC and with Bengal are the most likely source. Archived letters from colleagues of Cornelis van Citters, like Isaac Titsingh and Johannes Cornelis Heijning, reveal extensive contacts between officers and between relatives based in the different posts throughout the VOC region. Besides sending letters to one another, they also looked out for each other's investments and sent packages to and fro.[15] There was also an interest in science in the Van Citters household, since Aarnout's father Cornelis was a member of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences) from 1790.[16] It is very possible that some objects from the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux expedition might have found their way into the household via such channels.

However, the close links with other Europeans in Bengal must also be considered. The British in particular might have contributed to Van Citters's acquisition of the clubs. Commander John Hayes, who led a voyage funded by Calcutta merchants to Australia and New Guinea in 1793 and 1794, in part unintentionally followed Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's route.[17] In May or early June 1794, he stayed briefly at Surabaya, where on arrival he saw the ships *Recherche* and *Espérance* which had been taken by the Dutch. In Surabaya, Hayes gathered much information about the French expedition from, amongst others, Hesmivy d'Auribeau who had taken command on the death of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux in July 1793. Since they shared information and compared notes, it is possible that they also exchanged gifts.[18] Shortly afterwards, Hayes left for Batavia where he met a British squadron from Bengal which had been looking for French cruisers and had stopped at Batavia for provisions and repairs. Instead of being allowed to return to Calcutta directly, Hayes was ordered to proceed first to Canton in China.[19] There he met with the aforementioned VOC officer Isaac Titsingh, a friend of Cornelis van Citters and his predecessor as director of the VOC district of Bengal.[20] It is likely that Titsingh gave Hayes letters for his former colleagues in Bengal. So, back in Bengal, where Hayes arrived on 5 December 1794, other exchanges might have taken place, perhaps including pieces from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition such as the three clubs that ended up in the Zeeuws Museum.[21]

Figure 10.2. Tongan apa'apai*, club, in the Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen collection at the Zeeuws Museum (3600-BEV-Z-81).*

The clubs

The three Tongan *ʻakau*, club, in question are each of a different type and most likely had different makers, but they have in common extensive decoration. The first is paddle-shaped (3600-BEV-Z-80; Figure 10.1). This 114 cm long club has a lenticular cross-sectioned head and is an extremely well balanced and easy-to-use piece. A modern Dutch martial arts expert recently demonstrated these qualities to me. The club has a surface decoration throughout, with triangular and frieze zoning, filled in with several different geometric patterns. On one side, a whale ivory inset has been made in the shape of a four-pointed star. It seems to be a later addition since the inlay slightly interrupts the engraved patterns. According to the early 19th-century English castaway William Mariner, clubs that had 'done much execution' might be decorated in this way.[22] Such usage could explain signs of damage along the top ridge of the Zeeuws club.

The second club is an *apaʻapai* and has a head with a rhomboidal profile (3600-BEV-Z-81; Figure 10.2). It is 79 cm long with a knob at the butt and closely resembles one engraved in the *Atlas* of the naturalist La Billardière.[23] This club's surface is also completely decorated with mainly rectangular zones and friezes filled in with various geometric patterns. The latter are somewhat more coarsely carved than those on the first club. However, the second club is adorned on both sides with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures spread over the zoned engravings. From top to bottom, each side has two broad dovetailed pigeon forms and a broad-legged male with enlarged genitals, most likely due to elephantiasis. Below these figures, on one side of the club, are two two-legged walking birds with their beaks towards each other and, on the other side, one two-legged walking bird with its beak towards the right.[24]

The third club has a rather unusual form since it is a stellate *ʻakau* (3600-BEV-Z-82; Figure 10.3). The shaft has a decoration of spiralled lines with, at the butt, a zone with a geometric pattern all round. The upper part of the club has eight longitudinal ridges, which are either smooth or serrated. The decoration of the upper part of this club is not quite finished. Some of the serrated ridges have leaf-like carvings on one or both sides, with serrated points as the top of the leaves, whereas other serrated ridges do not have this decoration. Moreover, on one of the smooth surfaces a start has been made towards the creation of a geometric pattern, which has been left unfinished. It is as if the visitors from Europe arrived before the carver could complete his work.[25]

Figure 10.3. Stellate Tongan ʻakau*, club, in the Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen collection at the Zeeuws Museum (3600-BEV-Z-82).*

Conclusion

Research undertaken into the background of the three Tongan clubs, originally described as 'Indian' in the registers of the Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen, has provided a wealth of information on persons, objects, and historical events. As such, these Tongan clubs are symbolic of the fact that the history of the province of Zeeland is directly connected to the history of a much wider world.

Notes

1 The Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen was first established in Vlissingen. In 1784, a division was created in Middelburg where the society was fully relocated in 1801. It received royal patronage in 1969.

2 ZA, 'Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen', 1769–1969:139 (Collectie 26).

3 Van Haart, [Zeeuwse Elite: Mr. Aarnout Mathias van Citters d.d. 9 September 2007], J.-M. H. van Haart private Archief; Roos, *Zeeuwen en de VOC* (Middeburg, 1987):159–60; UA,'Familie Des Tombes', 1485–1948 (Collectie 26. 2.3.16.1, 832); ZA, 'Familie Van Citters (1780)', 1841–2001 (Collectie 319. 1, 3).

4 De Waal, 'Bogaardt parenteel', *Engelbertus de Waal: Website van de familie de Waal*, 2013; Van Haart, [Zeeuwse Elite]; Lequin, *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de 18e eeuw …* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 2005):189, 194–5; Roos, *Zeeuwen en de VOC*:159–60; ZA, 'Familie Van Citters'.

5 Van Haart, [Zeeuwse Elite]; Lequin, *De particuliere correspondentie van Isaac Titsingh … Text brieven* (Alphen aan de Rijn, 2009):194–5; Lequin, *De particuliere correspondentie van Isaac Titsingh … Commentaar* (Alphen aan de Rijn, 2009):706; Roos, *Zeeuwen en de VOC*:160; ZA, 'Familie Van Citters'.

6 NA, 'Familie Heijning', 1713–1986 (Collectie 607. 2.21.281.41, 3).

7 Lequin, *Text brieven*:467.

8 Ibid.:323, 328; Van Haart, [Zeeuwse Elite].

9 The Latijnse School was a grammar school preparing boys for university education or the priesthood.

10 Van Haart, [Zeeuwse Elite]; ZA, 'Familie Van Citters'.

11 Kanter, 'Voorbericht', *Nieuwe Verhandelingen van het Zeeuws Genootschap der Wetenschappen* 1 (1807):XXVI; ZA, 'Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen':64.

12 Van Haart, [Zeeuwse Elite]; ZA, 'Familie Van Citters'; 'Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen':64, 139.

13 Ibid.:139.

14 Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania 1511–1850* (Basingstoke and New York, 2014):47, 58, 70–3, 82, 91–9, 148.

15 Lequin, *Text brieven*; NA, 'Familie Heijning'.

16 Ross, 'Naamlyst der heeren directeuren, dirigeerende en andere leden van het Bataviasch der Kunten en Weetenschappen &c.', *Verhandelingen van het Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Weetenschappen* 5 (1790):57; 'Naamlyst der heeren directeuren, dirigeerende en andere leden van het Bataviasch der Kunten en Weetenschappen &c.', *Verhandelingen van het Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Weetenschappen* 6 (1792):43.

17 Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes …* (London, 1912):16–80, 107–20.

18 Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse …* (Carlton South, 1996):217–20; Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*:119–21.

19 Ibid.:121–4.

20 Lequin, *Text brieven*:423.

21 Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*:134–5.

22 Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands …* (London, 1817), II:278; Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau …' (Norwich, 2007):132–7, 160–2, 375–6; St. Cartmail, *The Art of Tonga* (Honolulu, 1997):124–35.

23 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800): plate 33 (fig. 38). See Figure 1.8.

24 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau':132–7, 160–2, 354–9; Hooper, *Pacific Encounters …* (London: 2006):266–7.

25 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau':132–7, 160–2, 354–9; St. Cartmail, *Art of Tonga*:124–35.

CHAPTER 11

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology – Harvard University, Cambridge MA

FANNY WONU VEYS

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The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University holds an unusual Tongan *kali*, headrest (PM 67-10-70/307), that is similar in shape to a Leiden example (RV-34-4) but has no surface carving.[1] In 1867, the headrest became part of the museum's founding collection. A year earlier, the museum trustees received $150,000 from George Peabody 'to establish a Peabody professorship, purchase artifacts, and create a building fund'.[2] Responding to an appeal launched by the Peabody, the Massachusetts Historical Society sold the new museum most of its ethnological collection. The headrest is the only object in the Peabody's founding collection that is accompanied by a reference to the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. The note in the accession register reads: 'described as a pillow in list of engravings and shown on pl 33 of JJ Labillardière Voyages in Search of La Pérouse 1791–4'.[3] Is there evidence to support my inference that this headrest was collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage? Could other objects that became part of the museum's holdings at an early stage also have been collected during the expedition?

The Massachusetts Historical Society

The Massachusetts Historical Society was officially founded on 24 January 1791 in order to provide the booming city of Boston with an association for 'persons with historical tastes' after the instability caused by the American Revolutionary Wars.[4] It is known that several sea captains collected objects during their voyages intended specifically for the Society's museum. However, by the mid-19th century the Historical Society had decided to concentrate on its library function, depositing its natural history collections with the Boston Society of Natural History and selling its ethnographic objects to the Peabody Museum for a sum of $20,000.[5]

In the first decade of the Historical Society's existence, it received donations of two Pacific collections: one in 1794 from James Magee and another in 1801 from William Bentley.[6] Magee was one of the successful initiators of the Boston–China trade. During

a global circumnavigation between 1791 and 1793 in command of the *Margaret*, he stopped in Hawai'i en route between the American northwest coast and Canton.[7] Magee assembled a collection intended explicitly for the Massachusetts Historical Society.[8] It comprised a mixture of natural history items and artefacts, organized into three categories: 'From the north-west coast of America'; 'From the Sandwich Islands'; and 'From the Ocean'.[9] However, the itinerary and timing of Magee's voyage make it extremely unlikely that he could have encountered crew members from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition or acquired objects collected during the French voyage.[10]

The donation by the Unitarian minister Bentley combined Native American and Pacific objects with natural history specimens. Pacific artefacts listed in the Historical Society's *Proceedings* for 1801 include 'an Ornament for the Head and two pieces of Cloth, from the Sandwich Islands' and 'Oil Dish and Fish Hook from the Sandwich Islands'.[11] Bentley was an important figure in early 19th-century Salem and Boston, one of the great polymaths of the young United States, and known for his work from 1794 as a scholar, columnist, and journalist. From his diaries, he was evidently an indefatigable reader and collector of local and international information.[12] He was very well connected, while his belief in Republican enlightenment and the wide diffusion of knowledge fitted well with his substantial gift to the Massachusetts Historical Society.[13]

The entry in the *Proceedings* suggests that Bentley's donation of Pacific objects comprised only Hawaiian items. It is very likely, however, that the geographical label 'Sandwich Islands' functioned as a blanket reference to the Pacific Islands. For example, the Peabody Museum today does not hold an 'Oil Dish' from Hawai'i but its founding Pacific collections include a container (PM 67-10-70/328) which looks remarkably similar to the Tongan oil dish (RV-34-21) held in Leiden.[14]

Vicarious travels

While Bentley saw books and objects as a way to expand his knowledge, he did not physically travel to broaden his horizons, preferring to voyage by proxy through his many mariner and trader friends.[15] Clearly, his Pacific collection must have been assembled via these acquaintances. One such friend was Nathaniel Bowditch whom Bentley visited on 28 June 1799, two years before donating his Pacific collection to the Historical Society. Bentley wrote: 'Went to Mr. T. Bowditch to receive some Indian curiosities from Sandwich islands. The reports of the Sandwich islands are different from those of Cooke, & very incredible as are often the vague reports of seamen who have heard & not seen'.[16] Bentley had encouraged the young Bowditch to study Latin, lending him books from his extensive library.[17] Bowditch eventually became a mathematician and is regarded as the founder of modern ocean navigation techniques.

At the time of Bentley's diary entry, Nathaniel Bowditch had already undertaken three voyages as a ship's clerk. While the first (1795–6) and the third (1798–9) took him respectively to the French island of La Réunion and to Spain, on the second voyage (24 April 1796–22 May 1797), he sailed to Manila via the south coast of Java. The vessel spent ten days negotiating the Sunda Strait, which separates Java from Sumatra.[18] Less than a month after meeting Bentley in 1799, Bowditch set out on another voyage to Manila, during which he visited Batavia.[19]

That Bowditch never went to Hawai'i or to any other Pacific island perhaps explains Bentley's claim that Bowditch's hearsay stories did not match what he had read in Cook's firsthand voyage accounts. However, Bowditch's diaries make it clear that he talked extensively to the crews of passing ships during the wearisome passage of the Sunda Strait. He mentioned the names of captains and ships, where they were bound, and what befell them. He also wrote of hearing rumours about the earlier arrival of a French frigate which had not been welcomed in Java: 'An embargo was put on all these arrivals until they sailed on some unknown expedition'.[20] It is tempting to imagine that Bowditch, was here alluding to the troubled sojourn in Java of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, whose last contingent had left the island in 1795.[21] However, Bowditch did not record whether he collected any of the materials from the expedition that were circulating at the time in Java, as indicated by the biographies collated in Part 2 of this volume of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections now held in several European museums.[22]

Disentangling the founding collections of the Peabody Museum

Of roughly 250 objects sold by the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Peabody Museum in 1867, 93 were from the Pacific, with 62 Hawaiian items forming the bulk of that collection.[23] Of the Pacific objects, 23 objects from Aotearoa-New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji, and the Admiralty Islands could potentially have been collected during the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux.[24] All have thus far been attributed to the undifferentiated donations of Magee and Bentley. However, the archival paper trail suggests that all the non-Hawaiian Pacific items were actually donated by Bentley.

Aotearoa-New Zealand objects

While Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's vessels only brushed the northern coast of New Zealand, a brief encounter on 11 March 1793 resulted in an amicable meeting with Māori men who exchanged 'almost everything' they had in their canoes.[25] Two undecorated *hoe*, paddle (PM 67-10-70/334, PM 67-10-70/355), in the Peabody Museum collection are exemplary of late 18th-century Māori paddles such as those evidently collected by the French on this occasion. Joseph-François Raoul, chief helmsman on the *Recherche*, commented in his shipboard journal that several of the Māori visitors were so keen to obtain European 'cloth, knives, and nails' that they exchanged their paddles, 'having nothing else'.[26]

The published voyage narratives are clear that the Māori also gave the French several fishhooks.[27] A Peabody ledger asserts, on uncertain evidence, that an Aotearoa-New Zealand fishhook (PM 67-10-70/249) in the museum's holdings originally belonged to James Magee's Pacific artefacts.[28] The *matau*, fishhook, has a bone pronged tip lashed to a wooden hook with a cord of Aotearoa-New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*). A flax cord attached to the top of the hook, used to connect the hook to a line, resembles one on a Cook voyage fishhook.[29] If this hook was indeed donated by Magee, he could only have collected it in Hawai'i. Since this is an unlikely provenance for the object, it may credibly be attributed to Bentley's donation. A less utilitarian shell fishhook (PM 67-10-70/410) is also in the Peabody collection, attached to a double twine cord.

Figure 11.1. Māori māhē*, stone sinker from Aotearoa-New Zealand in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University (PM 67-10-70/244).*

When discussing fishing equipment, La Billardière expressed admiration for a stone sinker:

> Several of these lines were very long and had at their extremity a piece of hard serpentine, attached there to make them sink to great depths. We admired the fine polish they had given to this spherical stone. It was topped by a small protuberance in which they had bored a hole through which to pass a line. It must be very difficult for these Savages to pierce such hard stones, and they doubtless spent much time in the task.[30]

This description corresponds to a roundish stone with attached cord held in the Peabody (Figure 11.1). The museum also holds a long Māori *tewhatewha*, club (PM 67-10-70/352), the lower shaft of which is subtly carved with a humanlike face. This almost imperceptible woodcarving is characteristic of 18th-century *tewhatewha*.[31]

Tongan and Fijian weapons

The Peabody Museum's holdings of Tongan and Fijian artefacts echo other 18th-century object collections, all of which are strongly biased towards weaponry.[32] The Museum holds six clubs, three spears, and one bow. Three of the clubs (PM 67-10-70/346, PM 67-10-70/347, PM 67-10-70/351) have no surface decoration, but two (PM 67-10-70/348, PM 67-10-70/349) are finely decorated and one (PM 67-10-70/350) has unfinished shallow engraving. The intricacy and neatness of inlays and carving on wooden objects seen in Tonga were greatly admired by La Billardière, suggesting

that the clubs in question might well have been collected during the French expedition.[33]

In terms of form, the clubs include four *pakipaki*, paddle club (PM 67-10-70/346, PM 67-10-70/347, PM 67-10-70/348, PM 67-10-70/350). This genre is clearly overrepresented in the Peabody collection. Their ratio constitutes a significant change from that of Cook voyage clubs which were more of the *apa'apai* type, a lozenge-sectioned club with a slightly concave or flat head terminal. The ratio shift in Tongan club types is general to the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections discussed in this volume.[34] An *ula drisia*, short throwing club (PM 67-10-70/351), shaped as a round ball on a cylindrical handle was probably originally a Fijian import.[35] As no such club seems to have been collected in the 1770s during Cook's voyages, it is possible that the 'foreign' *ula drisia* club only became common in Tonga from around 1790.

Two Tongan spears (PM 67-10-70/359, PM 67-10-70/360) in the Peabody collection present a classical form reminiscent of barbed spears collected during Cook's voyages. The third spear (Figure 11.2) has barbs alternating with notched, corncob-like square-sectioned elements and is Fijian in origin. Spears were used to incapacitate the opponent. The blunt tip of the latter spear and its intricate notching, however, suggest that it was a prestige item, showcasing Fijian workmanship. A Tongan *kaufana tangata*, man bow (PM 67-10-70/310), is missing its string.

Tongan headrests

There are five *kali*, headrest, in the collection (see feature), which Tongans might have presented to members of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's crew. Three two-legged headrests (PM 67-10-70/303, PM 67-10-70/304, PM 67-10-70/305) are similar in design to a type represented in La Billardière's *Atlas* (see Figure 8.4) and described in his *Relation*.[36] One of these (PM 67-10-70/303) has a serious crack in one leg while the legs of the others have broken off altogether. Only one pair of legs has survived on another broken headrest (PM 67-10-70/377), which was carved from a single piece of hardwood. Decorated with notches on the end that retains its legs, the residual wood at the other end suggests it might have had only one other leg. Asymmetrical headrests were not unusual in 18th-century Tonga. However, in this case the tubular shape of the horizontal bar is indicative of a four-legged headrest normally associated with early 19th-century Fiji and Tongan canoe builders based in Fiji.[37]

Figure 11.2. tabevatu*, spear, from Fiji, collected in Tonga, in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University (PM 67-10-70/376).*

kali—Tongan headrest

Fanny Wonu Veys

On 4 April 1793, the son of 'King *Toubau*' (Tupou) and Titifa, the chief of Pangaimotu, an island just off the coast north of Tongatapu, were taken hostage after a lethal confrontation between Tongans and the French crews of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. Both chiefs spent the night in the great cabin of the *Recherche*. The naturalist La Billardière reported that they brought with them an 'oreiller de bois' (wooden pillow) on which they 'leaned the back of their head' when going to sleep.[1] One such object is depicted in his *Atlas* (see Figure 8.4).[2]This engraving in turn resembles a headrest held in the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden (Figure 11.3). While the term 'neck rest' is often used in the literature,[3] Tongans, including the artist Filipe Tohi, prefer the word '*head*rest', as the back of the head and not the neck was, and still is placed on the rest.[4] Indeed, La Billardière commented that usage of the headrest resulted in 'flattening' of the skull.[5]

Four of the five *kali*, headrest, held in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University are damaged or broken (see this chapter). The three *kali* in the Leiden collection are carved from one piece of hardwood and represent three distinct types. The two-legged piece (RV-34-17), known as *kali hahapo*, is characterized by a rib running underneath the horizontal part of the object, but is sturdier than most modern pieces now in circulation.[6] Today, *kali hahapo* are the most common types gifted at wedding exchanges (Figure 11.4). The four-legged headrest (RV-34-16) closely resembles examples collected during Cook's voyages and is referred to as *kali toloni* by modern Tongans.[7] This *kali* also has a rib running underneath the actual headrest (Figure 11.5).[8]

The third Leiden headrest (RV-34-4) is described in the original museum register as a 'bent club with carved figures'.[9] However, it looks very similar to another 'oreiller de bois' engraved in La Billardière's *Atlas* (see Figure 8.4).[10] During a visit to the stores on 17 November 1969, the anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler identified the object as a headrest, contradicting an earlier claim by anthropologists Edward Dodd and H.D. Skinner that it was a chiefly massager, similar to a Hawaiian *lomi lomi*.[11] When placed on its outer ends, the item indeed provides a very stable headrest. Only the British Museum and the Peabody Museum are known to hold similar objects. As in Leiden, both proved difficult to recognize and the Peabody headrest is still described in the online catalogue as 'Club, "pillow", combined club and headrest'.[12]

Decoration on Tongan headrests usually consists of whale ivory inlay on the outside of the piece. However, the curved Peabody object is undecorated, while that held in Leiden has fine geometric motifs covering its complete inner surface, with only one figurative bird motif (Figures 11.6, 11.7). The anthropologist Andy Mills proposes that the one-sided engraving suggests it was intended for hanging or propping up with the concave side facing outwards for view, rather like some of the nicer kava bowls that have patterning on the under side.[13] A hole at one end with a torn lug supports this hypothesis. These curved headrests which we associate with the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux expedition are certainly in keeping with other odd shaped, asymmetrical 18th-century examples.[14]

Notes

1 La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II:158.

2 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800): plate 33 (fig. 35).

3 Dhyne, 'Tongan Headrests: Notes on Terminology and Function', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108:4 (1999):411.

4 Personal communication, Billie Lythberg, 15 April 2014.

5 La Billardière, *Relation*:158.

6 St Cartmail, *The Art of Tonga* (Honolulu, 1997):53–4.

7 Dhyne, 'Tongan Headrests':415; Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities' …* (Honolulu, 1978):228–9.

8 St Cartmail, *Art of Tonga*:53–4.

9 P.J. Buyskes to C. Leemans, Leiden, 5 April 1864, in RMO, Correspondentie (NL-RMO_17.01.02/16_27.1864).

10 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 33 (fig. 34).

11 Dodd, *Polynesian Art* (New York, 1967):75, 102.

12 Peabody Museum Collections Online https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/view/objects/asitem/search$0040/0?t:state:flow=cc78aa2f-838c-492f-a6dc-bf6df23b3d5a._Purchased in 1913 via R.H. Greenwood from the Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution, the BM headrest (Oc1913,1114.98) was labelled a '"hockey stick" club perhaps used for making poi'. Later corrected to 'pillow', the description is now 'head-rest'. BM Collection online http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=502089&partId=1&searchText=Oc1913,1114.98&page=1, both accessed 20 January 2018.

13 Email, Andy Mills, 11 April 2014.

14 Hooper, *Pacific Encounters …* (London, 2006):263–5; Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities'*:228–30.

Figure 11.3. Tongan kali hahapo*, headrest, probably collected in 1793 during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-17).*

Figure 11.4. Fanny Wonu Veys's photograph of the presentation of several kali hahapo*, headrest, during the Tongan Royal wedding of Hon. Lupapau'u and Fusitu'a in Nuku'alofa, 11 June 2003.*

Figure 11.5. Tongan kali toloni*, headrest, probably collected in 1793 during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-16).*

Figure 11.6. Tongan kali palalafa*, headrest, probably collected in 1793 during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-4).*

Figure 11.7. Detail of a Tongan kali palalafa*, headrest, in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-4).*

La Billardière's *Atlas* (see Figure 8.4) also depicts an 'oreiller de bois' (wooden pillow) corresponding in general shape to that of an elegantly curved headrest (PM 67-10-70/307) in the Peabody collection.[38] This rare object is carved from a single piece of wood but is undecorated, in contrast to the Leiden headrest (Figure 11.6) it resembles.

Tongan container

The Peabody Museum holds a wooden bird-shaped container (PM 67-10-70/328), a Fijian *sedri ni waiwai*, oil container, that might have been used in Tonga to store scented coconut oil with which to anoint the human body.[39] Bentley probably believed that this object came from Hawai'i, since the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society describe the container as an 'Oil Dish … from the Sandwich Islands'.[40] It is remarkably similar to a dish (RV-34-21; see Figure 16.2) held in Leiden, but the parallel ridges at the back are reminiscent of those at the bottom of a double container used for food or kava and collected during one of Cook's voyages.[41] The notches on the bird's neck of the Peabody container also occur on two Cook voyage food hooks used to store food safely away from rodents.[42] The bird-shaped Peabody container is possibly a small kava bowl, since it shows some beige patina characteristic of kava bowls and its decoration occurs on food- and drink-related objects.

Admiralty Islands weapon

Earlier in his voyage, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux had taken a long detour through the Admiralty Islands. Fleeting encounters between 28 and 31 July 1792 resulted in the French acquisition of spears, combs, bracelets, and shell penis sheaths, as well as obsidian and shell razors.[43] The Peabody Museum holds an object described as a spear point (Figure 11.8) which might actually be a dagger.[44] The ray-spine point is mounted by means of parinarium mastic (a sticky paste made from a nut) on to a wooden handle, half of which is decorated with a carved figurine wearing a skirt. The absence of glass trade beads commonly found on daggers of this type from the late 19th century supports the 18th-century date for this object, which would make it the oldest Admiralty Islands ray-spine dagger known in public museum collections.[45]

Figure 11.8. Dagger from the Admiralty Islands in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University (PM 67-10-70/383).

Conclusion

The styles of Tongan and Aotearoa-New Zealand objects attributed to Magee and Bentley in the Peabody Museum collection are consistent with 18th-century examples collected during Cook's or Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyages. I argue that they are more plausibly linked to the French expedition. In the case of the Māori sinker (PM 67-10-70/244), La Billardière's description matches the artefact perfectly. The shape of the Tongan headrest (PM 67-10-70/307) is strikingly similar to the drawing in his *Atlas*. The ratio of Tongan club types is especially telling. The Peabody's early Admiralty Islands dagger complements the Magee/Bentley collections and recapitulates the route followed by the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux expedition. Moreover, the Peabody's founding collection strikingly holds one shell ornament (PM 67-10-70/349) collected in the Sunda Strait, one kris with sheath from Lombok on Java (PM 67-10-70/382), and one Javanese bow (PM 67-10-70/309). Since some members of the expedition stayed in Java for two years and more after their arrival in October 1793, collection building had no doubt continued.

Combining the object evidence with the paper trail, it is conceivable that Bowditch acquired objects off the Javanese coast in 1796. He in turn gave a collection to his friend and mentor Bentley who donated the objects to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1801. The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology became the custodians of these artefacts by purchasing them for its founding collection. Thus, through archival research and comparisons with other 18th-century collections, particularly those confirmed as deriving from the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, the objects discussed in this essay may credibly be attributed to the collecting activities of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and his crew and to the subsequent philanthropy of William Bentley.

Notes

1 Chapter 8.

2 Watson, Dorhout, and Rogers, 'Pacific Collections at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University: The Early Years', *Pacific Arts* 13–14 (1996):57.

3 PM, 'Accession Ledger', 1867 (PM 67-10-70/307); La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800): plate 33 (fig. 34). See Figure 8.4.

4 Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade …* (Cambridge, MA, 2000):90.

5 Ibid.:91, 139, 125.

6 Anon., [Meetings of 1794], *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 1 (1791–1835):76; Anon., [Meetings of 1801], *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 1 (1791–1835):138–9.

7 Lee, 'The Magee Family and the Origins of the China Trade', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 3rd series, 81 (1969):110–11.

8 Malloy, 'Capturing the Pacific World: Sailor Collections and New England Museums', in *Global Trade and Visual Arts in Federal New England* (Lebanon, 2014):241.

9 Anon., [Meetings of 1794]:76.

10 Malloy, *Souvenirs*:91, 95; 'Capturing the Pacific World':241.

11 Anon., [Meetings of 1801]:138–9.

12 Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley …* (Salem, 1905–14), 4 vols.

13 Brown, 'William Bentley and the Ideal of Universal Information in the Enlightened Republic', in *Knowledge Is Power …* (Oxford, 1991):197–217; Ruffin, *A Paradise of Reason …* (Oxford, 2007).

14 Chapter 8.

15 Brown, 'William Bentley':206.

16 Bentley, *Diary*, II:313.

17 Bowditch, *Memoir of Nathaniel Bowditch …* (Boston, 1841):21–3.

18 Ibid.:27–45; Bowditch, 'Manuscripts of Nathaniel Bowditch, 1786–1841', 1796, Boston Public Library (VK140.B68 A2 1982x).

19 Bowditch, *Memoir*:56–60.

20 Bowditch, 'Manuscripts': 10 September 1796.

21 See Chapter 1; Richard, 'L'expédition de d'Entrecasteaux (1791–1794) et les origines de l'implantation anglaise en Tasmanie', *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 69:257 (1982):291.

22 It is conceivable that Bowditch might have obtained Bruni d'Entrecasteaux objects during his four-day visit to Batavia in December 1799. However, Bentley's journal does not mention the receipt of any objects from Bowditch between the dates of Bowditch's return to Salem in 1800 and Bentley's gifting of his collection to the Historical Society in 1801.

23 These numbers are based on the database of the Peabody Museum. Watson, Dorhout, and Rogers cite a lower number of items from the Pacific region—'just under 70'—of which 55 originated in Hawai'i. 'Pacific Collections':58.

24 I am able to reproduce only three of these objects in this chapter. However, reasonably clear images of them all are available online at the Peabody Museum website https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/

25 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:271–3; La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II:83–7. See Chapter 6, feature.

26 Raoul, [Journal], 11–12 March 1793, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 14[1]), in Ollivier, *Extracts from New Zealand Journals…* (Wellington, 1986):48, 50. A similar Cook voyage paddle (24) is held at the Weltmuseum in Vienna. Jessop, '223: Paddle *Hoe*', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 2009):179.

27 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:272; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:84.

28 Dorhout, 'Captain James Magee (1750–1801)', in 'Correspondence between Nynke Dorhout and Rubie Watson', 1995, PM (X-File, 6710).

29 This fishhook (M-70) is held in the private collection of Mark and Carolyn Blackburn, Honolulu. Kaeppler, '225: Fish hook *Matau*', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific*:179.

30 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:84–5.

31 Similar long clubs collected during Cook's first or second voyages are held in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (1914.65); the Etnografiska Museet – Världskulturmuseerna (Ethnographic Museum – Museums of World Culture), Stockholm (1848.1.3); and the Cook-Forster Collection at Universität Göttingen (University of Göttingen) (OZ 283). Kaeppler, '*Artificial Curiosities*':193–4; NMA, 'Club *tewhatewha*', in *Cook's Pacific Encounters …* (Canberra, 2018): Oz 283.

32 See Chapter 16 for a detailed discussion of Tongan and Fijian clubs.

33 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:95–6, 143.

34 Mills (Chapter 16) confirms the shift in ratios and argues for a change of fashion in Tongan club production between the voyages of Cook and Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. See Mills, '*Akau tau*: Contextualising Tongan War-Clubs', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 118:1 (2009):24.

35 Ibid.:28.

36 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:158; *Atlas*: plate 33 (fig. 35).

37 Hooper, *Pacific Encounters*:264.

38 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 33 (fig. 34).

39 Kaeppler, '280: Food hook *Taunga*', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific*:194

40 Anon., [Meetings of 1801]:139.

41 The double container is presently in the collection of David King in San Francisco. Kaeppler, '272: Double container *Kumete*', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific*:193.

42 A food hook with notches is held in Geneva as part of the Ortiz collection; another (1854.56) is currently in the Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover. Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities'*:225; '280: Food hook *Taunga*', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific*:194.

43 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:134–6, 138–9; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:252–6, 259–61, 263. See Chapter 2.

44 Ohnemus, *An Ethnology of the Admiralty Islanders …* (Honolulu, 1998):352.

45 Ibid.:352. The Russian scientist Nikolai N. Miklouho-Maclay in the 1870s was the first documented collector of artefacts from the Admiralty Islands. Kaufmann, 'Introduction', in *Admiralty Islands: Art from the South Seas* (Zürich, 2002):15.

CHAPTER 12

Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne

CLAIRE BRIZON, CLAUDE LEUBA, AND LIONEL PERNET

WITH

FANNY WONU VEYS AND BRONWEN DOUGLAS

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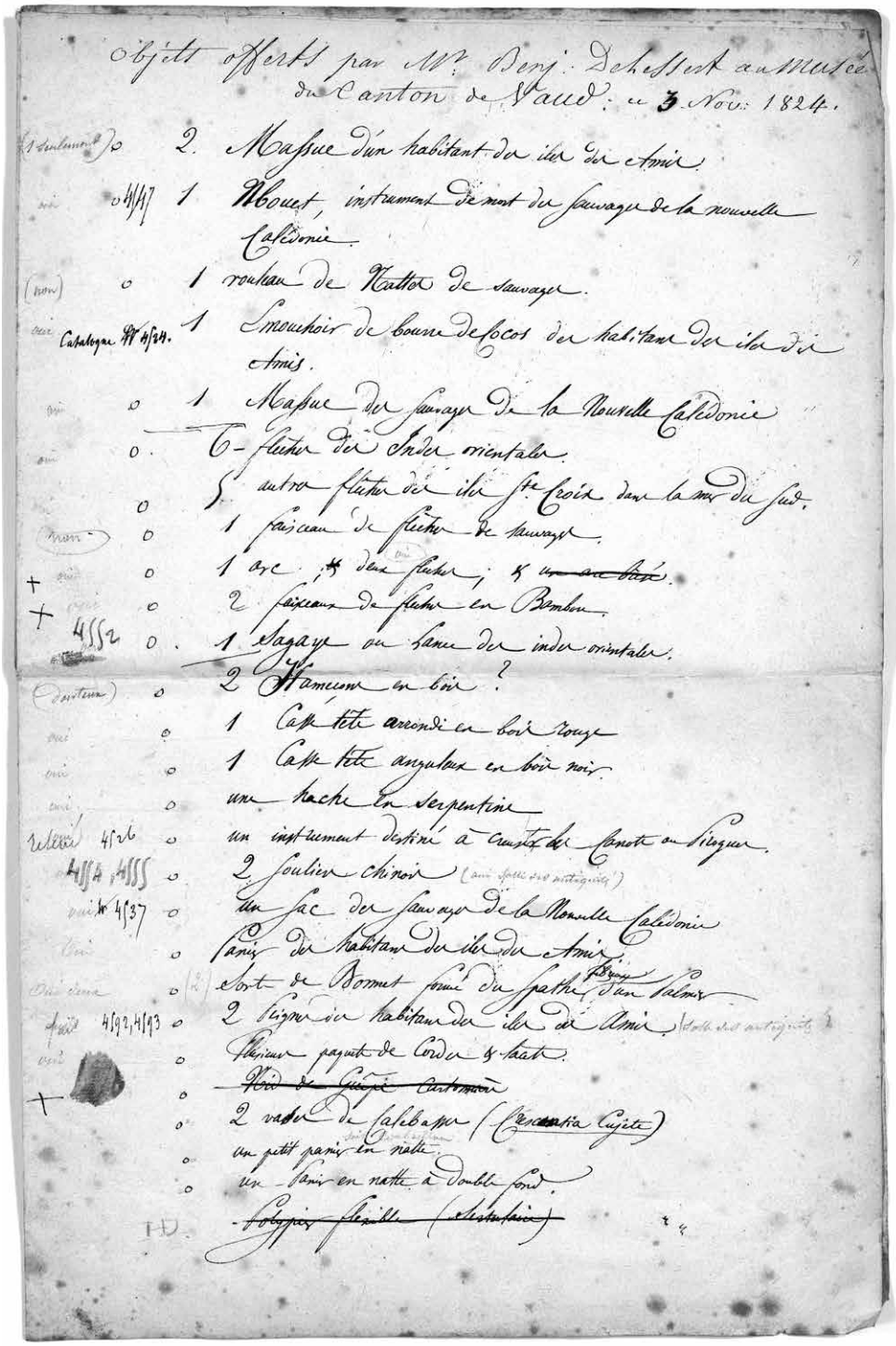
The Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (Cantonal Museum of Archaeology and History) in Lausanne, Switzerland, holds an important collection of ancient Pacific materials. We are reasonably certain that at least some were acquired during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition—two clubs, two fine mats, a fly whisk, a basket, and two combs from Tonga; and a club, an adze, and an *hache-ostensoir*, ceremonial axe, from New Caledonia. These and other objects were donated by Jules Paul Benjamin Delessert to the Musée cantonal in Vaud on 3 November 1824. Perhaps at the same time, he gave the botanical section of the museum 'numerous samples of exotic seeds and fruits from the two Indies, resulting from the voyage round the world of Labillardière'.[1] Delessert was the earliest known supplier of Pacific materials to the canton's ethnographic collections, begun in 1779 at the Académie de Lausanne.[2] This donation raises the tantalizing question of how Delessert, renowned for his natural history collections, procured such ethnographic pieces.

Objects, inventories, iconography

All 11 objects can be readily identified in two undated inventories preserved in the Archives cantonales vaudoises (Cantonal Archives of Vaud). One specifically catalogues about 40 ethnographic items 'offered by' Delessert to the museum (Figure 12.1). A total of 21 objects are explicitly provenanced to the Friendly Islands (Tonga), New Caledonia, Santa Cruz, or the East Indies—all places visited during the expedition. The rest are either attributed generically to 'savages' or merely described.[3] The other list is a general inventory which includes about 50 objects attributed to Delessert under the heading 'Amérique et Australasie' (America and Australasia).[4] Several items—all still extant in the collection—are cross-referenced to engravings of 'Effets' (effects) in the naturalist La Billardière's *Atlas* of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage.[5] Moreover, another engraving in the *Atlas* (see Figure 17.2) depicts a woman dancer wearing a shaggy mat


Objets offerts par Mr Benj. Delessert au Musée du Canton de Vaud. le 3 Nov. 1824.

2. Masque d'un habitant de l'île des Amis.
1 Mouet, instrument de mort des sauvages de la nouvelle Calédonie.
1 couteau de Rattan de sauvage.
1 Mouchoir de bourre de cocos des habitans des îles des Amis.
1 Masque des sauvages de la Nouvelle Calédonie
6 flûtes des Indes orientales.
5 autres flûtes des îles Ste Croix dans la mer du sud.
1 faisceau de flèches de sauvage.
1 arc & des flèches, & un arc cassé.
2 faisceaux de flèches en Bambou.
1 Sagaye ou lance des indes orientales.
2 Hameçons en bois ?
1 Casse tête arrondi en bois rouge
1 Casse tête anguleux en bois noir.
une hache en serpentine
un instrument destiné à crever les poissons ou à piquer.
2 souliers chinois
un sac des sauvages de la Nouvelle Calédonie
panier des habitans de l'île des Amis.
sorte de Bonnet fait de la spathe d'un palmier
2 lignes des habitans des îles des Amis.
plusieurs paquets de Cordes & ficelles.
~~Bois de Cuisse Cartonnier~~
2 vases de calebasse (Lagenaria vulgaris)
un petit panier en natte.
un sasir en natte à double fond.
~~Coiffure pleine (chevelure)~~

Figure 12.1. List of 'objects offered' by Benjamin Delessert to the Musée cantonal in Vaud, 3 November 1824, held in the Archives cantonales vaudoises (KXIII 60 2 187).

which might be of Samoan origin and resembles one of those held in Lausanne.[6] Only the Kanak adze cannot be correlated specifically with an artefact engraved in the *Atlas*.

The most spectacular object is the *hache-ostensoir* (V/B-025; Figure 12.2)—the only item named and described in detail in both inventories. The Delessert list calls it 'Nbouet, death-dealing instrument of the Savages of New Caledonia'.[7] The general inventory gives more information and parenthetically references the *Atlas*: 'Axe called Nbouet which the savages of New Caledonia use to scalp the skull of their prisoners. It is a large disk of sharp-edged jade, borne by an ironwood haft. (Atlas du voyage de la recherche de la Peyrouse N°. 38, f. 19)' (Figure 12.3).[8] The striking visual congruence between museum specimen and engraved object—as with another Kanak *hache-ostensoir* held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac and the sketch of an 'Nboot' by the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage artist Piron—makes it highly probable that both axes were among several received during the expedition's visit to Balade, New Caledonia, in April–May 1793.[9] It is plausible to infer that the Lausanne example served as model for the engraved drawing, attributed in the *Atlas* to La Billardière himself.[10] No such object is reported in the literature of Cook's stay at Balade 19 years previously.

Both inventories describe the other items in more cursory fashion, emphasizing generic aspects of form, motif, materials, or techniques of manufacture and assembly. However, as with the *hache-ostensoir*, the powerful resemblance between the iconography of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage and all but one of the remaining 10 objects make it highly likely that they were collected during his expedition. Comparison with materials held in other collections discussed in this book reinforces this assessment.

The two Tongan clubs, described in the general inventory as 'elongated' and 'elegantly sculpted', are classic late 18th-century types. One, an *apa'apai*, club (V/C-018), with a lozenge-shaped head, is of a type also represented in the collections in Middelburg (3600-BEV-Z-81; see Figure 10.2), Amsterdam (TM-A-1627), and Bergen (BME 1; see Figure 6.7). The other, a *pakipaki*, paddle club (V/C-019), resembles objects held in Middelburg (3600-BEV-Z-80; see Figure 10.1), Amsterdam (TM-A-1626-b), and Leiden (RV-34-1; see Figure 16.3). The two *helu*, comb (V/C-027, V/C-028)—attributed to 'Otahyté' (Tahiti) in the general inventory but to the 'Friendly Islands' (Tonga) in the Delessert list—comprise coconut midrib prongs secured with neat weaving. They are very like others held in Dunkerque (BA.1772.00.1365.1–4; see Figure 5.1), Leiden (RV-34-24–25; see Figure 8.10), and the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (72.84.237.4; see Figure 8.8). One is analogous to an example engraved in the *Atlas* (see Figure 8.9).[11]

The Tongan *fue kafa*, 'fly whisk made from coconut fibre' (Figure 12.4), and the small Tongan basket woven with a striped pattern (Figure 12.6) are of particular interest, as no equivalent pieces feature in the other Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections. However, an identically labelled fly whisk (Figure 12.5) and a similar striped basket (Figure 12.7), figure in the *Atlas*. Comparable objects were also collected during Cook's voyages.[12] The mats (I/G-0266, I/G-0085; Figure 12.8), described in the general inventory as 'square mats with fringes, tight fabric', parallel specimens held in Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.1372, BA.1972.00.493; see Figure 5.5).

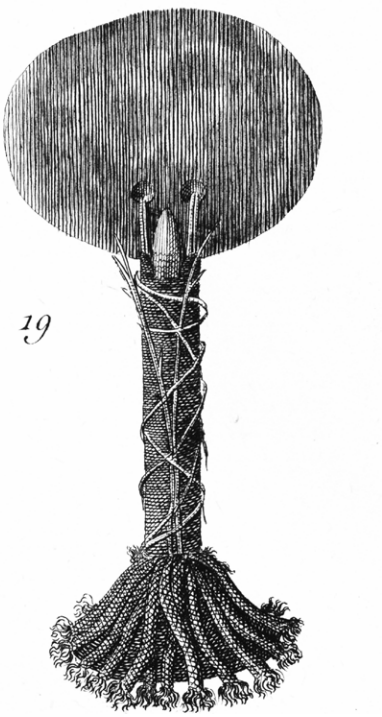


Figure 12.3. Fig. 19 of plate 38 of La Billadière's Atlas *depicting a Kanak ceremonial axe closely resembling, if not identical to the* hache-ostensoir *in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne. La Billardière, '*Nbouet *…', 1800, engraving.*

Figure 12.2. Kanak bwar (hache-ostensoir)*, ceremonial axe, from New Caledonia, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne (V/B-025).*

Figure 12.4. Tongan fue kafa*, fly whisk, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne (V/C-025).*

Figure 12.5. Fig. 32 of plate 33 of La Billadière's Atlas *depicting a Tongan fly whisk closely resembling one held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne. Anon., 'Emouchoir de bourre de cocos', 1800, engraving.*

The Kanak club (Figure 12.9)—called 'Club of the Savages of New Caledonia' in the Delessert list and 'Hard wood axe, in disk form' in the general inventory—is analogous to one engraved in the *Atlas* (Figure 12.10) and one held in Bergen (BME 5). The Kanak adze (V/B-027) is described in the general inventory as an 'Instrument in the form of a little axe, to which is added a sharp-edged jade blade, which is used to hollow out canoes'. This object is missing its blade, like a similar object in Bergen (BME 9) but unlike a superb complete example held in Leiden (RV-34-10; see Figure 8.1) and one depicted in a Cook voyage engraving, the original of which has apparently not been located in an existing artefact collection.[13] Roger Boulay sourced the Leiden adze to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition and adjudged it 'the oldest … thus far identified in collections'.[14] Since the Lausanne and Bergen adze hafts were also probably acquired during the same expedition, they may be equally as old. Indeed, every Kanak item cited in the Delessert inventory must have been originally collected during either Cook's or Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's visits to New Caledonia in 1774 and 1793, respectively, since

Figure 12.6. Tongan kato*, basket, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne (V/C-021).*

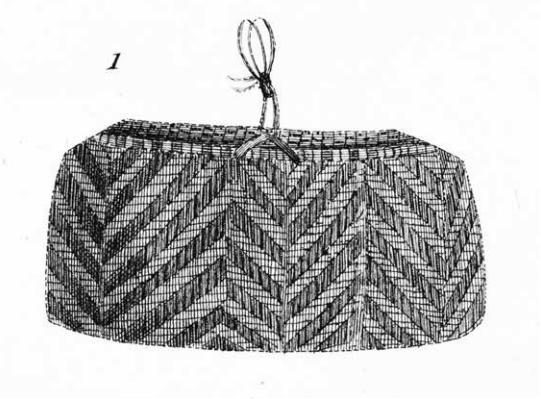


Figure 12.7. Fig. 1 of plate 31 of La Billadière's Atlas *depicting a Tongan basket resembling one held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne. Pérée, 'Paniers …', 1800, engraving.*

Figure 12.8. Tongan ngafingafi*, fine mat, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne (I/G-0266).*

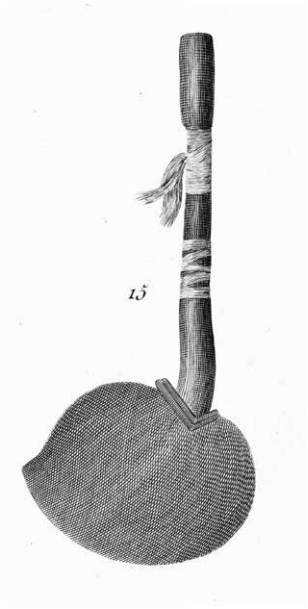


Figure 12.9 (left). Kanak club from New Caledonia, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne (V/B-031).

Figure 12.10 (right). Fig. 15 of plate 37 of La Billadière's Atlas *depicting a Kanak club very similar to one held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne. Anon., 'Massue', 1800, engraving.*

no other significant assemblages of Kanak material culture were gathered before 1824, the year of the Lausanne donation.[15]

The collector Benjamin Delessert

Born in France but with Swiss connections in the Canton of Vaud, Delessert was steeped in Enlightenment thinking from a very young age. His mother Madeleine-Catherine and his instructor Jean-Jacques Rousseau initiated him early to botany, in which he was a lifelong expert amateur.[16] The adult Delessert was above all a businessman—banker, regent of the Banque de France, politician, philanthropist—but he concurrently built extraordinary collections in botany, malacology, and conchology and an exceptional library. He employed two assistants to manage his holdings. One of them, Antoine Lasègue, published a book on Delessert's botanical collection, comparing it to those of eminent predecessors such as Gessner, Woodward, and Sloane and tracing its history through samples of plants that had belonged to the great travelling botanists Linnaeus,

Commerson, and La Billardière.[17] By opening his collections to interested savants of the era, Delessert ensured the international renown of his specimens and placed himself at the heart of 'the international network of scholarly communication and co-operation'.[18]

It was presumably through these networks that Delessert amassed non-European ethnographic materials, though no direct connections have yet emerged. The considerable literature devoted to Delessert focusses almost entirely on his natural history collections, eliding the intimate liaison between natural history and ethnographic collecting in the late 18th century but highlighting the priority then assigned to 'natural' products over 'artificial' human creations, especially in France.[19] Lasègue consigned 'curiosities' to a mere five lines at the end of a chapter on Delessert's 'Botanical galleries': 'Diverse curiosities brought back from far off countries are displayed in the same gallery. Most comprise vegetable products. Several originate from the various recent voyages of exploration'.[20] It is highly likely that those 'recent voyages' included Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's, given the suggestive linkages traced here between the expedition and objects in Delessert's Lausanne donation. However, it remains unclear how, when, and from whom he obtained these materials (see feature). Perhaps he did so in conjunction with his purchase in 1803 of the botanical collections of Louis-Guillaume Le Monnier, which included a substantial herbarium gathered in Syria in 1787–88 by Le Monnier's protégé La Billardière.[21]

Conclusion

Delessert's ethnographic donation to the Musée in Vaud has important implications for this book. The nature and quality of the items, the presence of objects unrepresented or poorly represented in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections elsewhere, and the compelling parallels with engravings in the *Atlas* suggest that they might have been procured by La Billardière himself. Ceded to the expedition's new leader Hesmivy d'Auribeau under duress in Java and eventually returned to La Billardière from British sequester thanks to his fellow naturalist Banks,[22] La Billardière's natural history and ethnographic collections underwrote the production of his *Atlas*.

This handful of exotic objects and their ambiguous provenances were largely ignored at the time but speak to several entangled histories: of Pacific material cultures; of Indigenous encounters and exchanges with European voyagers; and of the Enlightenment ambiance in cities like Lausanne, where rich patrons, naturalists, and savants collaborated to produce knowledge of the world and materialize it in museums.

Notes

1 Daniel Alexandre Chavannes, 'Notice historique sur le musée cantonal', *Journal de la Société vaudoise d'Utilité publique* 2e série, 9:100–1 (1841):16.

2 Alexandre César Chavannes, 'Livre destiné à tenir en note tout ce que l'Académie de Lausanne possède ou acquéra en fait d'antiquités et objets relatifs à l'histoire naturelle', 1779, Musée monétaire cantonal de Lausanne.

3 ACV, 'Objets offerts par Mr. Benj. Delessert au Musée du Canton de Vaud: le 4 Nov. 1824', n.d. (KXIII 60 2 187).

4 ACV, 'Ustensiles, armes, habillements et donateurs', n.d. (KXIII 60 2 188).

5 La Billardière, *Atlas* … (Paris, 1800): plates 31–3, 37–8. See Figures 1.6–1.10.

6 Ibid.: plate 27.

7 ACV, 'Objets offerts par Mr. Benj. Delessert'. See Chapter 4, feature, for linguistic identification of the Kanak term 'nbouet'.

8 ACV, 'Ustensiles, armes, habillements et donateurs'.

9 See Chapter 4, feature; Boulay, 'The Ceremonial Axe called "Monstrance" of the Kanaks of New Caledonia', *Tribal Art* 13:52 (2009):70.

10 Lionel Pernet, ed., *Révéler les invisibles: collections du Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire Lausanne, 1852–2015* (Gollion, 2017):78.

11 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 32 (fig. 21).

12 Cf. a striped basket and a flywhisk held in the Cook-Forster Collection at the Universität Göttingen (University of Göttingen). NMA, 'Basket *Kato*'; 'Flywhisk *Fue kafa*', in *Cook's Pacific Encounters* … (Canberra, 2018):Oz 121; Oz 149.

13 Record after Chapman, [Ornaments, weapons, &c. at New Caledonia], in Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World* … (London, 1777), II: plate 20; Kaeppler, '*Artificial Curiosities*'… (Honolulu, 1978):246.

14 Boulay, 'L'herminette-genou', in *Kanak: l'art est une parole* (Arles, 2013):76.

15 See Chapter 4.

16 Hoquet, 'Botanical Authority: Benjamin Delessert's Collections between Travelers and Candolle's Natural Method (1803–1847)', *Isis* 105:3 (2014):508–39.

17 Lasègue, *Musée botanique de M. Benjamin Delessert* … (Paris, 1845).

18 Bödeker, 'Communication Structures among European Scholars in the Age of Enlightenment', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 2009):40–3.

19 For example, Hoquet, 'Botanical Authority'; see Bertrand Daugeron, 'La paradoxale disparition des objets de type ethnographique rapportés par les Français du Pacifique (1766–1842)', *Journal of Pacific History* 46:1 (2011):59–74.

20 Lasègue, *Musée botanique*:52; see also Cap, *Benjamin Delessert: éloge* (Paris, 1850):21.

21 Guillemin, *Archives de botanique* … (Paris, 1833):467; Lasègue, *Musée botanique*:53–7; Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique* … (Paris, 1986):226; Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs oubliés de la collection d'ethnographie océanienne du Muséum du Havre: le chevalier Antoine Raymond Joseph Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, le commandant Charles Vesque et le président de la République Félix Faure', *Haute-Normandie archéologique* 18 (2015):58–60.

22 Chapter 1.

Absent objects, Muséum d'Histoire naturelle du Havre

Thierry Vincent

In October 1847, at a private venue in Le Havre, the French businessman-traveller Eugène Delessert exhibited a large collection, mostly assembled during visits to New Holland, New Zealand, Tahiti, and the Philippines.[1] The 3,000 objects displayed included numerous 'native weapons and tools'.[2] Perhaps among them were items collected during the South Sea expedition of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and recently inherited by Delessert from his cousin Jules Paul Benjamin Delessert. This banker and renowned natural history collector also built a significant, but virtually ignored ethnographic collection, which included Indigenous artefacts gathered during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage.[3] It is unclear how and when Benjamin Delessert acquired these objects. However, he donated several such items to the Canton de Vaud, in Switzerland, in 1824 (see this chapter) and might have purchased others when the collections of the naturalist La Billardière, who sailed with Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, were sold after his death in 1834.[4]

The following January, the Le Havre municipality purchased 204 weapons and artefacts from Eugène Delessert for its newly opened Musée-Bibliothèque (Museum and Library).[5] It is almost certain that this transaction included objects from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage: a brief handwritten note in the Archives municipales (Municipal Archives) refers to the 'Dentrecasteaux Collection acquired by M. Delessert and bought by the city of Le Havre some 50 years ago'.[6] Thus unwittingly acquired by the Musée-Bibliothèque, these 18th-century objects blended indiscriminately with materials gathered by Eugène Delessert himself.

The story of this elusive Bruni d'Entrecasteaux linkage is frustratingly imprecise and complicated by Le Havre's fractured museum histories.[7] In mid-1877, the Paris-based anthropologist Ernest-Théodore Hamy paid several visits to the Musée-Bibliothèque. His conclusion that among 'the trophies of the Delessert collection [are] curiosities received by the Entrecasteaux expedition' was recorded in the daily summary of museum business by the municipal librarian and museum curator Jules Amédée Baillard.[8] Hamy published the explicit statement that 'Le Havre has the Delessert collections, which include pieces from d'Entrecasteaux's voyage', and later recalled that he had recognized these objects 'thanks to their quite specific origins'.[9] He mentioned them to fellow members of the Société de Géographie (Geographic Society), which in 1888 requested the loan of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux items from Le Havre for a forthcoming exhibition commemorating the centenary of La Pérouse's voyage. Thirty-four Oceanian objects were despatched to Paris, advertised in the exhibition catalogue as 'Collection of objects from the expedition of d'Entecasteaux', and subsequently returned. However, it is impossible to ascertain which, if any, actually originated with Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition.[10]

At the end of the century, with exotic artefacts again attracting scientific and public interest, the neglected ethnographic collections of the Musée-Bibliothèque were transferred to Le Havre's Muséum d'Histoire naturelle. The curator Gustave Lennier appreciated their value, though unaware of his friend Hamy's earlier identification of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux items. After Lennier's death in 1905, his successors largely ignored the ethnographic materials. They were described in the early 1940s by Marie-Charlotte Laroche, Oceanic curator at the Musée de l'Homme, as 'a jumble of objects of every origin, in dusty display cases, consigned to the attics'.[11] Disregard and ignorance soon gave way to catastrophe. Unable to organize systematic evacuation of the museum's collections, the wartime curator André Maury belatedly took a few Oceanian and African objects from display cases for transfer to a safe location, packed randomly in six crates.[12] These items alone escaped the incineration of the museum and its holdings in lethal Allied bombing raids in September 1944, during which more than 5,000 civilians died, much of Le Havre was badly damaged, and the city centre obliterated.[13]

The salvaged objects attracted little attention until the mid-1960s when Laroche returned to Le Havre while undertaking a national survey of provincial museum collections. Her incomplete inventory attributes some 30 objects to the Delessert collection but does not mention Bruni d'Entrecasteaux.[14] In 1974, the ethnographic holdings were again opened for public display in the rebuilt Muséum d'Histoire naturelle. Within a decade, however, changing politics and intellectual fashion again condemned them to oblivion, on grounds of repugnant colonialist associations. Packed in crates without inventory, the objects were stored in a basement which was flooded for several days in 1984. Charged with a salvage operation, I oversaw their removal, inventory, cleaning, and shelving in a properly heated and ventilated store, where they remained accessible to specialists until the mid 2000s.[15]

Since 2006, researchers have been denied access to these materials on internal policy grounds, camouflaged as conservation concerns. The tantalizing prospect that they might still include a few rare objects acquired during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition demands scientific confirmation—perhaps by comparison with similar objects recently identified in other collections featured in this book.

Notes

1 Delessert, *Voyage dans les deux océans atlantique et pacifique 1844 à 1847* … (Paris, 1848).

2 Anon., 'Collection d'objets d'arts, d'histoire naturelle et de curiosités du monde Antarctique', *Journal du Havre commercial et politique* 1321 (13 Oct. 1847):2–3.

3 Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique* … (Paris, 1986):226–7; Vincent, 'A Forgotten Collector of Australian Ethnographic Objects in the *Muséum d'histoire naturelle* of Le Havre: Eugène Delessert', *French Australian Review* 60 (2016):49–52.

4 Personal communication, Edward Duyker, October 2015; Duyker, *Citizen Labillardière* … (Melbourne, 2004):244–5, 320, note 7; Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs oubliés de la collection d'ethnographie océanienne du Muséum du Havre: le chevalier Antoine Raymond Joseph Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, le commandant Charles Vesque et le présidente de la République Félix Faure', *Haute-Normandie archéologique* 18 (2015):56–61.

5 Anon., [Vente de la collection E. Delessert à la Ville du Havre], 1848, AMH, Fonds moderne (R2 C7 L5, Chemise 4).

6 Anon., [Note], n.d., AMH, Fonds contemporain (R2 C4 L4).

7 Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':62–6, 76–80.

8 Alphonse Galbrund, 'Peinture, sculpture, gravures, et dessins', 1871–, Archives du Musée d'Art moderne André Malraux, Le Havre, reproduced in Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':63, Figure 6.

9 Hamy, 'Rapport sur le développement et l'état actual des collections ethnographiques …', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 6ᵉ série, 20 (1880):361, note 1; *Les origines du Musée d'Ethnographie* … (Paris, 1890):37, note 3

10 'Description sommaire des 34 objets exposés pour la commémoration de l'expédition La Pérouse', in Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':64, Table 1; Estampes, 'Catalogue descriptif et méthodique de l'exposition organisée par la Société de Géographie à l'occasion du centenaire de la mort de J.-F. de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 7ᵉ série, 9 (1888):392.

11 Laroche, 'Pour un inventaire des collections océaniennes en France', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 1 (1945):56.

12 The Oceanian materials belonged to the Le Mescam, Vesque, Faure, and Delessert collections; the African objects to the Thierry, Le Roux, and Archinard collections.

13 Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':64–5, 78–9; 'Sauver les fonds patrimoniaux de la Ville du Havre durant la seconde guerre mondiale …', *Cahiers havrais de recherche historique* 73 (2015):101–40.

14 Laroche, 'Collections océaniennes du Muséum d'Histoire naturelle du Havre', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 22 (1966):77–93; Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':65.

15 Vincent, 'A Forgotten Collector':57–60.

PART 3

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OTHER COLLECTIONS

CHAPTER 13

Drawings and Engravings

BRONWEN DOUGLAS

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In March 1795 the naturalist La Billardière, who had been interned by the Dutch for more than a year as a republican sympathizer, prepared to leave Batavia en route to Europe. His fellow internee, the artist Piron, 'begged' him to accept a duplicate set of 'the drawings of costume and landscape that he had made in the course of the campaign'.[1] Piron did not return to France, perhaps because he was then 'too sick' to stand the long voyage. He evidently remained in the general region, since La Motte du Portail, formerly a sub-lieutenant on the *Espérance*, reported seeing him in Manila in 1799.[2] La Billardière's *Relation* was duly illustrated by an *Atlas* of 44 plates comprising 52 separate engravings of people, their activities and 'effects', and natural history items. Piron is acknowledged as the original artist of 31 engravings, mostly attributed to Copia.[3] The illustrations were re-engraved for each of two separate English translations of the *Relation* which appeared within a year, testimony to the huge popularity of voyage literature.[4] A collection of Piron's drawings, worked up for engraving and previously held in the Musée de l'Homme, is now in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac in Paris. Two portfolios of his drawings, including field sketches, are held in the Archives nationales de France.[5]

With comparative reference to a selection of drawings and engravings resulting from the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, this chapter investigates the shifting nexus of discourse, convention, precedent, experience, and local agency which generated the expedition's extant visual corpus. The main geographical foci are the Admiralty Islands, Van Diemen's Land, and New Caledonia.

'Man'/'savage' of the Admiralty Islands

Three visual relics memorialize Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's four-day passage through the Admiralty Islands, north of New Guinea, in July 1792:[6] Piron's sympathetic but unsentimental neoclassicist portrait of an 'Homme des îles de l'amirauté' (Man of the Admiralty Islands');[7] Copia's subsequent engraving of a 'Sauvage [savage] des îles de l'Amirauté' (Figure 13.1); and an unattributed engraving of Piron's 'Vue [scene] des îles de l'Amirauté'.[8]

Classical references permeate these materials. The 'Vue' depicts a man fishing from the outrigger of a canoe. Roger Collins and Robert Hannah sourced Piron's inspiration for this figure to a restored marble statue, a Roman copy of a lost Greek original once

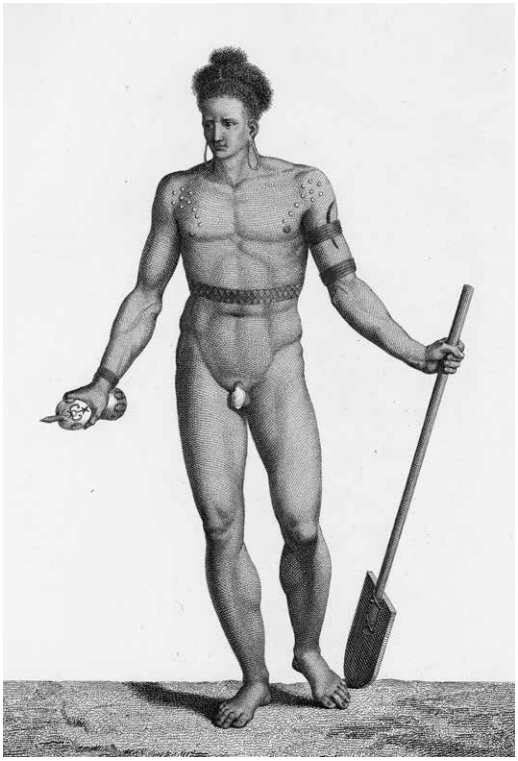

Figure 13.1. Plate 3 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting an Admiralty Islander. Copia after Piron, 'Sauvage des îles de l'Amirauté', 1800, engraving.*

Figure 13.2. Casanova's engraving of a Roman statue of the Emperor Claudius whose figure resembles that of Polykleitos's Doryphoros*, a possible model for Piron's Admiralty Islander. 'Ti(berio) Claudio Drusi f(ilio) Caisari Augusto Germanico …', 1771, engraving.*

held in the Borghese Collection in Rome, where they presume he saw it. Expropriated by Napoléon and deposited in the Louvre, the statue has recently been divested of the head, arms, penis, and legs added during early restoration.[9] Bernard Smith pointed out that the torso of Copia's 'Sauvage' closely imitates Polykleitos's *Doryphoros*, Spear-bearer.[10] The particular model for the musculature and contrapposto of Piron's 'Homme' might well have been Giovanni Casanova's engraving of a Roman statue identified as the Emperor Claudius (Figure 13.2). The body, though not the hairline, resembles that of the Doryphoros. Casanova's engraving appeared in 1771 in the sixth volume of *Le Antichità di Ercolano*, a vast compilation of materials excavated from the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii in the Kingdom of Naples.[11] Published from 1757 to 1792, *Le Antichità* was a significant resource for the 18th-century classical revival in the decorative arts. It was probably known to Piron, who trained as a draughtsman and was evidently imbued with neoclassical sensibilities.[12]

In the introduction to the *Relation*, La Billardière assured his readers that Piron's drawings were 'strikingly truthful'.[13] In contrast, Ernest-Théodore Hamy—inaugural director of the Musée d'Ethnographie (Museum of Ethnography) du Trocadéro, who

in the early 1890s negotiated the repatriation from Florence of the collection of Piron's drawings now held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac—deplored the 'incorrect proportions and exaggerated forms' of Piron's human figures.[14] The apparent lack of naturalism in many of his portraits might thus seem at odds with La Billardière's assertion. Yet Hamy's complaint that the Admiralty Islander bore 'an academic expression surprising in a Melanesian' stemmed more from a late 19th-century 'armchair' anthropologist's a priori conviction of the reality of a hierarchy of racial types—unknown to 18th-century voyagers—than from any grasp of the contemporary aesthetic conventions within which Piron classicized the figures of people he had personally encountered. Moreover, the naturalist's endorsement referred directly to 'drawings of *costume*'.[15] Piron's Admiralty Islander exemplifies Smith's 'ethnographic convention' which 'defines by means of costume and adornment' and represents people 'as type specimens, accompanied by detailed verbal descriptions'.[16] Even Hamy praised the 'very faithful' rendition of 'ethnographic details'.[17] Indigenous dress, accoutrements, weapons, body marking, beard and hair style, rather than particular physiognomies, were usually the prime objects of Piron's artistic endeavour and were understood as such by his shipmates and audience. But so too was the generalized compliment of his flattering representations of these specific subjects, whose conduct and appearance were much approved by these French men.[18]

'Men so close to nature' in Van Diemen's Land

A large and a small basket and a water carrier collected in Van Diemen's Land were drawn by Piron as disembodied ethnographic objects (Figure 13.3). They are shown in use in his charming representations of Indigenous sociality (Figures 13.4, 13.5, 13.6; see Figure 2.5). On 20 May 1792, two French officers and several sailors had a near encounter with four Tasmanian men who abandoned their encampment and their 'effects'. From 'curiosity' and to have something to show Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, one of the officers took away a 'seaweed bucket containing fresh water', a 'small basket' full of pieces of flint, and a 'large empty basket'—probably Piron's exemplars—plus a kangaroo skin. The small basket was 'very ingeniously woven', the stones were presumed to be used to make fire, and the water carrier was 'very adroitly made'. In return, the officers left a cotton vest, handkerchiefs, a bottle, nails, a cord end, a sheath, cheese, bread, and an earthenware pot which, La Billardière commented dryly, was 'really too fragile to replace adequately the water container provided by nature'. Some of these items were later found abandoned.[19] Huon de Kermadec, commander of the *Espérance*, described the 'small buckets, which doubtless serve to hold their provision of water when they travel':

> they are made with seaweed, dried and hardened, how I don't know; they are shaped like a purse, similar to those used in France to hold chips; folded and pierced the same way to receive two reed cords, crisscrossed, by means of which they can open and close them at will.[20]

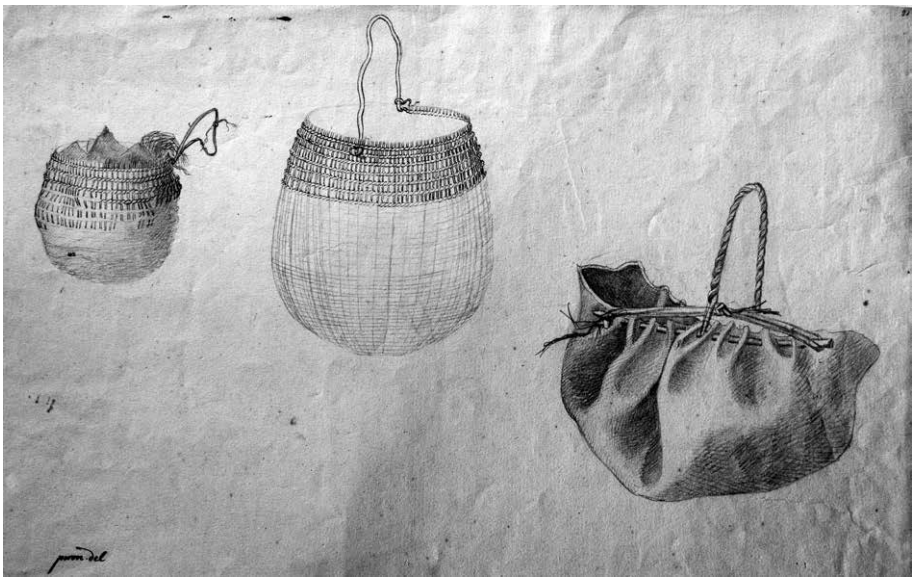

Figure 13.3. Piron's drawing of baskets and a seaweed water carrier collected in Van Diemen's Land, in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. [Paniers et vases à eau], [1792–5], pencil on paper (ICONO PP0143629).

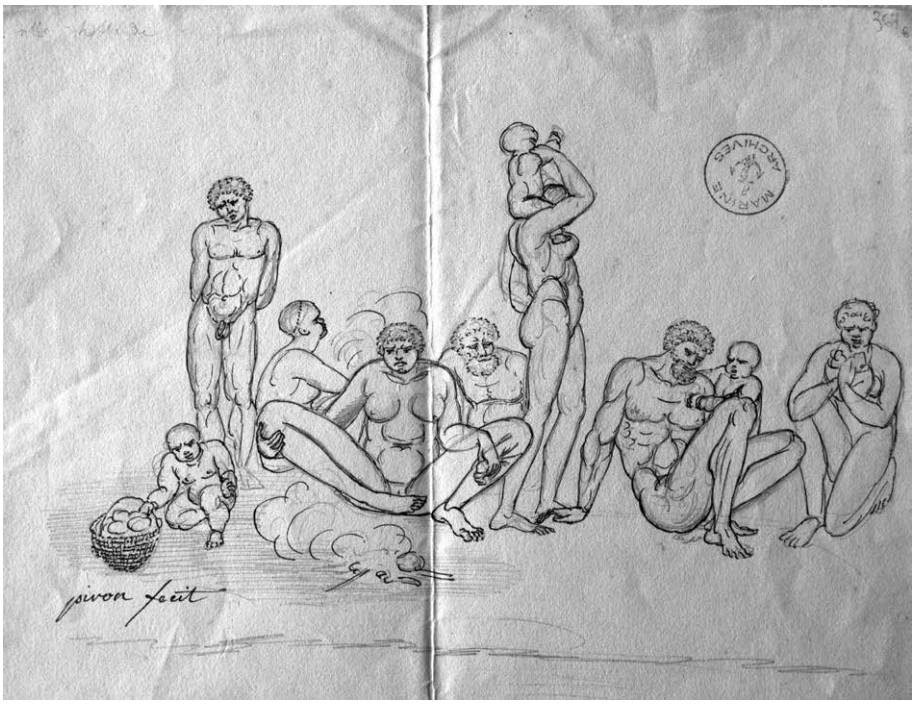

Figure 13.4. Piron's sketch of Tasmanians preparing a meal in Van Diemen's Land, held in the Archives nationales de France. Untitled, [1792–3], pencil on paper (MAR 5 JJ 4).

Figure 13.5. Piron's preparatory plate drawing of Tasmanians fishing in Van Diemen's Land, in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. 'Pêche des sauvages du Cap de Diemen', [1792–5], pencil on paper (ICONO PP0154789).

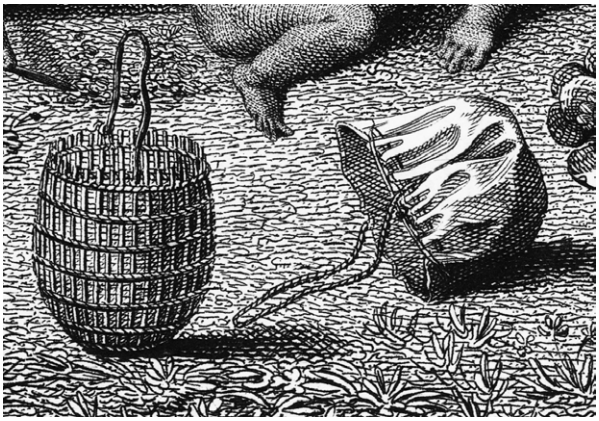

Figure 13.6. Detail of Plate 5 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a basket and a water carrier in Van Diemen's Land. Copia after Piron, 'Sauvages du Cap de Diemen préparant leur repas', 1800, engraving.*

This efficient fabrication belied La Billardière's casual implication that the artefacts were, in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's terms, a gift to 'simple men' from 'raw nature'.[21] Today, Tasmanian Aboriginal women make baskets and water carriers as part of a 'determined process of cultural retrieval' (see feature).[22]

Alone of objects collected by the French in Van Diemen's Land, the water carrier has left a discernible trail. A lithograph of 'utensils and effects of the savages' held in the cabinet of curiosities of the savant Dominique-Vivant Denon (see Figure 4.11) includes a 'calabash' purportedly made of 'very hard leather, and probably intended to contain liquids' (Figure 13.7).[23] This object closely resembles Piron's water carrier and is probably a rare ethnographic relic of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage. An 1830 inventory lists the objects bought by the Maison du Roi (royal household) at the sale of Denon's collection in 1826 and subsequently transferred to the Musée de Marine du Louvre. They include a 'bag made of *ficus*' from 'New Holland', query '*Labillardière?*'. Sylviane Jacquemin pointed out that this is the sole ethnographic item associated with Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage to feature in an official French inventory. In 1890, Hamy reported that a single object acquired by La Billardière was held in the Musée de Marine: 'a bag made of *ficus* from New Holland'.[24] The bag's present whereabouts are unknown. However, the now lost object is convincingly attributed to La Billardière's ethnographic collection since few other feasible channels existed for its acquisition by Denon before his death in 1825. A similar item is represented in the historical atlas of Baudin's Australian voyage of 1800–4 but the ethnographic cargo from that expedition seemingly disappeared with little trace during the final throes of Napoleon's empire.[25]

Apart from Piron's scenes of sociality in Van Diemen's Land, four of his unnamed, generalized portraits of Tasmanians were engraved by Copia: the torso of an 'Homme du Cap de Diemen' (Man of Cape Diemen) in profile (Figure 13.8) and full face;[26] the figure of a 'Femme' (Woman) glancing beatifically up at a baby perched on her shoulders (Figure 13.9); and the profile bust of an 'Enfant [child] du Cap de Diemen'.[27] Again, Piron's models were classical ideal types—Smith identified elements of 'a *Venus de Medici* and a *Wounded Amazon*' in the 'Femme'.[28] Again, Piron's shipmates endorsed the accuracy of his depictions. La Billardière assured readers that the plates in his *Atlas* provided 'a much more exact idea of the characteristics of their face' than he could

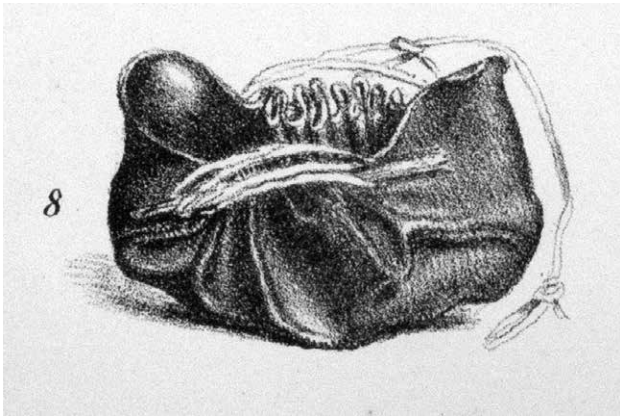

Figure 13.7. Fig. 8 of plate 2 of Duval's work on the Denon collection, showing a water carrier probably collected in Van Diemen's Land during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition. Capdebos, 'Calebasse', 1829, lithograph.

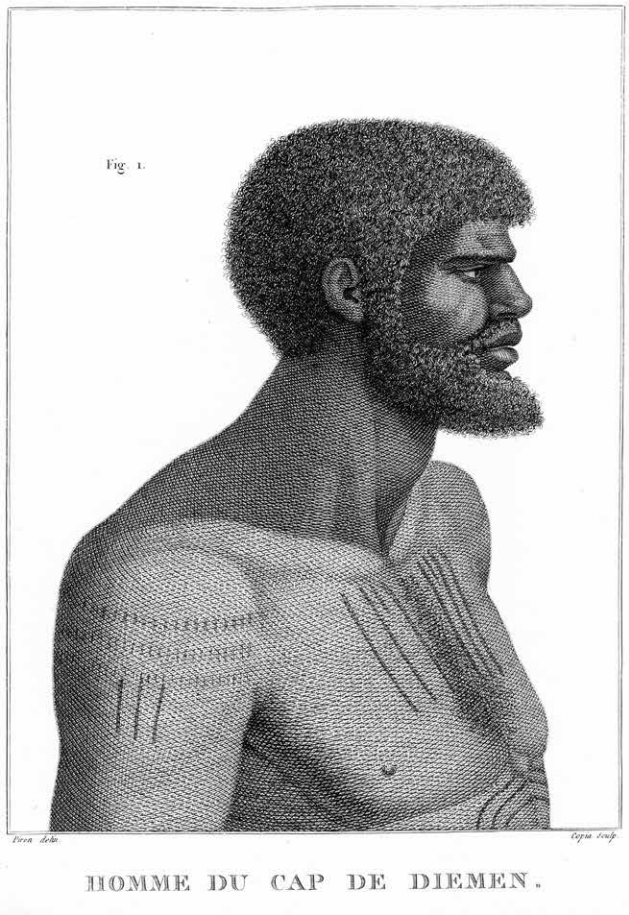

Figure 13.8. Fig. 1 of plate 7 of La Billadière's Atlas *portraying a Tasmanian man in profile. Copia after Piron, 'Homme du Cap de Diemen', 1800, engraving.*

give in prose. His political enemy, the royalist Hesmivy d'Auribeau, similarly insisted that the renditions of both individuals and groups by 'this clever artist' were 'true' and 'natural', 'in every respect'.[29] As in the Admiralty Islands, Piron's representations of Tasmanians are in no sense disparaging of his patronized but admired subjects.[30]

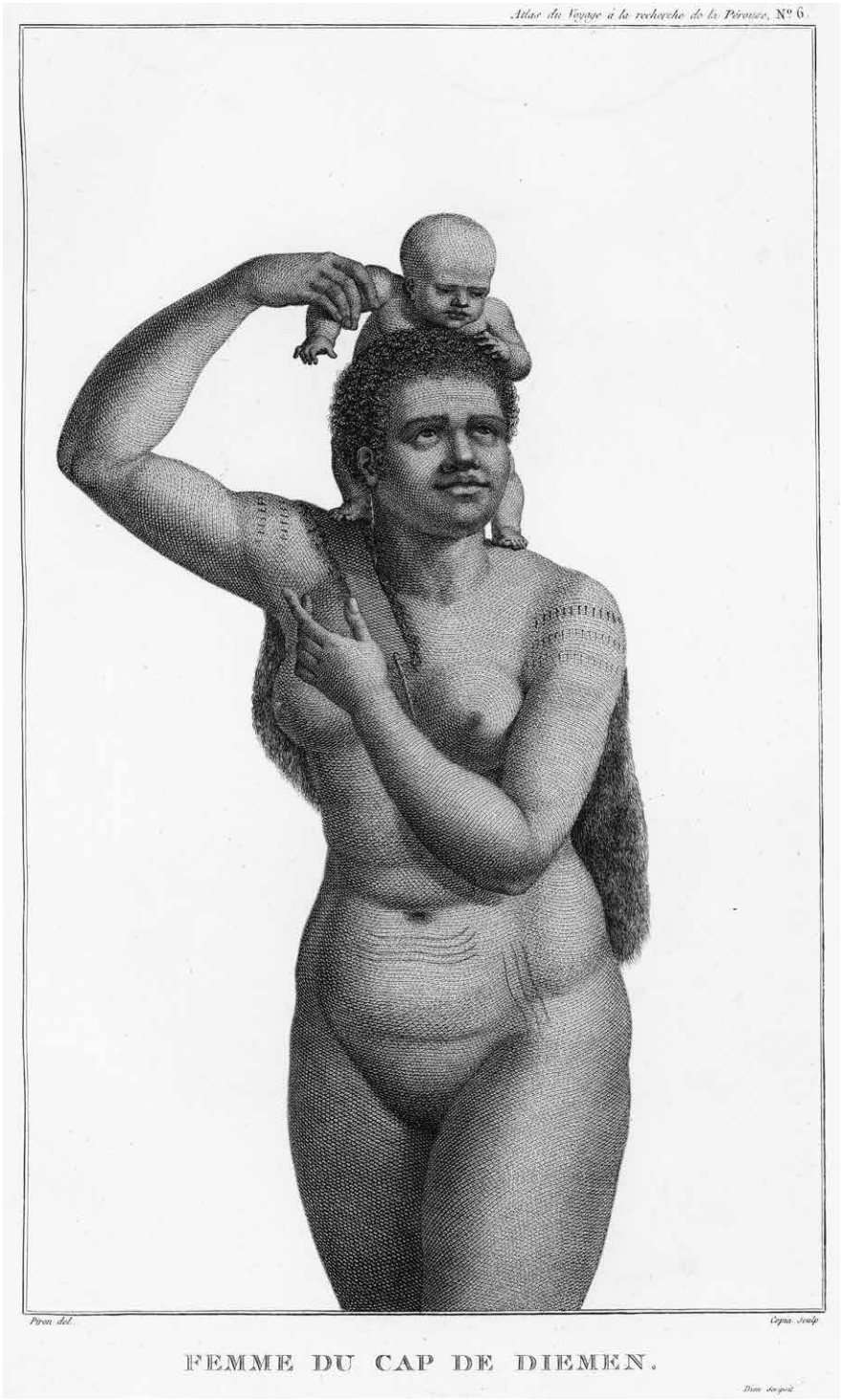

Figure 13.9. Plate 6 of La Billadière's Atlas *depicting a Tasmanian woman and her child. Copia after Piron, 'Femme du Cap de Diemen', 1800, engraving.*

tayenebe, exchange—Reviving Aboriginal fibre work in Tasmania

Julie Gough

> The baskets are not empty.
> They are full of makers, their stories,
> their thoughts while making. The baskets
> are never empty. All of the thoughts jump
> out of the baskets onto all of us.[1]

Tasmanian Aboriginal people experienced catastrophic, genocidal treatment following landfall by British colonists in 1803 near the contemporary state capital of Hobart. The subsequent military takeover of our island home, Trowunna, culminated in the 1830s with the deliberate exile of many of our Old People to Wybalenna (Black man's houses) on Flinder's Island in Bass Strait. However, our ancestors survived on surrounding islands, beyond colonial government control, returning to the mainland in the generations since.

French visitors from the 1770s had repeatedly—and mostly peaceably—interacted with our ancestors, whose creative practices and cultural protocols they observed over several decades. In contrast, the British determinedly and enduringly marked our people as bound for inevitable, irreversible demise, confirming the occupiers' myth of an innocent foundation narrative for their colony. This fantasy was critically entwined with the British denial of Aboriginal culture as worthy of note. The consequent displacement of our people from traditional Country, and hence from accessing familiar resources, ensured that the making of some traditional cultural objects, along with their use, went into deep, long-term hibernation.

Over many generations, protests have been directed to successive governments about the conditions impacting on our people and the environmental deterioration of our island. However, the necessary politicization of the Tasmanian Aboriginal community only became publicly evident from the early 1970s, when a coordinated focus emerged on the issue of repatriation. For our people, resident for more than 45,000 years, repatriation is ongoing and essential to rebalance what has happened to our ancestors, island, and culture since colonization. From the early 1800s to the mid-1900s, the human remains of our Old People were commodities traded to and between museums, nationally and globally. Within this insidious network, our cultural objects became parallel cultural capital—shell necklaces, woven baskets, kelp water carriers, spears, waddies, and stone tools were all absorbed into museum collections. Our absent historic cultural objects and Old People reflect each other: they are critically important to us, they remind us of who we are and what we must yet do to bring them home, and in their absence we grieve.

We are committed to achieve their return home to Tasmania because, so long as our Ancestors and their objects are dispersed and in limbo, we are disassembled as a people and a community. Their repatriation is a primary responsibility, parallel to the return of our lands, and of us to our lands. During the past forty years, the Tasmanian Aboriginal Corporation has managed the repatriation of Ancestors and the restitution of land, providing space for us to return to country, both land and sea, to reawaken the cultural skills associated with the living things found there. Over the past two decades, our responsibilities and focus have slowly broadened to encourage the transmission of cultural practices between Aboriginal people, particularly to the next generations. This duty includes the making of plant and sea fibre and shell work.

We did not cease to engage in shell necklace stringing, which has always been part of our culture and was carefully maintained by several coastal families, despite the effects of colonial invasion. Recently, these skills have been shared back across the Tasmanian Aboriginal

community, ensuring their healthy survival through the cultural project *kanalaritja: an unbroken string*. But plant work, once commonplace, had 'fallen asleep' by the early 1900s. Nearly a century later, from the early 1990s, a quiet resurgence began in the making of Tasmanian traditional cultural objects. Historic images and easier access to our cultural pieces held by Tasmanian museums provided inspiration and information for us to construct them anew. In 2006, the project *tayenebe: Tasmanian Aboriginal women's Fibre Work*, was developed by Lola Greeno, then Aboriginal Arts Officer at Arts Tasmania. In this communal process, over several years, more than thirty Aboriginal women shared and learned plant fibre and kelp work skills. *tayenebe* brought women together on Country to learn where, when, and what to collect and how to weave traditional forms.

A startling story of revival of a Tasmanian Aboriginal cultural object is that of the customary bucket, the bull kelp (*Durvillea potatorum*) water carrier. Since no known historic example survived, by the early 1990s we began to reconstruct them, modelled on a depiction in a French engraving published in 1807, from a sketch drawn by Charles-Alexandre Lesueur during Baudin's visit to Van Diemen's Land in 1802.[2] We did not engage with Piron's unpublished sketch of a water carrier and baskets he had seen a decade earlier at Recherche Bay (see this chapter and Figure 13.3). Until 2008, the Lesueur image was the template for us to deduce the form and materials of a kelp carrier and re-envision it in three dimensions. In that year, the British Museum uploaded images online of much of its collections. One such item was a 'Model of Pitcher. Tasmania', still in pristine condition, which had been exhibited in the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.[3] Viewing images of this previously unknown object, eventually from multiple perspectives, was hugely significant. The actual 19th-century water-carrier differs in construction from that in the French engraving. Its rediscovery inspired a resurgence in making and testing both styles. One family explained their re-alignment to the 'new' 1851 form in an essay for the publication accompanying the *tayenebe* exhibition in 2009.[4] Discussions are underway for this historic kelp carrier to travel on 'loan' to the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, to be finally, partially, reunited with its people and homeland. Proximity to the 'real' object, rather than two-dimensional images, will enable various creative responses by our community.

Both *tayenebe* and *kanalaritja* focussed on the sharing and learning of cultural knowledge and skills by women and girls. Aboriginal men and boys are today similarly engaged in processes of cultural revival, working with bark, wood, and stone to craft bark canoes, spears, waddies, and stone tools. The process of making together, in which stories are shared and new relationships formed, is as essential as the product. Our lives are enhanced by reconnecting people, place, and resources with traditional objects and the skills to create them. By making our baskets, kelp carriers, shell necklaces, tools, and vessels, we at once honour our ancestors and ensure our future.

Notes

1 Verna Nichols, in *tayenebe: Tasmanian Aboriginal Women's Fibre Work* (Hobart, 2009):[iii].

2 Claude-Marie-François Dien after Lesueur, 'Terre de Diemen: armes et ornemens', in Lesueur and Petit, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes … Partie Historique. Atlas* ([Paris, 1807]): plate 13. Lesueur's pencil and watercolour preparatory plate drawing of 'Armes, vases, ornements' is held in the Lesueur Collection of the Muséum d'Histoire naturelle in Le Havre (18011–1).

3 'Water-vessel', c. 1850 (Oc1851,1122.2).

4 Nichols and Dickson, 'Kelp Water Carriers: Right Way or Wrong Way', in *tayenebe: Tasmanian Aboriginal Women's Fibre Work* (Hobart, 2009):58–9.

*Figure 13.10. Colleen Mundy's recreation of a traditional Tasmanian women's basket, in the collection of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery. 'Basket', 2007, blueberry (*Dianella tasmanica*) http://static.tmag.tas.gov.au/tayenebe/makers/ColleenMundy/index.html.*

*Figure 13.11. Ila Purdon's recreation of a traditional Tasmanian women's water carrier, in the collection of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery. 'Old and New', 2009, bull kelp (*Durvillaea potatorum*), river reed (*Schoenoplectus pungens*), tea tree (*Melaleuca sp.*) http://static.tmag.tas.gov.au/tayenebe/makers/IlaPurdon/index.html.*

'Ferocious savages' in New Caledonia

The Piron portfolio in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac includes a striking black and red chalk male profile (Figure 13.12) with the handwritten caption 'Homme du Cap de Diemen' and a reference ('n° 7, fig. 1', now obscured by a cardboard mount) to the plate in the *Atlas* (Figure 13.8) for which the drawing has been taken to be the original. Hamy qualified his condemnation of the 'absolutely European physiognomy' of the man in the drawing by acknowledging that 'markedly modified' traits made the engraving 'much less incorrect'.[31] I previously argued that Piron's neoclassical Tasmanians were not simply ideal types but attempts to render accurately what he saw and experienced using familiar conventions and the best-looking model available.[32] However, the extremely bushy beard depicted on the 'Homme du Cap de Diemen' in both Piron's drawing and Copia's engraving has long struck me as ethnographically anomalous. Other contemporary voyage artists—John Webber, Nicolas-Martin Petit, Charles-Alexandre Lesueur—represented Tasmanian men either with wispy beards or as beardless.[33] Few men in Piron's ensemble drawings are lushly bearded.

I am now virtually certain that this preparatory plate drawing is mislabelled and was in fact a portrait of a Kanak man encountered in New Caledonia. A similarly coloured crayon sketch held in the Archives nationales, clearly of the same man, is labelled 'Balade'—the French port of call in New Caledonia—in what looks like Piron's handwriting (Figure 13.13). Kanak men often did and often still do wear very full, bushy beards, as in Copia's engraving of an 'Homme de l'île Beaupré' (Man of Beaupré Island) (Figure 13.14). He was one of seven men and a woman who arrived at Balade in a canoe during the French stay and might have been the actual subject of Piron's sketch. The same dossier contains a drawing of the female visitor, also labelled 'Balade' (Figure 13.15), which obviously anticipated a no longer extant preparatory drawing for Copia's engraving of a 'Femme de l'île Beaupré' (Figure 13.14). Supporting my contention that Piron intended his portraits to represent actual people, within the limits of the dominant artistic canon, this drawing is powerfully naturalistic. My re-attribution of the 'Homme du Cap de Diemen' has interesting implications for scholarly arguments about relative racial bias in these voyagers' renditions of Tongans and Kanak. It fuels my rejection of anachronistic projections of the reified modern concept 'race' on to earlier terminologies for human difference.[34]

Piron's preparatory plate drawing of an 'Homme de balade' (Man of Balade; see Figure 18.3) was engraved by Copia for the *Atlas* as 'Sauvage de la Nouvelle Calédonie lançant une zagaie' (Savage of New Caledonia throwing a spear; see Figure 18.2).[35] Neither figure is naturalistic since the classical ideal precluded depiction of the drought induced emaciation of the people described in the texts. In Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's opinion, their lack of 'corpulence', 'very spindly' arms and legs, and 'excessive thinness' betrayed 'their wretchedness' and 'insufficient' means of subsistence.[36] I argued long ago that the symbolic significance of the 'Sauvage' is considerably more than ethnographic.[37] It is the only engraving out of 46 in the *Atlas* to represent an Indigenous person in aggressive pose and one of only two to highlight male genitalia, the other being the Admiralty Islander. Both these figures were 'altered'—effectively castrated—as being too 'indelicate' for 'English readers', in plates re-engraved for an English translation of La Billardière's *Relation*.[38] The 'Sauvage' is an intensely confrontational representation,

surely intended as such by artist, engraver, and publisher, though neither drawing nor engraving demeans its subject, whatever the representational intentions. Both also encode traces of confrontational collective agency on the part of many of the Islanders of whom this figure was meant to be the ideal type.

Conclusion

The *Atlas* conveys discordant visual messages which have been seen as opposing New Caledonian cannibalism and violence to Tongan beauty and sociality, thereby anticipating Dumont d'Urville's categorical racial opposition of Melanesians and Polynesians, especially with respect to gender stereotypes.[39] Certainly, 42% (11 out of 24) of the objects engraved as 'Effets des sauvages de la Nouvelle Calédonie' (Effects of the savages of New Caledonia) are weapons or things associated by the Europeans with war and cannibalism. In contrast, only 15% (6 out of 41) of the 'Effets des habitants des îles des Amis' (Effects of the inhabitants of the Friendly Isles) are weapons. Moreover, the engraving titles differentiate Kanak 'savages' from Tongan 'inhabitants' (see Figures 1.6–1.10).[40] The *Atlas* contains two portrait busts of known Tongan individuals as well as three elaborate scenes of Tongan social interactions (see Figures 17.1, 17.2).[41] In contrast, the 'Sauvage' and the 'Femme de la Nouvelle Calédonie' (Woman of New Caledonia) (Figure 13.16) are full length, generalized types. The woman's pose has been interpreted as a 'cowering attitude', a visual rendering of the 18th-century European equation of 'lack of civility and the brutalization of women'.[42]

On the other hand, the assemblages of 'Effets' owe at least as much to Indigenous exchange strategies and practices as to French representational intent. Given that the French written texts neither describe nor imply Kanak female subservience to violent men, I prefer to read the depicted stance of the 'Femme' as a literal imprint of the teasing sexual agency of individual Kanak women towards the European men. Two girls demanded payment in advance for showing the seamen 'what they usually conceal' under their fringed skirts while the women in general pleased Bruni d'Entrecasteaux by appearing to be 'much more chaste' than their Tongan counterparts, because 'they never consented to push complaisance as far'.[43] As discussed above, Piron *did* sketch two naturalistic portrait busts of people seen at Balade (Figures 13.13, 13.15). One was the woman engraved as 'Femme de l'île Beaupré'. The other was either a local resident or the male visitor engraved as 'Homme de l'île Beaupré' (Figure 13.14). The 'Femme' and 'Homme de l'île Beaupré' were evidently speakers of *fagauvea*, a Polynesian outlier language of Ouvéa in the Loyalty Islands. The visitors understood Tongan words known to the French who had spent 18 days in Tongatapu and had access to vocabularies published by earlier European voyagers. Accordingly, La Billardière thought them 'much more intelligent than the savages of New Caledonia'.[44] Yet Loyalty Islanders, including the small community of Polynesian speakers, had long been socially and politically embedded in communities on the Grande Terre, the main island of New Caledonia.[45] The disjunction between Tongan 'inhabitants' and Kanak 'savages' is even less marked in the written texts, which express profound ambivalence about Tongan actions and recount repeated instances of friction and violence during the French sojourn in Tongatapu. If Bruni d'Entrecasteaux called Tongans 'less wicked' than New Caledonians, it was hardly a ringing endorsement given his dire opinion of the latter.[46]

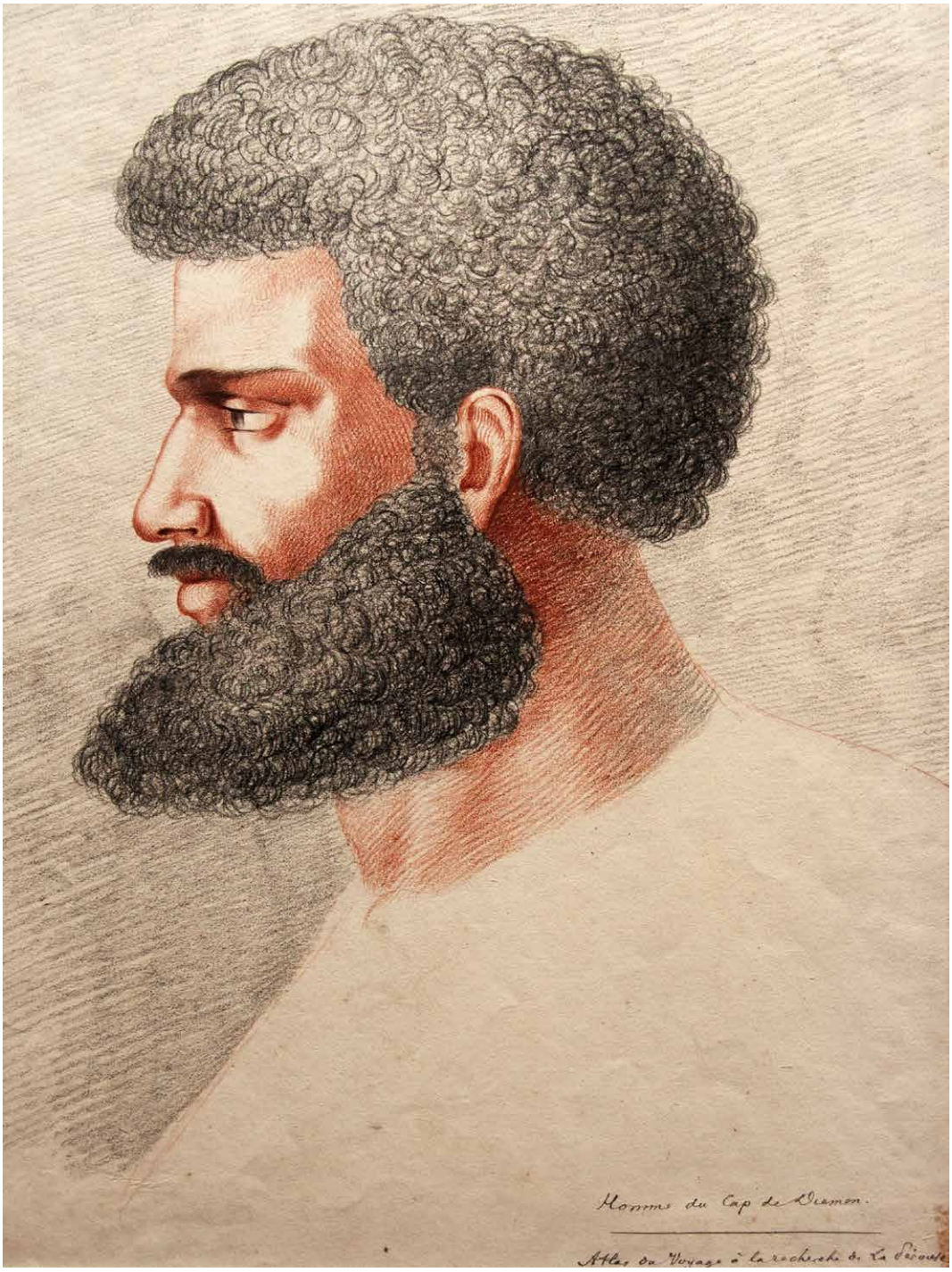

Figure 13.12. Piron's preparatory plate drawing, purportedly of a Tasmanian man but probably a Kanak man in New Caledonia, in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. 'Homme du Cap de Diemen', [1793–5], black and red chalk on paper (ICONO PP0154839).

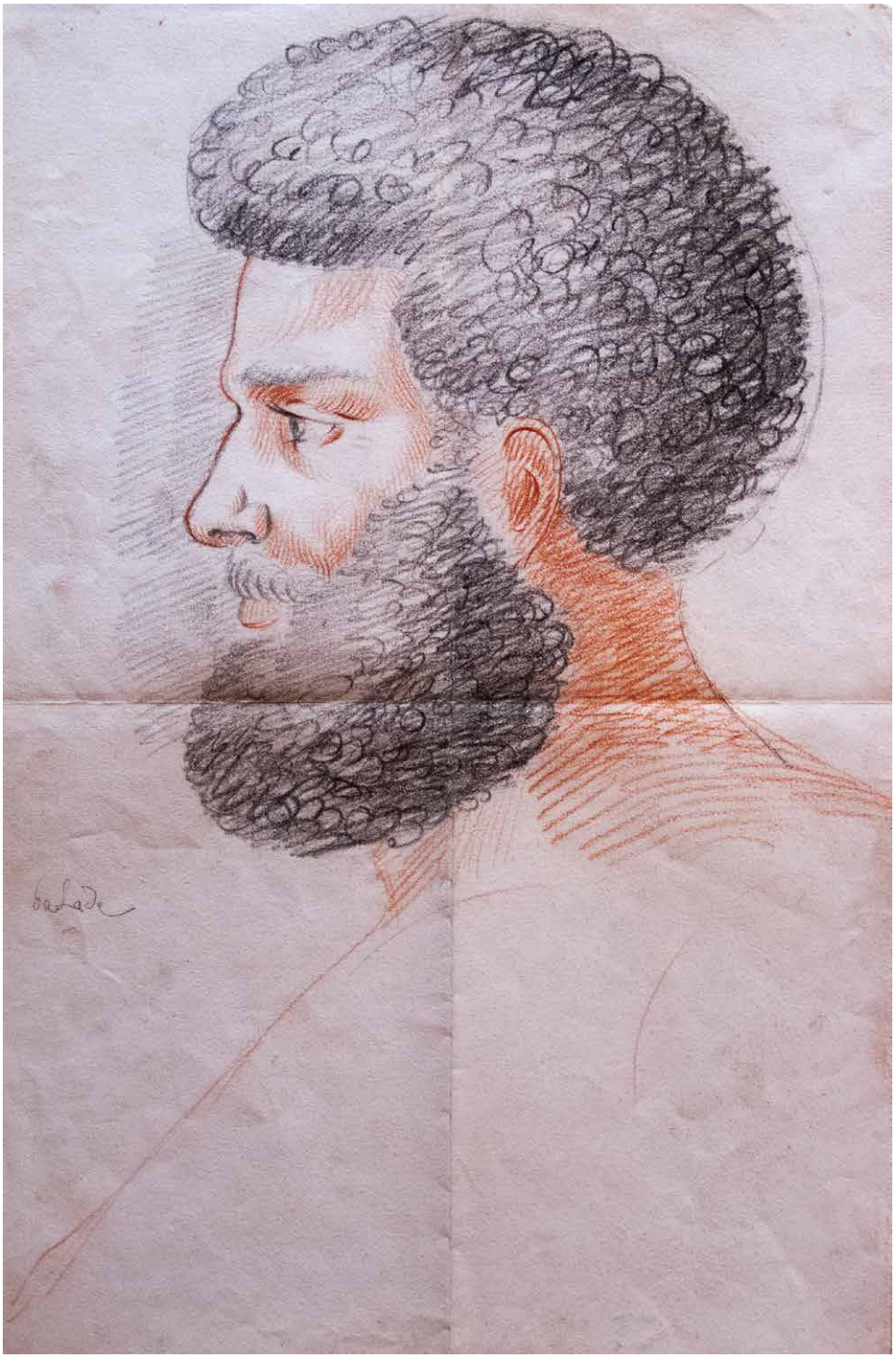

Figure 13.13. Piron's portrait sketch of a Kanak man met in New Caledonia, held in the Archives nationales de France. 'Balade', [1793], crayon on paper (MAR 5 JJ 5[2]).

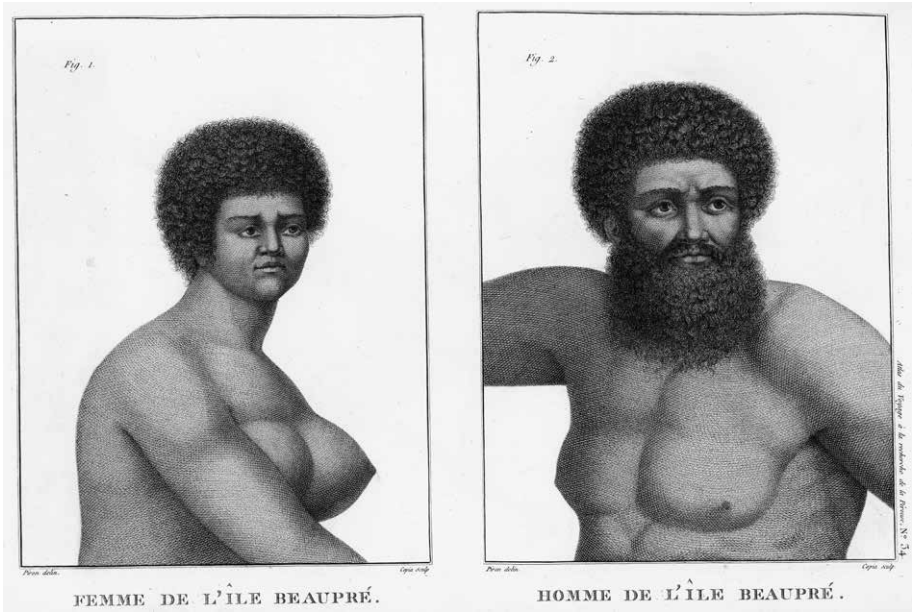

Figure 13.14. Figs 1 and 2 of plate 34 of La Billardière's Atlas *comprising portrait busts of a man and a woman of Ouvéa, Loyalty Islands. Copia after Piron, 'Femme de l'île Beaupré'; 'Homme de l'île Beaupré', 1800, engravings.*

Within the total textual corpus of this voyage, any seeming polarity in visual representations of Tongans and Kanak clearly did not signify the racialization of observed human differences in the Pacific Islands and should not be taken as a precursor to Dumont d'Urville's named racial types.[47] It was not pro-'Polynesian' prejudice that inspired these 18th-century voyagers to represent Tongans as somewhat less violent than New Caledonians. What prejudice there was favoured Kanak, thanks to the precedents of Cook and Georg Forster. Rather, the differences notably register dominant motifs in the collective self-presentations of the Indigenous people concerned. As Bruni d'Entrecasteaux acknowledged, Tongans generally dissimulated their intentions the better to plunder the visitors, using force as required,[48] whereas many Kanak initially endeavoured openly to intimidate and control them. Ambivalence was the norm in accounts of Tongans by European voyagers, who delighted in their physical beauty and 'gaiety' but deplored many of their actions. Thus, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's experience in Tongatapu materialized his abstract concern that the process of 'civilization' could entail novel 'passions' and 'vices'.[49] Such ambivalence was a textual trace of Tongan alienness and unpredictability as adjudged by European standards of propriety, consistency, and order.

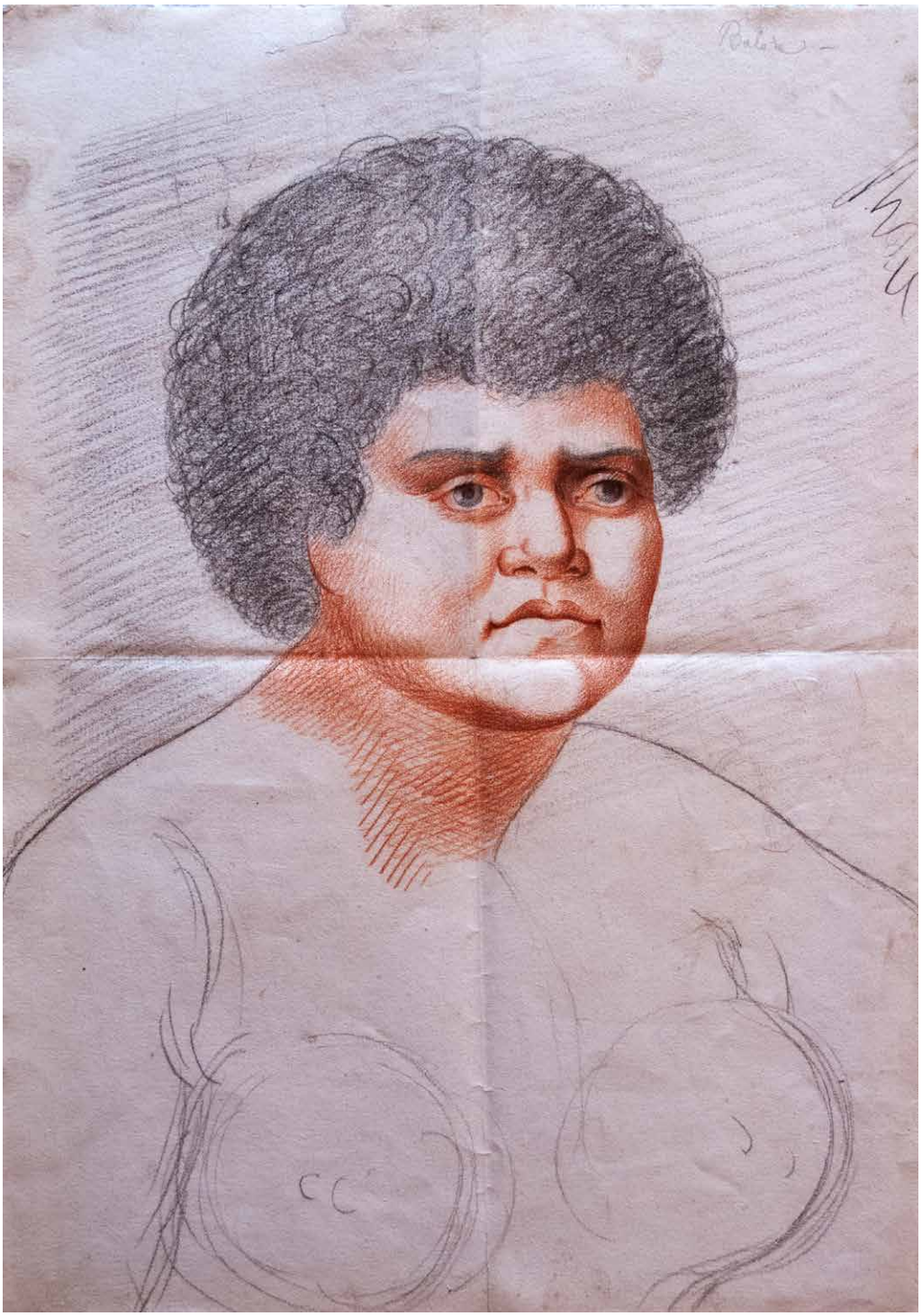

Figure 13.15. Piron's portrait sketch of a Kanak woman met in New Caledonia, held in the Archives nationales de France. 'Balade', [1793], crayon on paper (MAR 5 JJ 5[2]).

Figure 13.16. Plate 36 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a Kanak woman in New Caledonia. Copia after Piron, 'Femme de la Nouvelle Calédonie', 1800, engraving.*

Notes

1 La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), I:x.

2 Hamy, 'Notice sur une collection de dessins provenant de l'expédition de d'Entrecasteaux', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* 7[e] série, 17 (1896):131; La Motte du Portail, 'Voyage de la frégate l'Espérance …', October 1794 (note), ANF (MAR 5 JJ 13[1]).

3 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800).

4 La Billardière, *An Account of a Voyage in Search of La Perouse … Collection of the Plates* (London, 1800); *Voyage in Search of La Pérouse … Illustrated with Forty-six Plates* (London, 1800).

5 Piron, [Dessins], [1792–5], MQB – JC (ICONO); [Esquisses], [1792–5], ANF (MAR 5 JJ 4, 5[2]); Hamy, 'Notice'.

6 See Chapter 2.

7 Piron, [Dessins] (ICONO PP0154838).

8 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 2.

9 Anon., 'Torse de Discobole, désigné sous le nom de Pollux', [2nd century CE], RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) (11-542824, 02-003452-Ma 889); Collins and Hannah, 'Through Classicising Eyes: Revisiting Piron's Images of Pacific Islanders from d'Entrecasteaux's Voyage', *Journal of New Zealand Art History* 29 (2008):30–3, 37; Héron de Villefosse and Michon, *Musée du Louvre … catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques* (Paris, 1896):55.

10 Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific1768–1850 …* (Oxford, 1969):110.

11 Accademia Ercolanese di Archeologia, *Le Antichità di Ercolano*, vol. 6, *De' bronzi di Ercolano …*, part 2, *Statue* (Napoli, 1771):303–9.

12 Collins and Hannah, 'Through Classicising Eyes':27–31.

13 La Billardière, *Relation*, I:x.

14 Hamy, 'Notice':129–32.

15 Ibid.:140; La Billardière, *Relation*, I:x, my emphasis. See Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania 1511–1850* (Basinstoke and New York, 2014) for detailed correlation of shifting European conceptions of human difference with voyagers' representations of Indigenous Oceanian people from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

16 Smith, *Imagining the Pacific …* (Carlton, 1992):80–1. See Chapter 18.

17 Hamy, 'Notice':140.

18 See Chapter 2.

19 Hesmivy d'Auribeau, 'N[lle]. Hollande. Extrait', in Huon de Kermadec, '[Journal] …', 1791–2, ANF (MAR 5 JJ 7[5]); La Billardière, *Relation*, I:176–8, 180.

20 Huon de Kermadec, '[Journal]': folios 18r, 19r.

21 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:54, 234.

22 Gough, *et al.*, *tayenebe: Tasmanian Aboriginal Women's Fibre Work* (Hobart, 2009) http://static.tmag.tas.gov.au/tayenebe/

23 Duval, 'Planche 2', in Duval, ed., *Monuments des arts du dessin …* (Paris, 1829), I.

24 Hamy, *Les origines du Musée d'Ethnographie …* (Paris, 1890):37, note 3; Jacquemin, 'Objets des mers du sud …' (Paris, 1991):40, 48–9; 'Objets achetés à la vente Denon et reportés sur l'inventaire Duhamel du Monceau. Musée de Marine du Louvre', in Ibid.:330, document 7; 'Vivant Denon et quelques curiosités des mers du sud', in *De jade et de nacre* (Paris 1990):214–15.

25 Hamy, 'Les collections anthropologiques et ethnographiques du voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes (1801–1804)', *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive* [19] (1906):24; Claude-Marie-

François Dien after Lesueur in Lesueur and Petit, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes … Partie Historique. Atlas* ([Paris, 1807]): plate 13.

26 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 8 ([fig. 1]).

27 Ibid.: plate 7 (fig. 2).

28 Smith, *European Vision*:110–11.

29 [Hesmivy d'Auribeau], 'Rapport de d'Auribeau …', in Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique …* (Paris, 1986):313; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:33–4.

30 See Chapter 2.

31 Hamy, 'Notice':137–8.

32 Douglas, 'Seaborne Ethnography and the Natural History of Man', *Journal of Pacific History* 38:1 (2003):19.

33 For example, James Caldwall after Webber, 'A Man of Van Diemen's Land', in Cook and King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean …* (London, 1784), I: plate 6; François Denis Née after Lesueur, 'Terre de Diémen: Habitations', in Lesueur and Petit, *Atlas*: plate 15; Barthélemy Roger after Petit, 'Terre de Diémen: Grou-ăgără', in Ibid.: plate 10.

34 See Douglas, *Science*:39–157.

35 Piron, [Dessins] (ICONO PP0154787); La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 35.

36 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:330; see also Féron, [Journal], April 1793, ANF (MAR 3 JJ 397[1]).

37 Douglas, 'Art as Ethno-historical Text …', in *Double Vision …* (Cambridge, 1999):73–83.

38 La Billardière, *Voyage in Search of La Pérouse*: viii; Thomson after Piron, 'Savage of the Admiralty Islands', in Ibid.: plate 3, facing 177; Piron, 'Native of New Caledonia Throwing a Zagaie', in Ibid.: plate 35, facing 424. In the same year, Stockdale also issued a more lavish two-volume quarto edition of the *Voyage* from which the engraving of the Kanak was entirely omitted, though it still features in the 'List of Plates'. La Billardière, *Voyage in Search of La Pérouse … Illustrated with Forty-six Plates*, 2 vols (London, 1800):xxxi.

39 Thomas, *In Oceania …* (Durham, 1997):139–41.

40 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plates 31–3, 37–8.

41 Anon. [after Piron], 'Finau, chef des guerriers de Tongatabou'; Copia after Piron, 'Fête donnée au général Dentrecasteaux par Toubau, roi des îles des Amis'; 'Danse des îles des Amis, en présence de la reine Tiné'; 'Double pirogue des îles des Amis'; 'Toubau, fils du roi des îles des Amis'; 'Femme des îles des Amis', in La Billardière, *Atlas*: plates 8 ([fig. 2]), 26–8, 29 ([fig. 1]), 30 ([fig. 1]).

42 Thomas, *In Oceania*, 141.

43 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:288, 352; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:224–5. See Douglas, 'Art as Ethno-historical Text':74–6.

44 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:237.

45 Douglas, 'A Contact History of the Balad People of New Caledonia 1774–1845', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 79 (2):190–6.

46 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:359. See Chapter 2.

47 Dumont d'Urville, 'Sur les îles du grand Océan', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 17:105 (1832):1–21.

48 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:308.

49 Ibid.:230, 242, 308; Rossel, *Rapport sur la navigation de l'Astrolabe …* (Paris, 1829):11.

kupesi—Tongan design structure and Piron's experiment

Billie Lythberg and Tavake-fai-'ana *Semisi Fetokai Potauaine*

Any discussion of the images made during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition must begin with Piron.[1] His sketches of places, flora, fauna, and people, their adornments, activities and productions, were later translated into engravings, mostly by Copia, to illustrate La Billardière's voyage narrative.[2] It is through Piron's eyes that the South Sea of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux was, and still is most often glimpsed. As others have noted, 'Piron's modest role nevertheless cast a long shadow'.[3]

In the muster roll of the *Recherche*, Piron is listed as 'dessinateur' (draughtsman). The word describes a person who practises artistic, technical, and documentary drawing, often to prepare a working foundation for other professionals. The term is precise in its application here: Piron and fellow *dessinateur* Chailly-Ely, who served on the *Espérance* but abandoned the voyage at the Cape of Good Hope, were appointed quite specifically to provide technical support to the savants. The King's instructions, dated 16 September 1791, ordered Bruni d'Entrecasteaux to instruct the draughtsmen to draw:

> all the coastal views and remarkable sites, the portraits of the Natives of the different countries, their dress, their ceremonies, their games, their buildings, their seagoing vessels, and all the products of the three realms of the Earth and the sea, *should the drawings of these various objects seem to him to be useful to facilitate understanding of the descriptions which the savants have made of them.*[4]

Piron and Chailly-Ely were thus formally in service to the hydrographers and the naturalists and their work would support the savants' written observations—in other words, textual descriptions were given priority over illustrations.

Piron was a practical man: receipts held in the Archives nationales de France show that his purchases for the voyage were fewer than Chailly-Ely's and demonstrably pragmatic.[5] He was also a man of imagination who procured four different types of ultramarine blue, presumably for depicting the ocean, and a man of initiative, prepared to experiment and innovate: La Billardiere reported that Piron regarded dried seal excrement as 'very appropriate for artistic use', since it produced 'a very fine powder of a beautiful, deepish sulphur colour'.[6] The plates in La Billardière's *Atlas* include Copia's engravings of two likely self-portraits by Piron, signifying his emotional connection with Indigenous subjects rather than a distanced objectivity. In 'Double pirogue des îles des Amis' (Double canoe of the Friendly Islands; see Figure 15.6), the artist is portrayed sitting among Tongan passengers with his portfolio resting behind him.[7] In 'Sauvages du Cap de Diemen préparant leur repas' (Savages of Cape Diemen preparing their meal; see Figure 2.5), he is depicted stripped to his underwear and—at his own request—being covered in charcoal by a Tasmanian man, an event described in detail by La Billardière.[8]

The Archives nationales hold two portfolios of Piron's drawings.[9] They include the field sketch (Figure 13.17), labelled 'Vue d'une fête de Tongatabou' (Scene of a Tongan entertainment), probably by the artist. The sketch might have contributed content to an engraving by Copia in the *Atlas* entitled 'Fête donnée au général Dentrecasteaux par Toubau, roi des îles des Amis' (Entertainment given to General Dentrecasteaux by Toubau [Tupou], king of the Friendly Islands).[10] In the sketch, Tongan musicians accompany two performers within a semicircle of standing people, flanked

on the left by what appears to be a further semicircle of seated persons. In the published plate, a similar arrangement of people surround Tupou's *falehau*, chiefly house.

In the drawing, the people are surmounted by a perspective sketch with a vanishing point, enclosing what might be a rudimentary human figure. Tongan architect and artist *Tavake-fai-ʻana* Semisi Fetokai Potauaine has suggested that Tongan arts fundamentally involve line-space intersection and that the *fale*, house, is conceptualized as a *fefine*, woman. It is tempting to read Piron's sketch as an attempt to understand this philosophical tenet of Tongan arts. A more pragmatic explanation is offered by taking account of the items bought for the voyage by Piron and Chailly-Ely—notably the latter's purchase of 'a collection of prints (of which 101 were devoted to the orders of architecture), a book on geometry, another on perspective'.[11] Whether an exercise in artistic perspective or an ontological experiment, Piron's sketch leaves us guessing. Perhaps it is both?

It is possible that, with his predilection for immersion in local ways of being, evidenced by the self-portraits, Piron's puzzling experience of his surroundings emerges in his seemingly unfinished drawings. The sketch in question displays traits of the transition between visual representation, which the *dessinateur* was trained and charged to do, and the abstraction that is a hallmark of Tongan arts. The artist's training and experience in using multi-vanishing point perspectives was clearly challenged in novel South Pacific surroundings, which lacked the hard lines and spaces defined by buildings and streets in urban contexts in Europe. Piron's sketch demonstrates an experimental approach to a very different urban context in Tonga, dominated by the oval *falehau* and its *malaʻe*, the space occupied by the *faiva*, performance. Piron struggled to fit these rounded and circular forms to the skewed definition of multi vanishing points; setting up vanishing points around the edges of the page still remains a standard artistic procedure. As for the enigmatic suggestion of a figure within the intersecting lines of the sketch, perhaps here Piron was giving further evidence of his appreciation of the Tongan physique, as evinced in several of his Tongan portraits (see Figures 17.1, 17.3).

These works by Piron hint at the juncture between visitors and hosts and how their respective viewpoints and perspectives influenced each other. They also encourage us to investigate the differences between the perspective structure taught to European artists and the *kupesi*, design structure, of Tonga. The underlying skeleton of the vanishing point constructed by intersecting lines and spaces in Piron's sketch shares much with the intersection of line and space that produces the dominant *kupesi* of Tongan clubs, barkcloth, and lashings.

Notes

1 See Chapters 13, 18.

2 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800).

3 Collins and Hannah, 'Through Classicising Eyes: Revisiting Piron's Images of Pacific Islanders from d'Entrecasteaux's Voyage', *Journal of New Zealand Art History* 29 (2008):30–3, 36.

4 Anon., 'Memoire du Roi pour servir d'instruction particulière au S^{r}. D'Entrecasteaux …', 16 September 1791, SHD (MAR BB^{4} 992), our emphasis.

5 See Collins and Hannah, 'Through Classicising Eyes':32 for the artists' respective purchase lists and prices paid.

6 La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), I:151.

7 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 28.

8 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 5; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:43–4.

9 Piron, [Esquisses], [1792–5], ANF (MAR 5 JJ 4, 5^{2}).

10 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 26.

11 Collins and Hannah, 'Through Classicising Eyes': 32.

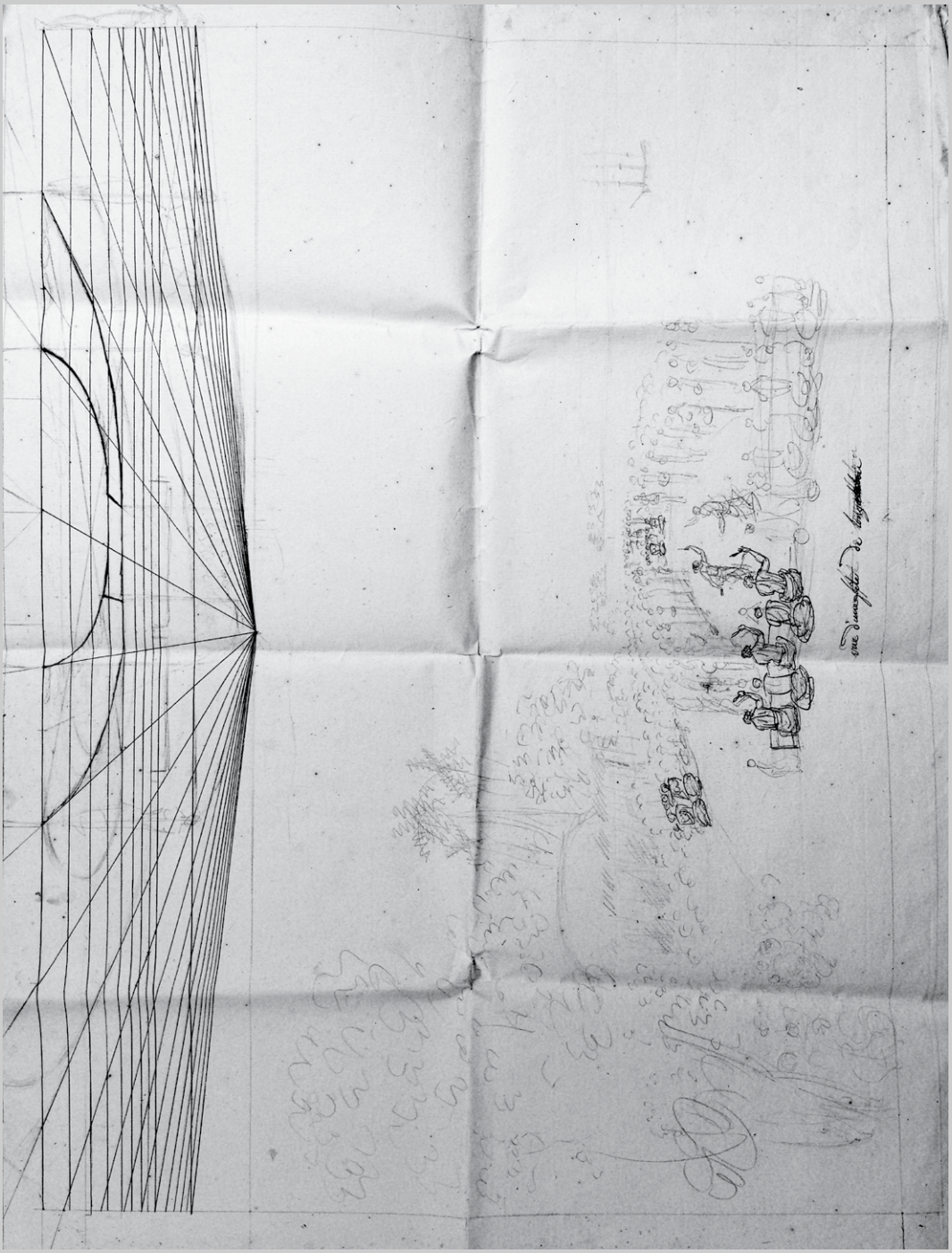

Figure 13.17. Piron's field sketch of an entertainment given for the French in Tongatapu with perspective drawing above. 'Vue d'une fête de tongatabou', held in the Archives nationales de France, [1793], pencil and pen on paper (MAR 5 JJ 5[2]).

CHAPTER 14

Tongan Wordlists

PAUL GERAGHTY

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This chapter presents a preliminary linguistic analysis, tailored for a non-specialist audience, of a selection of Tongan wordlists collected during the 18-day stay of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition in Tongatapu in 1793. Two were published: one in La Billardière's *Relation* (LaB) and one in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's *Voyage*, compiled by his editor Rossel (BdE). Others are unpublished manuscript wordlists transcribed during the voyage and now held in the Archives nationales de France in Paris: an anonymous 'Vocabulaire des isles des amis' (A) and three 'Vocabulaires' gathered by Pierre-Guillaume Gicquel Destouches (G).[1] The selected lists contain approximately 1,200 entries.

The earliest European encounters with the inhabitants of the wider Tongan archipelago had occurred during Dutch voyages. In 1616, Willem Schouten and Jacob Le Maire spent four days in the northernmost islands Tafahi and Niuatoputapu. A wordlist of the Niua language comprising 118 entries was published with Le Maire's narrative. In 1643, Abel Tasman stayed for nearly two weeks in Tongatapu and Nomuka and several island names were recorded. His journal mentions only two Tongan words, both derived from Le Maire's list. He complained that the Dutch 'did not understand them nor They us'—unsurprisingly, since Le Maire did not record Tongan words.[2]

More pertinent for comparison with the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage vocabularies are several wordlists collected or words recorded by contemporaneous visitors in Tonga. The following is a rough tally of lexical items amassed by British or Spanish travellers and published at the time or subsequently: during the voyages of Cook (1774 and 1777, nearly 1,000 entries), Francisco Antonio Mourelle (1781, 83 entries), Alejandro Malaspina (1793, about 350 entries), and William Wilson (1797, 44 entries); by the renegade missionary George Vason (1797–1801, 66 entries); and by the castaway ship's clerk William Mariner (1806–10, about 1,800 entries).[3] Collectively, these and the French lists present a detailed picture of, and raise or answer many questions about the Tongan environment, culture, and language in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, before the arrival of resident traders and missionaries. Unlike parallel Fijian materials,[4] these early Tongan wordlists have not been subject to systematic linguistic analysis.

Space limitations prevent the inclusion in this chapter of the many words and features in the French wordlists which are identifiable in modern Tongan. I therefore

focus on entries differing from their modern forms and/or meanings, particularly those of linguistic and cultural interest. They are generally written here not as they appeared in manuscript or print, but as they were probably pronounced by Tongans in 1793, with a modified Tongan spelling: <g> represents the velar nasal [ŋ] and <j> the alveolar affricate which has become <s> today, as discussed below; vowel length (marked by a macron), glottal stop /ʔ/ and /h/ are supplied from modern sources where available.[5] For consistency and to enable efficient comparison of historical and modern forms, I use phonemic spelling for Tongan words throughout the chapter. This highlights misheard or mistranscribed words and possible changes in pronunciation in a way impossible if using the random orthography adopted by transcribers. I cite some similar or identical words recorded by other contemporary visitors but a detailed comparative study is also beyond my scope here.

Perception and spelling of sounds

The main problem with recording the sounds of an unfamiliar language is that if we hear one that is not found in our own language, we will either mistranscribe it or not record it at all. In the case of French speakers, unless they were linguistically sophisticated or multilingual, they perceived neither the /h/ nor the /ʔ/ (glottal stop) of Tongan, since neither exists in French, and simply failed to record them. Another consonant that presented difficulties because of its absence in 18th-century French was /ŋ/ the velar nasal (as in <ng> in English 'sing'), which they recorded mostly as <ng> or <gh>. Similarly, they did not hear differences of vowel length, which are crucial in Tongan. For example, these French travellers perceived the short vowel /i/ and the long vowel /ī/ as the same and transcribed them identically. They also regularly failed to perceive the second element in certain diphthongs, recording, for instance, *kouʔahe* 'cheek' without the /u/, and omitting other unstressed high vowels, such as *nufe* 'caterpillar' for *ʔunufe*.

The spelling of Tongan words in these lists was naturally based on French conventions: for example, using <ou> to represent /u/, as in *tolou* 'three' for *tolu*; <gu> for intervocalic /k/ before front vowels (/e/ and /i/), as in *taoguédé* 'older son' for *taʔokete*; and avoiding <au> for /au/, instead using <ao> or <ahau>. Spellings used by the four lexicographers differ only in minor respects (for example, La Billardière preferred <k> for /k/, while the others preferred <c>).[6] They probably copied from each other to some extent, given Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's intention that the wordlists collected should be publicly shared, 'so that everyone can assess the conformity and dissimilarities there are in the same words heard by different individuals'.[7] The ships' libraries were well-stocked with the published narratives of previous voyages, including those of Cook which contain William Anderson's Tongan vocabularies, but seemingly not including Johann Reinhold Forster's *Observations* which also gives a short Tongan wordlist.[8] Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and his colleagues no doubt prepared for their encounter with Tongans by learning elements of Cook's vocabulary. However, he found it of 'feeble assistance'—perhaps, he thought, because of differing French and English pronunciation; or because Tongans had fed badly pronounced words back to the English approvingly—a problem, he claimed, that the French faced and eventually recognized.[9]

Misunderstandings of meaning and form

Misunderstanding commonly occurs in linguistic exchange where the participants have no language in common. So while perhaps ninety per cent of the identifiable words and phrases are given correct or nearly correct meanings, others are incorrect. The meaning might have been understood as more general (e.g., *laupapa* 'plank' glossed as 'wood', *ʔūpē* 'lullaby' as 'song', *ʔovavatahi* 'fan coral' as 'coral', *lalaga* 'weave' as 'do', *meʔe* 'dance' as 'feast, celebration'); or more specific (e.g., *figota* 'sea creature' glossed as 'shellfish', *tehina* 'younger same-sex sibling' as 'younger brother'); or been completely misunderstood (e.g., *kakau* 'swim' glossed as 'breakers', presumably because a questioner indicated someone swimming in or near the breakers). In at least one case, a proper name was taken as a common noun, when the name *ʔulukālala* was glossed as 'son'.

The forms of words were commonly misunderstood by the failure to recognize certain particles as not being part of the word under discussion. Verbs were sometimes combined with a preceding tense marker (e.g., *kuoji* 'finished' for *kuo ʔoji*) or a following particle (e.g., *mamaoia* 'yawn', consisting of *mamao* 'yawn' plus *ia* '3rd person singular pronoun', or 'a particle of emphasis'; *tataupē* 'the same', consisting of *tatau* 'the same' and the particle *pē* meaning, in this context, 'exactly'), and nouns with preceding particles (e.g., *koepule* 'cowry shell', where *koe* is the focus marker *ko* and article *e*).

Historical phonology

Tongan exhibits a number of sound-changes that distinguish it from its reconstructed ancestor language Proto Polynesian (PPn), believed to have been spoken over two thousand years ago. The French and other early wordlists can help determine whether any of the sound-changes were still in progress in the late 18th century.

**s>h*

Together with Niuean and East Uvean (Wallisian), Tongan shows the change of *s>h, for example PPn *sika 'net needle' > *hika*. There is no indication in the French wordlists that this change was anything other than complete: all instances of /h/ in contemporary Tongan are recorded as <h> or zero, as expected. We may conclude that this sound change took place well before the 18th century.

Palatalization: t>č/_i

Tongan changed (palatalized) PPn *t to č (usually written as <j>) before *i* (a high front vowel), for example changing PPn *koti 'cut (hair)' to *koji*. The French wordlists fairly regularly represent this sound initially as <tch> (e.g., *tchico* for *jiko* 'defecate' [G]) and between vowels as <dg> (e.g., *foudgi* for *fuji* 'banana' [LaB], *fatgi* for *faji* 'break' [BdE]). This difference may indicate that the sound was more voiced (pronounced with vibration of the vocal cords, in this case more like English <dg> in 'judge' than <ch> in 'church') between vowels, which is a natural tendency for consonants in all languages. However it is clearly not the case in contemporary Tongan, since this sound became [s] in all positions around the end of the 19th century, so that the modern Tongan word for 'cut (hair)' is *kosi*.

An exception is the word *mokojia* 'feel cold', the spelling of which by the French (BdE *magotzia*, A *magotsia* or *magothia*, G *magotsia*) suggests that it might have been pronounced more like [ts], and that the first vowel was /a/ rather than /o/. Yet Anderson had recorded the expected *mokojia* in 1777.[10] The fact that both Forster and Anderson in 1773 recorded the name of the *Ficus* sp, used as a dye, as *mati* (rather than expected *maji*), and that Wilson recorded *ɔinaji* 'presentation to the Tu'i Tonga' once as *enudee* (*ɔinati*) also suggests that /t/ may have survived in some forms as an alternative pronunciation.[11]

Vowel assimilation

The Tongan vowel assimilation rule is unique to Tongan and states that unstressed /a/ became /o/ before or after a stressed /u/, and /e/ before or after a stressed /i/ (though there are many unexplained exceptions).[12] It gave rise to Tongan words such as *fefine* 'woman' and *fonua* 'land' from PPn *fafine and *fanua respectively.

The French lists confirm that this assimilation was complete in those words in which it appears in final position, e.g., *ɔuo* 'lobster' (PPn *ɔura), *noɔo* 'belt' (PPn *noɔa), *ɔuno* 'turtle-shell' (PPn *ɔuna). However, there are indications that it was incomplete in other positions. While the vast majority of words that show assimilation today also do so in the French wordlists, there are five partial exceptions: 'ten' (modern *hogofulu*) was recorded as *ogofulu* and *agafulu* by A; 'ear' (modern *teliga*) was recorded as *taliga* by G; 'to thank' (modern *monū* 'good luck') was recorded by BdE and A as *manū*; 'land' (modern *fonua*) was recorded in all wordlists except G's as *fanua*, in the compound *alagifanua* 'southeast wind'; and 'red' (modern *kulokula*) was recorded by BdE and A as *kulakula*. Taken in isolation, these might be viewed as misrecordings or mistranscriptions, but most of these exceptions were also noted by other early recorders: *taliga* and *fanua* by Forster, *manū* by Cook's surgeon David Samwell, and *kulakula* by Mariner.[13] It thus seems likely that vowel assimilation was indeed incomplete in 1793.[14]

Further evidence for the chronology of vowel assimilation can be found in words and place names recorded in 1643 during Tasman's voyage: he gave *Aicij* (*ɔaiki*) for 'chief', modern *ɔeiki*;[15] and an illustration in his journal renders the island now called Nomuka as *Anamocka*, with *Namocaki* for Nomukaiki and *Amatafoa* for Tofua.[16] These spellings indicate lack of vowel assimilation. Since Cook and his men were familiar with Tasman's toponyms, their rehearsal of them does not confirm that vowel assimilation was still absent in the 1770s. However, other names lacking vowel assimilation were recorded in Cook voyage texts: *Otafoa* 'Tofua' and *Onuahtabutabu* 'Niuatoputapu' by Cook himself, while Anderson referred to 'Anamocka or as the natives pronounce it Anna'mooka'.[17] In conjunction with the French evidence, this suggests that vowel assimilation in Tongan had not begun in the mid-17th century and was still incomplete at the end of the 18th.

Voicing of initial /f/

Initial /f/ has been voiced to /v/ or /w/ in various environments in many Polynesian languages, especially in Eastern Polynesia, *e.g.* *fafine 'woman' > Māori *wahine*. This change has never been reported for Tongan, but there is a suggestion that it might have occurred in the word for 'woman', for which LaB gives *vifiné* and A both *viviné* and *fifiné*; Anderson had also recorded *ve faine*.[18]

Phonetic nature of the liquid

As with most Polynesian languages, Tongan has only one liquid phoneme, conventionally spelt <l> but, as noted by Maxwell Churchward, author of the standard Tongan grammar, with a pronunciation 'somewhat suggestive, at times, of *r*'.[19] Given that French distinguished beween /l/ and /r/, the perceptions of our lexicographers may help indicate in which circumstances the pronunciation was more like [r]. There are no instances of <r> being written in initial position, and intervocalically the <r> spelling is restricted to four words: *fale* 'house', *malaʔe* 'cemetery', *mālie* 'good', and *molū* 'soft'. So there is no further indication here of the phonological environment that might trigger a rhotic pronunciation between vowels.

Phonetic nature of the stops

The three Tongan oral stops, /p/, /t/ and /k/, are likewise noted by Churchward as having a pronunciation 'somewhat suggestive, at times,' of their voiced counterparts, that is, being sometimes pronounced like [b], [d] and [g].[20] The missionary Thomas West, who published a Tongan grammar, also claims that /p/ is sometimes pronounced like /b/ but is unclear about when, while the few examples he provides for /k/ being pronounced [g] (all at the beginning of a word) suggest that [g] occurs before /i/ and /u/ (high vowels).[21] Again, since French distinguishes between these pairs, we would expect their rendering in French-based spelling to suggest when such pronunciations might occur.

A survey of the French lists reveals that at the beginning of a word all stops were perceived as voiceless (p, t, or k), whereas between vowels they were perceived as voiced (b, d, or g) before certain vowels, an observation largely confirmed by other early visitors. Three generalizations can be made: first, that the first language of the observer is irrelevant in perceptions of voicedness of stops; second, that where there is a difference between word-initial and between vowels, it is always the consonant between vowels that is perceived as more voiced; and third, that where there is a difference in surrounding vowels, stops are perceived as more voiced before vowels other than /a/.

Numerals

The French were so interested in numerals that two of them compiled separate lists. Their recorded numerals 1–9 are unchanged today, apart from possible anomalies in one of Gicquel's lists. Their recording of '10' does not enable reconstruction of whether it was *ogofulu* or (as today) *hogofulu*, though *ogofulu* is unambiguously indicated by most of Cook's companions and by Mariner who, being English-speakers, would have recognized the /h/ phoneme had it occurred.[22] The tens were reported to be formed by the suffix -(*h*)*ogofulu*, rather than today's *gofulu*, though its variant -*fulu* was used, as today, to form 20.[23] Whether this reflects a linguistic change, or analogical reconstruction by the French, or deliberate simplification by the Tongans (foreigner-talk) is unclear.

Among the higher numbers, *teau* '100' and *afe* '1,000' were also reported by Mariner and are in current use. The forms recorded for '10,000' are *kilu* (BdE), *kilu afe* and *kilu* (LaB), and *mano* (G), while Mariner also recorded *mano*, the current form. For '100,000',

which according to Mariner and current usage is *kilu*, the forms recorded were *mano* (BdE, LaB, A) and *mano*, *kilu* (G). Given that *kilu* had been recorded by Anderson for '1,000', there was probably some fluidity in the numbers for the higher powers of ten in the late 18th century. Mariner commented that La Billardière's 'general accuracy with respect to the numbers does him great credit', but dismissed the higher numbers recorded by the Frenchman—up to 10^{15}—as not being numbers at all but insults and obscenities which made him the butt of 'Tonga wit'. Mariner was probably correct, but at least La Billardière's terms *lauale* '10,000,000' and *launoa* '100,000,000' were recorded by BdE, G, and several other Europeans, including Anderson and Mariner himself. They thus seem to have been genuine numbers, albeit with lower values.[24]

In later editions of Mariner's narrative, his editor John Martin endorsed the plausibility of Tongans having words for numbers up to 100,000: 'we ought to reflect, that a people who are in the frequent habit of counting out yams, &c. to the amount of one, two, or three thousand, must become tolerably good numerators, by finding out some method of rendering the task of counting more easy'. Moreover, numbers up to 10^{10} have been reported for languages spoken in Micronesia.[25]

Registers

Churchward noted that in Tongan many meanings are represented by as many as five different words, according to what might be called 'register': that is, depending on the status of the person addressed or referred to. For example, the ordinary word for 'eat' is *kai*, the polite word is *tokoni*, the honorific is *ʔilo*, the regal is *taumafa*, and the derogatory is *mama*.[26] The French wordlists distinguish three registers of Tongan, noting that some words applied to *tuʔa* 'servants, slaves' (Churchward's 'commoner'), others to *muʔa* 'chief of a district or family; second-class chief; person of second lowest rank' (Churchward's 'high chief's attendant'), and others to *ʔeiki* (chiefs). However, they give only two examples: 'go', *ʔalu* for *tuʔa* and *hāʔele* for *ʔeiki*; and 'return', *foki mai* for *tuʔa* and *maliu mai* for *muʔa* and *ʔeiki*. No other early wordlist mentions this phenomenon.

Syntax

Little can be said of the grammar of 18th-century Tonga based on these wordlists, which comprise mainly single words. It is also clear from the few phrases cited there and in the narratives that a kind of simplified Tongan foreigner-talk was used in communication by both parties. Even Mariner, relatively fluent after four years in Tonga, evidently spoke a simplified Tongan with many mispronunciations. For example, La Billardière's narrative includes the phrases *ʔikai mate* 'do not kill him, let him not die', uttered by Bruni d'Entrecasteaux; *ʔikai fakatau* 'not selling, not being sold', uttered by the Tongan 'queen', and *tapu mijimiji* 'intercourse forbidden', by the wife of the man the French knew as Fatafé (Fuanunuiava).[27] These phrases are all ungrammatical, lacking obligatory elements such as tense markers, subject pronouns, complementizers, and articles, as is typical in foreigner-talk. Similar ungrammatical phrases are found in the French wordlists: *au heni* 'I am here', *atu pē* 'I give you this as a present', *mai mata* 'let me see', *mate fiekai* 'I am hungry', and *tapu lea* 'do not speak'. While unsurprising, the presence of a Tongan foreigner-talk has not been previously

reported—again in constrast to Fiji, where that used with and by pre-missionary visitors has been described in detail.[28]

Fijian loanwords

Words in the French lists clearly borrowed from Fijian include *kulo*, *-pitu* in *taopitu* (discussed below); *isa* 'interjection of impatience'; and *jiega* 'no' from *sega*. Parallel terms also figure in contemporary English vocabularies, but not in Churchward's dictionary.

Pronouns

As in most Polynesian languages, Tongan pronouns distinguish four persons (with inclusive/exclusive distinction in first), three numbers (singular, dual, and plural), and numerous syntactic functions, including independent, subject, and many types of possessive. There is no indication in the historical materials that this situation differed in the late 18th century, though information supplied is meagre. No visitor provided systematic lists of pronouns, as some did of numerals, and little is said on any other than the independent pronouns.

The most remarkable claim of the French lists, on which all four agree, is that there was a first person (presumably inclusive) independent pronoun of the form *ita* 'us', with *itaua* as the dual form and *itauatolu* the plural. Not only is this a different base from the usual *kita-*, but it also takes an otherwise unattested plural suffix *-uatolu*, rather than *-utolu*. Both forms are so unexpected as to invite scepticism. However, at least one other variation in pronoun form is well attested in early wordlists—the optionality (or absence) of the prefix *ki-*, first witnessed in Anderson's *toooa* 'both of us' (for *taua*, now *kitaua*), and confirmed by Mariner's *now'ooa* 'The dual number of the pronoun *they*, used after the verb *them*', and by West for all the independent non-singular pronouns.[29]

Other vocabulary

The following is a semantically arranged vocabulary of other words in the French wordlists which are not found, or are given a different meaning, in Churchward's modern dictionary.[30] Space limitations prevent the systematic inclusion of comparative references and preclude any discussion of whether such changes are real, due to mistakes in elicitation, or owing to Churchward's gaps or mistakes.

Geographical

Unusually among the early visitors, the French made a detailed effort to elicit names for compass and/or wind directions, listed in the following table and compared with the modern equivalents. In contrast, Anderson noted only two 'winds'.[31]

The only two of the French terms recognizable today are 'north' and 'south'. *Luluga*, in 'west wind', today means 'western islands of Ha'apai'. The word for 'east wind' means literally 'wind from the sun', and so may be a nonce word. The word for 'northwest' is almost certainly a mistranscription for *fakajiu* (with /j/ written as <tc>): E.E.V. Collocott recorded *taufakasiu* as an 'old name' for a 'wind, apparently almost, or dead, north'.[32]

There is one other notable geographic term: *kō* 'island', perhaps a misunderstanding of *kō* 'over there'.

	direction	wind	Churchward (directions)
north	tokelau	matagi tokelau	tokelau
northeast	fogafuloifua	matagi fogafuloifua	-
east	-	matagi mei he laɔ̄	hahake
southeast	alagifanua	matagi alagifanua	toga-hahake
south	toga	matagi toga	toga
southwest	koeulu/kokulu	matagi koeulu/kokulu	toga-hihifo
west	-	matagi luluga	hihifo
northwest	fakatoiu	matagi fakatoiu	-

Tongan compass directions and wind names.

Flora

ahifiji 'sandalwood', literally 'sandalwood from Fiji', now *ahi*.
jiale 'garland of *Cerbera* flowers', probably misidentification of *Gardenia*.
mafaga 'fruit of *Eugenia* sp', unidentifiable.
māhoaɔa 'fruit of *Inocarpus edulis*', now '*Tacca*, arrowroot', probably a misidentification.
moli 'grapefruit', probably 'shaddock' (pomelo); Anderson 'shaddock', Mariner 'shaddock; also the citron',[33] now all Citrus spp.
muɔui 'kind of tree providing dye', unidentifiable.
ogoogo 'kind of palm', presumably *Cycas*; now *logologo*.

Fauna

hega 'small blue-headed budgerigar', now 'small yellowish canary-like bird; small blue parrot found only on Niuafoʻou'. Watling's *Guide to the Birds of Fiji and Western Polynesia* does not list *hega* as a Tongan bird name, but gives *hegehega* as Tongan for the blue-crowned lory (*Vini australis*).[34] This suggests that the name *hega* was used for *Vini* in the 18th century, but has since been replaced or supplemented by *hegehega*.
palo 'rat'; also given by Anderson, in addition to the current *kumā*.[35] Recent archaeological evidence suggests that, in addition to *Rattus exulans* (the Polynesian rat), *Rattus praetor* (the large spiny rat) was present in Lau, eastern Fiji, during early human occupation.[36] The recording of two Tongan terms for rat raises the possibility that the spiny rat was also in Tonga and survived until the 18th century.
tū 'kind of copper-coloured pigeon, *Columba aenea*', now 'Friendly Ground-dove, *Gallicolumba stairi*'.[37]
ɔuoɔuo 'lobster', now *ɔuo*.

Body parts and functions

fagu 'sneeze'; also Anderson but Mariner *mafatua*,[38] now 'blow one's nose'.
kumu 'beard'; Anderson *kumukumu* 'beard',[39] now *kava*, cf. *kumukumu* 'chin'.
lemu 'hips'; Forster 'Ar-S', Mariner, 'Hip (rather the buttocks)',[40] now 'rectum, anus'.
logufaia 'ring finger'.

mijimiji 'coition (act of)'; also Samwell, but cf. Anderson, 'to suck as a child. To suck water from a Cocoa nut',[41] now 'suck'. The notably libidinous Welsh surgeon Samwell might, like the French naturalist La Billardière, have been less coy in acknowledging sexual relations with Indigenous women than were the more prudish English or the Scot Anderson.
tauloto 'middle finger', now 'middle'.

Society, kinship

agi 'music', perhaps misunderstanding of *agi* 'to lead'.
fagutua 'wrestle'; Anderson *fagutua*, *fagatua*, now *fagatua*.
faʔē 'sister', now 'mother', probably misunderstanding.
foena 'my brother'; Anderson *fohena* 'son, brother'.[42]
hiva 'dance'; Anderson, 'a song',[43] now 'sing'.
liaki 'kind of game played with the fingers', now 'swing, toss, fling'.
muʔa 'chief of a district or family; second class chief', now '(in former times) high chief's attendant'.
tama 'child', now 'child, esp son'.
tamajiʔi 'child, esp girl', now *tamasiʔi* 'child, esp boy'.
taʔokete 'older son', now 'same sex elder sibling'.
tuofefine 'oldest daughter', now 'male's older sister'.
ʔohoana 'marry, have a wife'; Mariner 'a spouse, to marry',[44] now 'wife (obsolete)'.

Houses

ava 'window, hole'; Anderson *ava* 'window, hole',[45] now 'hole'.
tofoifu 'ridge of house or shed', now *toʔufufū*.
ʔato 'large shed', perhaps misunderstanding; Anderson *ato e fale*, 'roof of a house', Mariner *ato* 'to roof, to thatch',[46] now 'thatch, roof'

Canoes and Sailing

foheʔalo 'to paddle'
kakaʔa, kakaha 'a paddle'
ʔalo 'to paddle'

Weapons

kai 'log-shaped club'.
kaifana, fana 'bow'; Forster *fana* 'bow', Samwell *kaufana* 'bow', Mariner *ʔakaufana* 'bow',[47] now *kaufana*; cf. *kaho* 'reed, arrow'; Anderson and Samwell.[48]
maui (form uncertain), *tao* 'spear', now only *tao.*
taopitu 'bamboo spear'; borrowed from Fijian *bitu* 'bamboo', cf. *pitu* 'yellow bamboo'.
toki 'spade-shaped club'; probably misunderstanding, since many early visitors recorded *toki* for 'axe'.
ʔakau 'club', now *ʔakautā*.
ʔulumata 'arrow', now *gahau*; a loan from Fijian *gasau*, so *'ulumata*—possibly *ʔulumatā* or *ʔulumataʔa*—may be an earlier name for an Indigenous type of arrow that was superceded by the Fijian form, possibly composed of *ʔulu* 'head' and the now obsolete *matā/mataʔa* 'obsidian'.

Other Indigenous artefacts

fohu, fou 'tool made of shark's teeth'; *fofo* 'to pierce, make a hole' (probably *foufou* or *fohufohu*); Anderson *fou* 'gimlet, or shark's tooth, used for that purpose'.[49]
kulo 'jar for storing or drinking water; earthenware pot'; Anderson *kulo* 'globular earthen pot, or vessel';[50] borrowed from Fijian *kuro* 'pot', now only 'pot'.
laulau 'mother-of-pearl', now 'tray'
mimiha 'pan's pipes'; Anderson *mimiha* 'a reed or small organ',[51] now 'mouth-organ'.
monumanu 'inflated pig's bladder'
nofoa 'seat'; Anderson *nofoa* 'a seat', Mariner *nofoa* 'chair or bench to sit on',[52] Samoa *nofoa* 'seat, chair'.
taka 'fishing line', now only *afo*.
tui, hui 'needle'; Anderson *tui* 'needle',[53] now only *hui*.

Tattooing

alapeka 'tattoo in broad bands round the waist'.
fui 'tattoo on the thigh'.
kafa 'tattoo like a wart'.
lafo 'tattoo like a freckle on the face'.
latetatau 'tattooing instrument'.
male tatau 'tattooing'; now *male* 'tap on the head'.
tafa 'other kind of tattoo'; Anderson *tafa* 'raised marks burnt, to cut'.[54]
tai 'tattooing in concentric circles on the arms and shoulders'.
tatau 'black mark on the body'; Anderson *tatau* 'puncturation'.[55]

Ornaments

lei 'ear ornament'; now 'whale's tooth, ivory'.
mate 'burn on the face'.
pala 'crown of red feathers'.
pulau 'red feather headdress'.
tuki 'mark on the cheeks from being struck'.

Food

mahi 'fruit of *Tacca* [arrowroot]'; probably misidentification, cf. Wilson *mahi* 'sour paste';[56] Samoan *masi* 'fermented breadfruit', East Uvea *mahi* 'fermented breadfruit or bananas', etc.
pupuatahi 'salt'; also Anderson; replaced by Fijian borrowing *māsima*, recorded by Mariner.[57]

Introduced artefacts

fana 'musket ball, firearm'; cf. *kaufana* 'bow', now 'to shoot'.[58]
ipu 'spoon, cup'; now 'cup'
kahoa 'glass beads, necklace of glass beads'; Anderson 'bead, necklace', Samwell 'beads', Mariner 'necklace',[59] now 'necklace, garland hung round neck'.

kumete 'our plates'; Samwell 'a wooden dish',[60] now 'kava bowl'. Jan Tent and I proposed that this word was borrowed from Dutch *kommetje* 'small bowl' in the 17th century, most likely from Tasman. The fact that it is found in most of Polynesia might be taken as an argument against this etymology, but it may also conversely testify to the continuing long distance voyaging capabilities of Polynesians after the general reduction of such voyages around the 14th century.[61]

pāpālagi 'any clothing; European clothes'; Forster 'cloth, English, or any piece of our dress', Samwell 'our cloth', Mariner, 'white people; Europeans; also European manufactures, such as cloth, linen, &c.',[62] now 'European, belonging to any white-skinned race'. Tent and I used such evidence to argue that *pāpālagi* in Fijian, Rotuman, and Western Polynesian languages originally denoted various European manufactures.[63] Mariner's usage was probably on the cusp of the term's semantic shift from signifying European goods to Europeans themselves.

pipi, helekoji 'pair of scissors'; Anderson *pipi* 'scissors',[64] now only *helekosi*, cf. *pipi* 'kind of bivalve shellfish'. Tongans applied the word *pipi* to scissors by extension from their usage of a bivalve shell to shave their faces, a practice described by La Billardière.[65]

puloga 'our hats'; Mariner *puloga* 'hat, cap',[66] now 'ceremonial covering'.

tute 'a kind of linen' (perhaps named after Captain Cook, whose Tongan name was Tute).

ukamea, fehi 'iron'; now only *ukamea*, cf. *fehi* 'kind of hardwood tree, *Intsia bijuga*'.

Conclusion

Given the brevity of their stay in Tonga, the savants and mariners of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition achieved remarkable success in their self-appointed task of documenting Tongan words and phrases. The value of the vocabularies they collected is enhanced by the timing of the French visit, at the midpoint of the four decades after 1773 during which—in the distant wake of very fleeting 17th-century Dutch passages—a growing body of linguistic materials was accumulated in the context of intensifying Indigenous encounters with seaborne or briefly resident Europeans. The historically rich lexicons communicated by Tongans and recorded with varying precision by visitors hint at longstanding local readiness to appropriate novel things or ideas. These wordlists throw useful anticipatory light on the linguistic, material, social, and environmental transformations of the ensuing two centuries.

This chapter in this book can only sample a small proportion of the lexical details recorded by the French and reflect only in passing on their implications. Similarly, the rich comparative potential for historical linguistics offered by differences in French, English, and Spanish phonology is here limited to citations from English wordlists, while Spanish materials have perforce been omitted entirely. These themes await my indepth comparative linguistic analysis in a specialist forum.

Notes

1 Anon., [Vocabulaires]; Gicquel Destouches, [Vocabulaires], ANF (MAR 5 JJ 1[4]); La Billardière, 'Vocabulaire de la langue des îles des Amis', in *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II, Tables:47–57; Rossel, 'Vocabulaire de la langue des habitans des îles des Amis', in Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:557–72.

2 Le Maire, 'Spieghel der Australische Navigatie …', in *Nieuwe Werelt, anders ghenaempt West-Indien* (Amsterdam, 1622):fol. 84–5; Sharp, ed., *The voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman* (Oxford, 1968):149–71.

3 These figures are tallied from selected published materials only: Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook …* (Cambridge, 1955–74), III:1045–8; Blixen, 'Vocabulario de la lengua de las islas del Señor de Mayorga (Vava'u), compuesto durante la estadia de la fragata Princesa, en 1781', *Moana: estudios de antropología* 1:8 (1976); Cook and King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean …* (London, 1784), III:531–42; J.R. Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage Round the World …* (London, 1778):facing 284; Lanyon-Orgill, ed., *Captain Cook's South Sea Island Vocabularies* (London, 1979):63–6, 141–53; Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands …* (London, 1817), 2 vols; (2nd edition, London, 1818), 2 vols; [Vason], *An Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Residence at Tongataboo …* (London, 1810); Viana, *Diario de Viaje* (Montevideo, 1958), 2 vols; [Wilson], ed., *A Missionary Voyage … in the Years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff* (London, 1799):97–111, 227–85.

4 Geraghty, 'Fijian Dialect Diversity and Foreigner Talk', in *Fijian Language Studies …* (Suva, 1978):51–67.

5 Following the usual linguistic conventions, angled brackets < > indicate spelling; square brackets [ ] indicate phonetic transcription; slanting brackets / / indicate phonemic transcription; and asterisk * indicates a reconstructed form (one that is believed to have been spoken in the past but for which there is no written record).

6 I have compiled a separate complete listing of spelling conventions used in these French vocabularies for each Tongan phoneme.

7 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:314.

8 Thevenard [Ministre de la Marine], 'Etat sommaire des livres de voyage, de navigation, de phisique, d'histoire naturelle et autres remises à M. d'Entrecasteaux …', n.d., in SHD, 'Expédition du contre-amiral d'Entrecasteaux …', 1785–1810 (MAR BB[4] 992).

9 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:300.

10 Beaglehole, *Journals*, III:956.

11 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:539; Lanyon-Orgill, *Vocabularies*:64; [Wilson], *Missionary Voyage*:264.

12 Clark, *Aspects of Proto-Polynesian Syntax* (Auckland, 1976):23.

13 Beaglehole, *Journals*, III:1047; Forster, *Observations*:facing 284; Martin, 'A Vocabulary, Tonga and English', in *An Account* (1817), II:[413] ff.

14 Vava'u might have been slower to adopt vowel assimilation, hence forms such as *fafine* recorded by Mariner, who spent most of his time in Tonga in Vava'u. Personal communication, Wendy Pond, 2013.

15 Tasman, 'Journael …', 31 January 1643, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag http://proxy.handle.net/10648/d7c4ff83-af91-4443-b1fc-d2df3d075aa1

16 Sharp, *Voyages*:165–6.

17 Beaglehole, *Journals*, III:103, 162, 866.

18 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:531.

19 Churchward, *Tongan Grammar* (Oxford, 1953):1.

20 Ibid.

21 West, *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia* (London, 1865):455–6.
22 Beaglehole, *Journals*, III:1047; Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:531; Forster, *Observations*:facing 284; Martin, *An Account* (1817), II:389.
23 Churchward, *Tongan Grammar*:171.
24 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:532; Martin, *An Account* (1817), II:389–91.
25 Martin, 'A Grammar of the Tonga Language', in *An Account* (1818):[345] ff; Harrison and Jackson, 'Higher Numerals in several Micronesian Languages', in *Studies in Micronesian Linguistics* (Canberra, 1984):61, 67.
26 Churchward, *Tongan Grammar*:304.
27 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:115, 128, 138.
28 Geraghty, 'Fijian Dialect Diversity and Foreigner Talk'.
29 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:537; Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1817); West, *Ten Years*:481–8.
30 Churchward, *Tongan Dictionary* (Nuku'alofa, 1959). When in doubt, I checked with my Tongan-speaking colleague Tilisi Bryce, whom I here thank specifically.
31 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:538.
32 Collocott, 'Supplementary Tongan vocabulary …', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 34:3 (1925):202.
33 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:531; Martin, 'A Vocabulary, Tonga and English', in *An Account* (1818), II.
34 Watling, *A Guide to the Birds of Fiji and Western Polynesia*…(Suva, 2001):128, 161.
35 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:533, 535.
36 White, Clark, and Bedford, 'Distribution, Present and Past, of *Rattus praetor* in the Pacific and its Implications', *Pacific Science* 54:2 (2000):105–17.
37 Watling, *Guide*:117.
38 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:532; Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1817).
39 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:532.
40 Lanyon-Orgill, *Vocabularies*:63; Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1817).
41 Beaglehole, *Journals*, III:956, 1034; Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:539.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.:540.
44 Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1818).
45 Cook and King, *Voyage*:536.
46 Ibid.:532; Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1817).
47 Ibid.; Beaglehole, *Journals*, III:1045.
48 Ibid.; Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:532
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.:535.
51 Ibid.:532.
52 Ibid.; Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1817).
53 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:533.
54 Ibid.:531, 532.
55 [Anderson], 'A Table, Exhibiting, at one View, Specimens of Different Languages Spoken in the South Sea …', in Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World* … (London, 1777), II:facing 364.
56 [Wilson], *Missionary Voyage*:241.
57 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:537; Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1817).
58 See notes above on 'bow' and 'arrow'.
59 Beaglehole, *Journals*, III:1047; Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:531; Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1817)
60 Beaglehole, *Journals*, III:1045.
61 Geraghty and Tent, 'From Lowlands to Islands: Dutch Loans in Polynesia,' in *Borrowing: A Pacific Perspective* (Canberra, 2004):127–30.
62 Beaglehole, *Journals*, III:1045; Lanyon-Orgill, *Vocabularies*:63; Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1817).
63 Tent and Geraghty, 'Exploding Sky or Exploded Myth? The Origin of Papālagi', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 110:2 (2001):171–214.
64 Cook and King, *Voyage*, III:534.
65 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:120.
66 Martin, 'Vocabulary' (1817).

CHAPTER 15

Tongan Musical Instruments

FANNY WONU VEYS, BILLIE LYTHBERG,

AND RACHEL HAND WITH

TAVAKE-FAI-'ANA SEMISI FETOKAI POTAUAINE

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Walking in small villages of the Tongan archipelago on a Sunday, one is immediately drawn to the sounds of polyphonic hymn singing, heard through the open windows of the numerous churches. The harmonies characterizing Tongan music and singing were also noticed by La Billardière, the botanist on Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, during multiple musical encounters with the inhabitants of Tongatapu.[1] He described musical engagements which resulted in instruments changing hands, with judgements of affect and aesthetic quality expressed by both Tongans and Frenchmen. 'King *Toubau*' (Tupou, Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui), for example, was gifted a serinette,[2] a barrel organ used to teach tunes to canaries (*serin*), the whimsy of which Tongan audiences were said to have much preferred to a performance of French singing accompanied by violin and cittern.[3] For his part, La Billardière reported an 'extremely monotonous duet' played on bamboo flutes by the daughters of Toubau, but was 'amused' by their using their noses to make these sounds.[4] La Billardière also described hearing what we believe is the Tongan 'minor' note, a defining characteristic of 18th-century Tongan music, though it seemed discordant to his ear, as well as to that of missionaries who would eventually dissuade Tongans from its use.[5] Favourable overall, La Billardière's comments confirmed the late 18th-century European belief that Tongan music, followed closely by Aotearoa-New Zealand Māori music, was the most developed and refined in the Pacific Islands.[6]

This chapter describes the four surviving 18th-century Tongan musical instruments so far identified with this voyage, as well as others detailed in journal accounts or sketches and engravings. Some are materializations of now archaic Tongan music and *faiva*, performance, celebrating the Tu'i Tonga, Tonga's paramount titleholder in the 18th century. After the primacy of the Tu'i Tonga was superseded in the 19th century, these performances were discontinued and associated instruments and regalia, such as the *sisi fale*, coconut fibre waist garment,[7] ceased to be produced. Their re-identification in European museum collections has led to some instruments being manufactured

Figure 15.1. Tongan tukipitu*, 'stamping tube', collected in Tongatapu and now held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 21).*

and sounded anew, reinvigorating interest in Tongan history-making and divine chieftainship and their material instantiations and transitions.

The 'stamping tube' in Bergen, 'clapping stick' in Leiden, and 'panpipe' in both Leiden and Dunkerque are examples of idiophones and aerophones. The former category describes instruments that produce sound from the material of the instrument itself without the assistance of reeds, strings, or other externally applied resonators (including drum skins), and the latter describes instruments in which a vibrating mass of air produces the sound. They survive to evince materiality and modes of behaviour associated with the Tu'i Tonga.

Idiophones—instruments for marking time

Among the first objects recorded in the handwritten catalogue of the Universitetsmuseet (University Museum) in Bergen, Norway, is a collection bought from the heir of Major-General Peter Anker in 1835.[8] These objects were purportedly collected in the 'Caledonian Islands' during the expedition of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. They included a length of bamboo 142 cm x 7.5 cm, bound tightly at its wider end and at eleven points along its length with plaited plant fibre cordage (Figure 15.1). Received with arrows packed inside, it was identified as a quiver. A label stuck to the open end, inscribed in faded black ink in a single hand, reads: 'Piler Kogger Fyld med --- / fra De Caledoniske oer Sydhavet / Cat; A-8-2-88' (Quiver filled with arrows --- / from the Caledonian Islands of the South Sea).

'Caledonian Islands' functioned here in much the same way as 'Otaheite' did for objects associated with the voyages of the British navigator James Cook: it is a generalization applied to objects collected more widely from the islands of the Pacific. The coconut fibre binding on this piece suggests Tongan origin. Though it is not commonly remembered today, Tongans were adept users of bows and arrows. La Billardière recorded their use in a story that today seems sweetly ironic. Determined to establish the superiority of French firepower and therefore take some steps towards ensuring the crews' safety whilst in Tonga, the French tied a cock to a pole and a crew member took aim with a double-barrelled firearm. La Billardière cites exposure to damp air as the cause of the multiple attempts required to dispatch the bird, after which a Tongan man shot another tied to the same pole with the release of just one long arrow fitted with three divergent points.[9] The naturalist observed: 'The arrow which had just been fired was more than three metres long; they also have smaller ones that are likewise held in bamboo quivers'.[10]

The cataloguing of the so-called 'quiver' held until 2014, when a casual discussion between the authors raised another possibility. An object labelled an African quiver in Dublin had recently been determined by Rachel Hand to be a Tongan 'stamping tube',[11] a percussive instrument used throughout Polynesia but long since disappeared from the Tongan Islands, along with the *me'elaufola* dance it accompanied.[12]

Stamping tubes were seen by Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and his crew. La Billardière described them and the *me'elaufola* dance thus:

> On our right, towards the northeast, were 13 musicians seated in the shade of a breadfruit tree … who sang together, taking different parts. Four held in their hands a bamboo a metre to a metre and a half long, with which they struck the ground to mark time; the longest bamboo sometimes served to keep the meter. The sounds made by these instruments approximated those of a tabor, and they kept the following proportions: the two middle-sized bamboos were in unison; the longer was a note and a half below; and the shortest two and a half notes higher. The musician who sang the countertenor pitched his voice far above all the others, although his voice was a little hoarse; he accompanied himself at the same time by beating with two small *casuarina* sticks on a bamboo six metres long and split along all its length. Three musicians placed in front of the others endeavoured to express the subject of their song by evidently well rehearsed gestures, since they repeated them together in the same way. From time to time, they turned towards the king, making not ungraceful arm movements; at other times they bent their heads quickly to their chests and shook them several times, etc. etc.[13]

La Billardière was describing what John Webber, the draughtsman on Cook's third voyage, portrayed in two drawings of 'night' dances performed by men and women in Lifuka (Haʻapai), on 20 May 1777.[14] In both Webber drawings, the central figures are holding long tubes with parallel lines at regular intervals, which they are beating against the ground. Several of Webber's shipmates wrote eyewitness accounts of the instruments accompanying these dances.[15] William Mariner, the teenage English survivor of the shipwrecked *Port au Prince* who lived in Tonga from 1806–10, offered a more detailed description of their composition:

> The musical instruments consisted of seven or eight bamboos of different lengths and sizes, (from three to six feet long) so as to produce, held in the middle, and one end struck on the ground, different notes, according to the intended tune (all the knots being cut out of the bamboo, and one end plugged up with soft wood).[16]

Supposing the hollow bamboo tube had simply been packed with arrows for more convenient transportation at sea, might it be possible that the 'quiver' in Bergen is a musical instrument? The ethnomusicologist of Polynesia Richard Moyle supported this hypothesis and suggested examining the bound end of the bamboo in Bergen for signs of wear commensurate with its being pounded against the ground.[17] Following

Figure 15.2. Tongan clapping stick in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-6).

an email exchange to convey this possibility, Knut Rio, chair of the Cultural History collections at Bergen's Universitetsmuseet, retrieved the object from storage, examined it carefully, and found such marks of wear. He was thus able to confirm the likelihood that in Bergen there was a Tongan stamping tube to complement Dublin's—the only other extant example in the world. The stamping tubes in Bergen and Dublin represent opposing ends of a pitch range—the shorter item in Dublin (62.1 cm long x 9.2 cm diameter) producing a higher pitch than the longer one in Bergen. Europeans unanimously described their music as unexpectedly beautiful given the simplicity of the instruments.[18]

The stamping tube complements another very rare Tongan musical instrument—a clapping stick held in the Museum Volkenkunde – Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen in Leiden (Figure 15.2). It is a hardwood stick with a separate sliver running its entire length, held in place in this case by metal pins through holes at both ends—instead of a sennit cord—allowing movement and a resulting, percussive sound. The clapping stick was identified by Moyle as an instrument used during the now extinct *he'a* dance.[19] The name and movements of this dance were reported by Mariner, including the use of the clapping stick:

> The chorus is composed of ten or twelve of the chiefs or principal matabooles [*matāpule,* chiefly herald], in the middle of whom sits one who beats time upon a loose flat piece of hard wood, about three feet long, and an inch and a half square, fastened only at one end upon another similar piece: this is struck by two small sticks, one in each hand, and produced a rattling sound.[20]

Moyle has located only three other Tongan clapping sticks: two at the Auckland Museum originate from the assemblage of the early 20th-century collector William Oldman;[21] and a third is held by the Museo di Numismatica, Etnografia e Art Orientali (Museum of Numismatics, Ethnography, and Oriental Art) in Turin.[22] Unlike the Auckland Museum and Turin instruments, the Leiden piece has no whale ivory inlay but is extensively carved. Moreover, the surface decoration is easily recognizable as Tongan, displaying figurative motifs within a firm gridlike background pattern, a zoning which characterizes Tongan surface carving.[23]

We suggest that La Billardière provided an indirect description of the use of the clapping stick in the long quotation above: in his most explicit reference to harmony, he explained that the countertenor accompanying the dancing kept time by beating two small ironwood sticks on a six metre long split bamboo tube.[24] This account and its context are so similar to Mariner's that it seems certain that the instruments described were interchangeable.

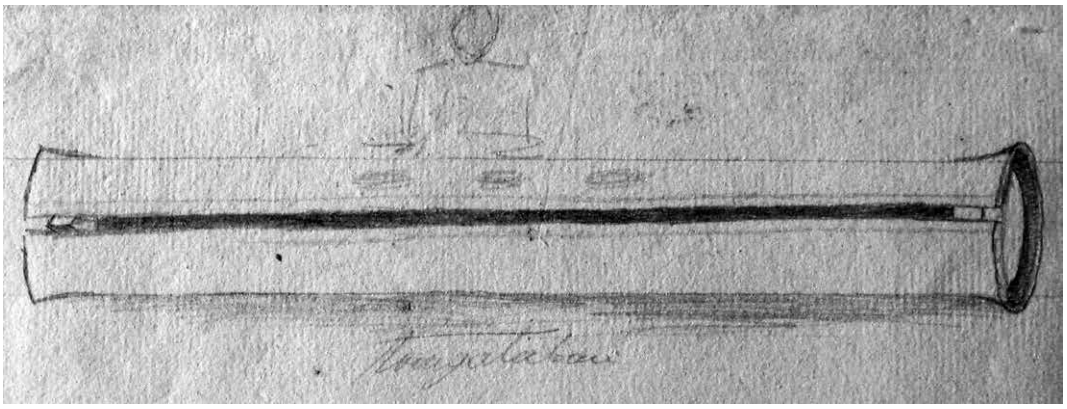

Figure 15.3. Piron's sketch of a Tongan instrument, held in the Archives nationales de France. 'Tongatabou', [1793], pencil on paper (MAR 5 JJ 5[2]).

Evidence of other idiophones is conveyed through illustration. An ambiguous but suggestive skeleton sketch by the artist Piron (Figure 15.3) shows a thin-skinned cylinder, with slightly flared ends and a precise fissure running its entire length. The cylinder is blocked at each end by a partition wall; one partition appears to have been shaped so that an angled point protrudes through the cleft itself. Though this may be a *nafa*, slit drum, as described below, it may possibly instead depict a 'split bamboo'—the bare sketch leaves much room for interpretation. The hint of a figure sitting behind the instrument implies a proportion that would invalidate the bamboo hypothesis, but it is evident from an examination of Piron's sketches as a corpus that he sometimes combined elements of different views in order to test compositions or used blank spaces on his sketching paper to practise or doodle.

Another field sketch by Piron, labelled 'Vue d'une fete de Tongatabou' (Scene of a Tongan entertainment) (Figure 15.4), appears to depict two long *nafa*, slit drum, in the foreground, each with five people arranged at either side along its length and one person at each end. Bare to the waist and with well-defined musculature, the figures must be male. At the drum depicted more precisely on the left of the scene, three men hold sticks aloft in their right hands. Beyond them, two quickly outlined figures appear to be dancing with objects in their hands, flanked by two curved rows of standing figures, with a semicircle of seated figures, probably women, further beyond again. It takes little effort to see in this working drawing a performance of the *me'etu'upaki*, standing dance with paddles, described by Cook and his companions and itemized by Moyle:

a. the drums were played in pairs or groups of three, each instrument beaten with two sticks, hit in different areas and with differing degrees of force.
b. They formed part of the accompaniment to a dance by men who wielded paddle-shaped clubs.
c. They were placed separate from the dancers, and surrounded by a group of singers who also accompanied the dance.[25]

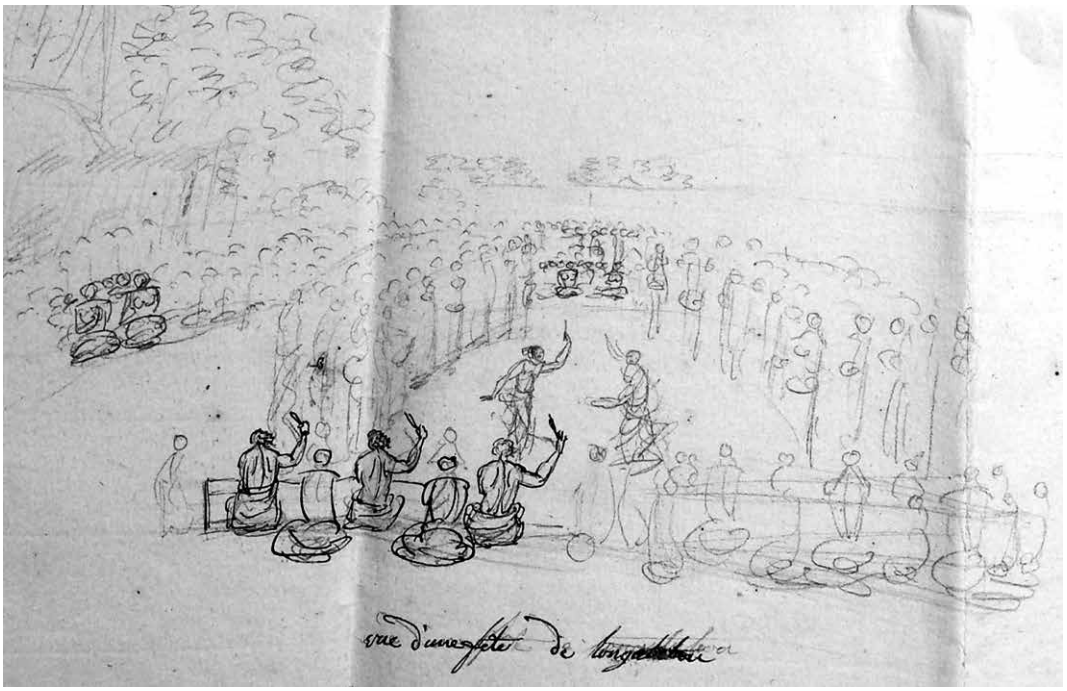

Figure 15.4. Detail of Piron's field sketch of an entertainment given for the French in Tongatapu. 'Vue d'une fête de tongatabou', held in the Archives nationales de France, [1793], pencil and pen on paper (MAR 5 JJ 5[2]).

Bruni d'Entrecasteaux described just such a dance, in which the dancers 'all had a little paddle', while Piron depicted it in a yet another field sketch (see Figure 18.1).[26] The Universitetsmuseet in Bergen holds one such paddle which is convincingly attributed to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition (see Figure 7.4). Unlike the stamping tubes, clapping stick, and split bamboo instruments, *nafa* remained in use in Tonga beyond the 19th century and the *me'etu'upaki* continued to be performed.

Aerophones—breath activated instruments

Bamboo was also used to make aerophones, including *mimiha*, panpipe, and *fangufangu*, nose-flute. La Billardière described a panpipe in detail: 'These people have invented a kind of pan flute which differs from that of Europe only in the relation of the sounds; all the pipes give full and not very extended notes, the highest forms a fourth with the lowest'. He added: 'we bought several of these flutes'.[27]

According to Moyle, this passage is the best extant description of the instrument's tuning and Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition was the last to collect *mimiha*.[28] Originally classified as 'Brazilian ?', a panpipe held in Leiden (Figure 15.5) resembles in its lashing and ten pipes the known examples from Cook voyages. The anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler established that 18th-century examples are distinctive in having nine or ten pipes.[29] However, the graduated arrangement of the Leiden instrument differs from other early descriptions and specimens, all of which have a straight top

Figure 15.5. Tongan mimiha*, panpipe, in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-15).*

line and an irregular bottom line. Moreover, there is only one clearly bevelled pipe on the Leiden example, whereas other early instruments are usually dented on all the blowing holes. Another panpipe in the collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC in Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.1287, see Figure 5.7) has the same graduated arrangement as the Leiden instrument, but has only six bevelled pipes instead of the anticipated nine or ten, and is very much smaller—perhaps suggesting that it was made for use by a child. The possibility that either or both these panpipes were acquired during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition potentially resolves an absence noted by Kaeppler in the 1970s: 'None of these can be located'.[30]

It is not clear by whom and in what context *mimiha* were used. Moreover, there is no evidence as to their relationship to other aerophones such as the nose-flute or *fangufangu*,[31] a chiefly instrument made from a bamboo cylinder, sealed at both ends by intact nodes and, like the *mimiha*, often decorated with pyrographic motifs. Although physical examples of *fangufangu* have not yet been identified in any of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections, the instrument figures in two plates published in La Billardière's *Atlas* of the voyage. Both were engraved by Copia from drawings by Piron. A plate entitled 'Double pirogue des îles des Amis' (Double canoe of the Friendly Islands) (Figure 15.6) depicts a young women on the upper deck holding what must be a nose-flute. Though the object itself is too slender and tapered to be an accurate rendition of a *fangufangu*, the fact that it is touching the woman's nose surely means that it was intended to represent a nose flute. Her female companions appear to be

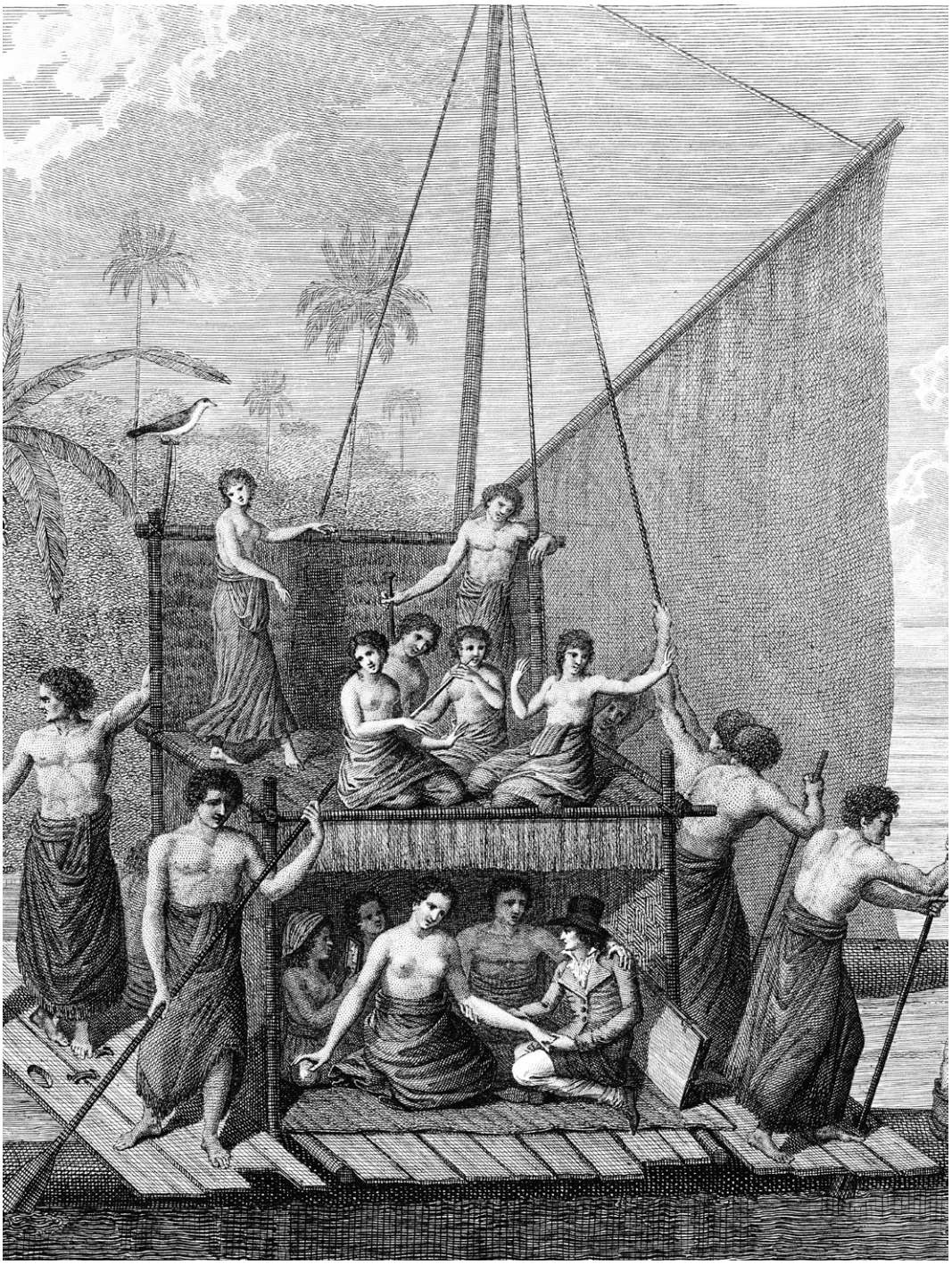

Figure 15.6. Detail of plate 28 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting a young woman on a canoe, probably playing a nose-flute. Copia after Piron, 'Double pirogue des îles des Amis', 1800, engraving.*

executing the moves of a Tongan seated dance, presumably to the tune being played. The other plate, entitled 'Danse des îles des Amis, en présence de la reine Tiné' (Dance of the Friendly Islands in the presence of Queen Tiné) (see Figure 17.2),[32] provides more detail in its depiction of a nose flute held firmly in the right hand of the man directing the dance, known to the French as Fatafé (probably Fuanunuiava).[33] This engraving shows clearly the positioning of the nose and tuning holes, which conform to the expected characters of 18th-century *fangufangu*.[34]

Re-awakening archaic musical instruments

Tongan academic Hūfanga 'Okusitino Māhina and his nephew *Tavake-fai-'ana* Semisi Fetokai Potauaine are members of a group of Tongan musicians and philosophers recreating 18th-century instruments (Figure 15.7). The group, led by music director Tu'ifonualava Kaivelata, was first named Fangufangu Minoa 'O Tonga (Minor Sound Nose-Flute Of Tonga)—because the *fangufangu* produces a characteristically 'minor' sound, tune or note, fundamental to Tongan musical instruments in particular and Tongan music in general—and later changed to Ongo Minoa 'O Tonga (Minor Sound Of Tonga).[35] The *fangufangu* was the first instrument to be remade and reactivated. More recently, *mimiha* have also been revitalized, the new examples reproducing both the irregular bottom lines seen in most 18th-century examples and the regular arrangement of the examples discussed here.

Potauaine reports that gentle but direct breathing techniques are required to draw sound from these bamboo aerophones, which are intricately linked to breathing as a manifestation of life force. The nose-flute is of particular interest here. La Billardière described not only the means by which the *fangufangu* are sounded but also a greeting practice whereby women touch the tips of their noses together.[36] Such a greeting survives in Aotearoa-New Zealand as the Māori *hongi* and is a sharing of both breath and life force. The name *fangufangu* is a reduplication of *fangu*, literally to sneeze, an act associated with vitality. The act of waking up someone from their sleep is called *fafangu*. There are records of chiefs being awakened by their guards and attendants with a tune from a *fangufangu*, so the act of awakening is also associated with this instrument. This definition was transferred to church bells used by missionaries to awaken their Tongan congregations and later to all bells.

Māhina and Potauaine have been contributing to the remaking of stamping tubes following a visit by Māhina to Bergen in 2015 to examine and gently test the percussive qualities of the example held there. It is notable that, despite almost identical instruments continuing to be made and used in other parts of the Pacific, it was not until a Tongan example could be re-identified and reconnected to the living face of the Tongan archive that attempts to reconstruct these instruments began.

The stamping tubes presented new challenges to the makers of the bamboo aerophones, including sourcing bamboo at a much larger scale and of the right lengths, diameters, and thicknesses for different pitches. Following the acquisition of appropriate materials, close examination of the historical instrument in Bergen has enabled masterful recreation and stamping tubes are now being heard again after two centuries of extirpation from Tonga.

Figure 15.7. Hūfanga ʻOkusitino Māhina and Tavake-fai-ʻana *Semisi Fetokai Potauaine reactivate Tongan musical instruments in Auckland, 9 March 2018.*

The musical instruments associated with the Tuʻi Tonga inspired types of formalized behaviour and collectivity, where the individual was subsumed. Performers in today's *lakalaka*, large formal group dances where the dancers stand still and gesture with their arms, still draw on such modes of collective performativity to harmonize their movements.

Such collective workings and their connection to Tongan history offer a unique lens on present day Tongan sensibilities. Potauaine, whose title Tavake-fai-ʻana recalls family connections to the renowned 18th-century titleholder Fīnau ʻUlukālala-ʻi-Maʻofanga (see Figures 17.4, 17.5), has described a collapsing of temporal distance that occurs when he and fellow Tongans assume the names of their ancestors in formal kava ceremonies. The bearer of a title 'becomes the title encompassing all of the preceding holders of it'; the ancestors are present through their descendants.[37] In their experiences of reawakening the stamping tubes, Māhina and Potauaine report an 'intuitive, embodied response: a group of eight people using instruments they have never played before can easily fall into a natural harmony, even though they are not working with a musical score or conductor'.[38]

No Tongan name was ever recorded for what are prosaically referred to here, and throughout the literature to date, as 'stamping tubes'.[39] However, based on their coming together to recreate, play, and experiment with the stamping tubes, Māhina, Potauaine and their colleagues have suggested three names for these instruments, which have been 're-remembered' since their rediscovery and re-awakening:

> *Tukipotu*—which had survived as the term used to describe the *tuki*, pounding, of a *tutua*, barkcloth anvil, with an *ike,* barkcloth-beating mallet, to *potu*, end, a period of mourning;
> *Tukifala*—which describes a length of bamboo wrapped in a *fala*, mat—different types of *fala* being used to produce different tones;
> *Tukipitu*—which describes a short section of processed bamboo known as *pitu* (from the Fijian *bitu*).[40]

These names employ a linguistic model whereby the verb *tuki*, to pound, is modified by a descriptive suffix. *Tukipitu* has been adopted as the generic name for this percussive instrument complex. *Tukifala* seems to recall an idiophone described as the *tafua*, a floor mat rolled around lengths of bamboo and beaten with two sticks.[41] *Tukipotu* is a reminder that the beating of bark into cloth is itself considered to be a percussive art in Tonga. Barkcloth beating is suspended during periods of mourning and resumes only after the *tukipotu* has been sounded; thereafter, women resume their beating and fall into natural rhythms with others nearby, much like the members of a stamping tube orchestra.[42]

Conclusion

The four musical instruments now re-associated with the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux are exceptional instances of late 18th-century material culture and materializations of now obsolete Tongan music and dance. In Tonga and the Tongan diaspora, newly made instruments are being used in public performances, marking time and breath, celebrating a reconnection to history and a revitalized materiality which emphasizes the sound, movement, and physicality of these rediscovered objects. In September 2017, Māhina was Master of Ceremonies at a performance to close Tongan Language week in Auckland, Aotearoa-New Zealand. Together with Tu'ifonualava Kaivelata and Taniela Kaivelata, he led a recital by the Kanokupolu cultural performance group and members of the Ongo Minoa 'O Tonga. Instruments included *fangufangu, tukipitu*, *mimiha*, and newly made *'utete*, a type of 'jaw harp' made from coconut leaflet or bamboo—yet another example of a revitalized archaic instrument. The repertoire continues to expand and now includes *kele'a*, conch shell, as well as modern *nafa* and *lali* drums.

We can only speculate that, following these successes, the clapping stick must surely await its own revival and perhaps in the process will also regain its Tongan name.

Notes

1 La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II:124–25, 130, 134, 152–53, 162.
2 Ibid.:115–17.
3 Ibid.:124.
4 Ibid.:152.
5 Ibid.:130. Personal communication, Hūfanga ʻOkusitino Māhina, March 2018, for information about the minor note.
6 Irving, 'The Pacific in the Minds and Music of Enlightenment Europe', *Eighteenth Century Music* 2 (2005):210–11.
7 Chapter 4, feature.
8 Chapter 6.
9 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:107–8.
10 Ibid.:108.
11 Hand, '"A Number of Highly Interesting Objects Collected by the Late Captain Cook": The Cook-Voyage Collections of Trinity College Dublin (now in the National Museum of Ireland) and their Exhibition, 1777–2006', in *Cook-Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland, 1771–2015* (Oxford, 2015):123–190. An illustration in Kenelm Henry Digby's manuscript was vital for the re-identification and reconnecting of the Dublin stamping tube to its Cook voyage origins: 'The Naturalists Companion …', 1812–17:214, SLNSW (SAFE/PXE 869).
12 Moyle, 'Tongan Musical Instruments (Concluded)', *Galpin Society Journal* 30 (1977):95.
13 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:134–5.
14 William Sharp after Webber, 'A Night Dance by Men, in Hapaee'; 'A Night Dance by Woman, in Hapaee', in Cook and King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean …* (London, 1784), I: plates 16, 17. See NLA http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135723711; http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136182363
15 For example, William Anderson in Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook …* (Cambridge, 1955–74), III:875; Ellis, *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage …* (London, 1782), I:99–100.
16 Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands …*(London, 1817), I:137.
17 Personal communication, Richard Moyle, 14 April 2014.
18 Moyle, 'Tongan Musical Instruments (Concluded)':96.
19 The *he'a* dance was described by a few 18th-century voyagers but disappeared from use in the early 19th century. Moyle, *Tongan Music* (Auckland, 1987):113.
20 Martin, *An Account*, II:329.
21 Auckland Museum (31630, Oldman 526; 31631, Oldman 525). Oldman, 'The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts: Tonga, Samoa and Fiji Groups', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 48:3 (1939):44; plate 64 (figs 525, 526). See also Moyle *Tongan Music*:73.
22 This clapping stick is illustrated in Meyer, *Oceanic Art/Ozeanische Kunst/Art océanien* (Cologne, 1995), I:481; also see St. Cartmail, *The Art of Tonga* (Honolulu, 1997):119. The BM holds one Samoan clapping stick (Oc,LMS.201).
23 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi ʻAkau …' (Norwich, 2007), I:254–382.
24 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:134.
25 Moyle, 'Tongan Musical Instruments (Concluded)':86.
26 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808):293–4; Piron, 'Danse de tongatabou', [1793], in [Esquisses], ANF (MAR 5 JJ 4).
27 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:162:
28 Moyle, *Tongan Music*:102–03.
29 Kaeppler, 'A Study of Tongan Panpipes with a Speculative Interpretation', *Ethnos* 39:2 (1974):109.
30 Ibid.:108.
31 Moyle, 'Tongan Musical Instruments', *Galpin Society Journal* 29 (1976):79.

32 La Billardière, *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800): plate 27.

33 See Chapter 17.

34 Moyle, 'Tongan Musical Instruments':79.

35 Personal communication, Hūfanga 'Okusitino Māhina, March 2018.

36 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:151.

37 Herda, Lythberg, Mills, and Taumoefolau, 'What's in a Name?: Reconstructing Nomenclature of Prestige and Persuasion in Late 18th-Century Tongan Material Culture', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 126:4 (2017):456.

38 Personal communication, *Tavake-fai-'ana* Semisi Fetokai Potauaine, April 2014.

39 Moyle, 'Tongan Musical Instruments (Concluded)':95.

40 Chapter 14.

41 Moyle, 'Tongan Musical Instruments (Concluded)':94–5.

42 Ibid.:98.

PART 4

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RE-INTERPRETATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS

CHAPTER 16

Cultural Currents—Tongan and Fijian sculpture

ANDY MILLS

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The artefact collections recently identified as having been gathered on the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, in combination with the naturalist La Billardière's published narrative,[1] and the drawings and engravings of objects seen during the voyage, allow us to identify an aesthetically refined and multicultural assemblage of sculptural works to be found on Tongatapu in 1793. Pacific historians may regret that such astute cultural observers remained there for just 19 days but the material culture acquired during this visit is rendered particularly valuable by that fact. Because they were obtained in southern Tonga at such a fixed time, they can be usefully compared with the collections made there during the British voyages of James Cook (1773–4 and 1777), as well as the almost exactly contemporaneous visit to Vava'u in northern Tonga by the Spanish expedition of Alejandro Malaspina.[2] Conversely, when La Billardière interviewed the traveller he knew as 'Vouacécé' in Tongatapu, he was inscribing the first named Fijian into written history.[3] And, like Vouacécé's descriptions of Fiji, the Fijian artefacts collected on the voyage foretold the appearance of a *terra incognita* for Europeans; it would be another decade before they experienced it firsthand. Alongside a handful of Cook voyage pieces similarly gathered in Tonga, these objects therefore constitute the known corpus of 18th-century Fijian art and several are the earliest documented examples of their art form. Because they were collected in Tonga, these objects also illustrate what Tongans were importing from Fiji in 1793.

In that period, Tongatapu's economic relationships with neighbouring island groups were particularly intensive because it was primarily Tongan *tufunga fo'u vaka*, boatbuilder, and *toutai*, mariner, who constituted the region's merchant marine. The majority of vessels were built, crewed, stocked, and navigated by Tongans.[4] The three large, adjacent archipelagos of Fiji in the west, Samoa in the east, and Tonga in the south, along with several smaller groups and individual islands in the north, constituted a holistic interaction sphere of cultural exchange, trade, and shared material culture. This engendered a rich blend of ethnicities in these plural, outward looking societies, each diversified by permanent minority communities and a constant flow of transient visitors.[5] Helu characterized the historical Fiji-Tonga-Samoa relationship as one of 'general distrust' and early Western scholars hypothesized a 'Tongan maritime

empire' in the region over recent centuries.[6] However, some more recent authorities on Polynesian cultures have contested this view.[7] Accounts of Tongan military conflict, tributary exaction, and settlement are certainly to be found in the histories of Fiji, Samoa, 'Uvea, Futuna, Rotuma, Niue, Tuvalu, Tokelau, and even the southern Solomon Islands.[8] However, these politico-military intrusions were rarely chronologically overlapping or undertaken in a centrally directed manner. Instead, it seems most appropriate to envisage an acephalous tangle of economic, sociocultural, political, and military encounters. Importantly, it was the driving force of Tongan economic transnationalism that engendered repeated political and military entanglements overseas, while Tongan culture itself was invariably more transformed by these activities than any other. The Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of sculptural works acquired in Tonga therefore shows a range of local innovations and transnational styles current in Tonga at the time.

A regional economy in luxury goods and services

Early models portrayed the regional economy as motivated wholly by a triangular trade in Fijian red *kula* parrot feathers, Tongan whale ivory, and Samoan fine mats.[9] In reality, a large and diverse set of commodities were in circulation during the 18th and 19th centuries.[10] Certain items were highly localized, such as stingray tailbones abundant only in 'Uvea, which Tongan merchant mariners supplied to Fiji for spearhead barbs. Similarly, golden cowrie and egg cowrie shells were comparatively abundant in Tonga but rare jewels commanding a high price in Fiji.[11] In general, however, the geology, flora, and fauna of Fiji were more diverse and plentiful than elsewhere and it is clear that both Tongans and Samoans often exchanged skilled specialist labour for Fijian resources, while seeking to exploit their own unique natural resources to the greatest advantage.

Known as the *gauna vakatoga*, Tongan period, a lengthy and profound process of Tongan immigration to the chiefdom of Lau (southeastern Fiji) occurred between the mid-16th and mid-19th centuries.[12] First initiated for economic reasons, chiefly intermarriage progressively led Lauan culture to acquire numerous Tongan characteristics: dialect, chiefly ceremony, medical techniques, kava drinking, magic, dance, song, vernacular architecture, the manner of dress, and barkcloth style were all Tonganized.[13] By the time of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's visit, traffic between Tonga and Lau was more regular and intensive than contact between Lau and western Fiji, or Tonga and any other part of the region.[14] Lau also became a stepping stone for Tongan immigration further into eastern and northern Fiji, which had itself reached society-transforming levels by the later 18th century. By 1842, when the paramount chief of Lau (Roko Taliai Tupou, himself part-Tongan) ordered all Tongans to return to their homeland, they were estimated to constitute 25–50% of his capital Lakeba's population.[15]

A significant number of the Tongan men in Lau during this period were shipwrights completing commissions. Lau possessed larger and richer forests than Tonga and by the late 18th century it was standard practice for Tongan boatbuilders to spend up to two years in Fiji completing a vessel before sailing it home.[16] Lau's community of skilled shipwrights had established a similar role and reputation within the Fijian economy, but it is unclear whether talk of 'Lauans' in the historical sources refers to Indigenous 'Fijian' *matai,* specialist, carpenters, immigrant 'Tongan' *tufunga*, artisan, or the many

bicultural Tongafisi people living in both archipelagos.[17] Given that the entire region was a complex mosaic of variably integrated chiefdoms at that time, it may not be a very meaningful question. Their principal creations were large vessels of *Intsia bijuga* wood (Fj. *vesi*, To. *fehi*). Some historical texts have erroneously suggested that the Tongans were simply buying their ships from the Lauans, as the Viti Levu mainlanders did.[18] However, around 1800 there were also permanent Tongan boatbuilding settlements at Somosomo, in the chiefdom of Cakaudrove, and on the lower reaches of the Rewa River, Viti Levu. It therefore seems unlikely that Tongans were buying Lauan boats on any significant scale.[19] The large asymmetrically double-hulled ship used for crossing between archipelagos was a regionally shared technology (To. *kalia*, Sam. *ʻalia*, Fj. *drua*), but it seems most likely that such vessels were largely manufactured in Fiji by Tongans and the Tonganized Lauans, because they were overwhelmingly the people who managed their sailing throughout Fiji and the region as a whole.[20] That said, foremost among Tongan and Fijian shipwrights were the Lemaki, patrilineages descended from a Samoan master canoe-builder of that name and his younger brother. The Lemaki were forcibly transported from Manono Island in Samoa around 1700 and settled with their families on Haʻano in central Tonga and Tongatapu itself, to build their superior *kalia* for the Tuʻi Tonga. Fijian tradition traces the Lemaki's subsequent arrival in Lau to fifty years later and shipwrights with Lemaki ancestry can still be found throughout the region.[21] The Oceanic lateen sail of the *kalia* has been identified as an ultimately Micronesian development and it is therefore most likely that it was imported first to Samoa, which had stable trade links with Kiribati via Tuvaluan waters. In fact, the noted superiority of Lemaki vessels may have derived from introducing exactly this Micronesian technology into the region.[22]

Cakaudrove's capital Somosomo also became a key Tongan trading post in northern Fiji during the 18th century because it was so rich in red *kula* parrot feathers. Tongan merchants sold Lauan kava bowls there that were bought with whale ivory and other Tongan valuables.[23] In this respect, the engraving in La Billardière's *Atlas* of a lenticular *sedri ni yaqona*, kava bowl (Figure 16.1), signals a fascinating story of circuitous cultural interaction between the Lauan and Tongan elites around this time. *Yaqona*, kava, was originally a highly restricted ritual beverage in Fiji, drunk through a straw from flat pedestal dishes by *bete*, priest, alone, in order to facilitate their deity possessing their body.[24] It was the influence of the Tongan royal kava ceremony on Fijian chiefly protocol during the early 18th century that secularized *yaqona* use and spread communal aristocratic kava drinking to Fiji.[25] While the circular, four-footed *tanoa* was invariably the bowl used to mix and serve kava in Tonga itself, the exportation of the practice to Fiji engendered the development of numerous *yaqona* mixing vessels. The *sedri ni yaqona* was perhaps the most elegant of these bowl forms; its collection on Tongatapu in 1793 therefore reflects the exportation of *sedri* back to the motherland of chiefly kava drinking. Since Lau still possesses a reputation for exporting fine *yaqona* bowls and this style of *sedri* was carved there in quantity during the 19th century, it is very likely the bowl depicted was Lauan. Similarly, exquisitely carved *sedri ni waiwai*, tripod oil dish, such as ones now in collections in Leiden (Figure 16.2) and the Peabody Museum in Harvard (PM 67-10-70/328), were Fijian luxuries reserved for elite and priestly use. The prominent calyx carving on the Leiden example represents the form

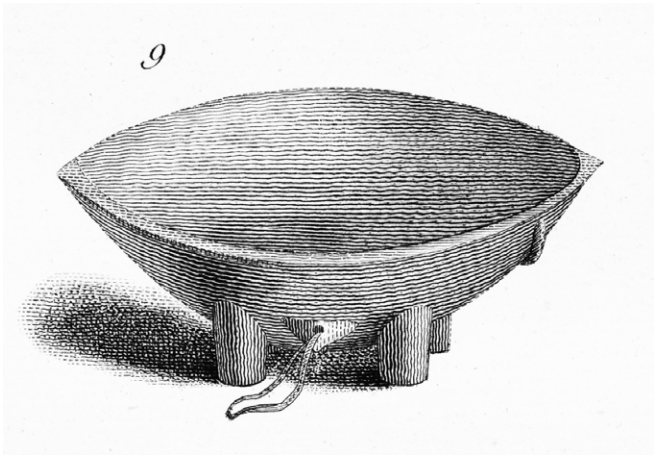

Figure 16.1. Fig. 9 of plate 31 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a kava bowl of Fijian origin collected in Tonga during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition. Pérée, 'Vase de bois dans lequel on prépare le kava', 1800, engraving.*

Figure 16.2. Fijian sedri ni waiwai*, oil dish, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, now in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-21).*

of a *leba* fruit (*Eugenia neurocalyx*), which was the preferred perfume for scenting the coconut body oil mixed and contained in such dishes.[26] For pre-Christian Fijians, *leba*-perfumed oil was a sacrament with which *bete* ritually anointed themselves. Although this dish's exportation to Tonga may reflect contiguous Fijian and Tongan religious practices,[27] it probably lost its sacred associations at export.

For these and other Fijian luxuries, the Tongans traded away the lion's share of their precious whale ivory. Central and northern Tonga are blessed with the southern hemisphere's breeding and calving waters of the sperm whale (*Physeter catodon*). Although never hunted, ivory was harvested from every beached or drowned animal. The carving in ivory of religious images, necklaces, breastplates, and other pendants, as well as the decorative inlay of clubs, spears, and headrests with ideographic ivory pieces, was the speciality of Tongan *tufunga fono lei*, ivory worker. Because such a large proportion of the available ivory was being traded to Fiji to procure other commodities, these *tufunga* also became indispensable court artisans in Fiji.[28] Like all *tufunga*, however, they were first and foremost hereditary shipwrights. There

was thus an enchained transnational commoditization of Tongan skills in boat- and house-building, smaller sculptures, ivory work, and decorative engraving. In this way, a relatively small population of itinerant polymath artisans generated a substantial Tonganization of Fijian material culture and circulated numerous stylistic features around the region.

Tongan club forms in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections

Like all 18th-century collections of Pacific material culture, the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections are strongly biased toward weaponry and Tongan *ʻakau tau*, war club, in particular.[29] I thus focus centrally here on the form and engraving of weapons. La Billardière quite understandably admired the refined carving and intricate engraving of the Tongan weapons he saw,[30] but it is certain that the Frenchmen did not grasp what a culturally dynamic art world they had entered, or that Tongan wood sculpture represented the very heart of this dynamism. The Tongans' intensive sale of *ʻakau tau* to these European visitors was normal, as they were already a key export in the regional economy. From at least the 16th century, Tongan mariners were exporting weapons to Fiji and Samoa, importing weapons from both archipelagos, and mediating much of the trade between them. The mutual influence of these three weapon carving traditions can be identified in each.[31] Alongside the distribution of locally abundant rarities discussed above, this exchange of like-for-like was a distinctive feature of the interaction sphere's economy, reflecting a far-flung, enduring xenophilic orientation, which widely and rapidly distributed popular artefact styles throughout the region.

Although separated by a mere 16 years, there are notable stylistic differences between the range of Indigenous Tongan club types in the Cook and Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage collections. The commonest type collected in the 1770s was the tapering rhombus-sectioned, flat ended *apaʻapai*, while the swordlike *pakipaki*, paddle club, was much more rare. These relative frequencies are reversed in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections and this increasing popularity of *pakipaki* prefigures their stylistic dominance throughout the 19th century.[32] The Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage collections therefore embody the avant garde of 19th-century sculptural styles. This shift in major styles seems to have been an internal aesthetic change in Tongan wood sculpture but an examination of the secondary stylistic features of *ʻakau tau* also attests to contemporaneous trends of an international character. For example, while the *apaʻapai* collected on Tongatapu 16 years earlier overwhelmingly had a single raised collar at the neck, this feature is replaced in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections by *apaʻapai* which are either completely collarless (see Figure 10.2), as depicted in La Billardière's *Atlas*,[33] or have several raised collars throughout, each formed of multiple circumferential ridges, as in objects held in Bergen (BME 1; see Figure 6.7) and Amsterdam (TM-A-1627). This many-collared, multiple-ridged style can also be found on a *pakipaki* collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage and now held in Leiden (Figure 16.3). It completely dominated the clubs collected a month later in northern Tonga during the Spanish voyage of Alejandro Malaspina and now primarily deposited in the Museo de America in Madrid.[34] Although this stylistic trend was evidently stronger in the north, it was clearly also fashionable on Tongatapu at the same time. In fact, the fashion for ridged multiple collars brought Tongan clubs closer to the cognate *lapalapa* or *uatogi* clubs produced in Samoa still further north.

Figure 16.3. Multiple collared Tongan pakipaki*, paddle club, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, now in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-1).*

This carving style can therefore be read as one of several Samoanizing influences in northern Tongan culture in the decades straddling 1800, which similarly can be identified in song, dance, oratory, ceremonial practices, and (as discussed above) boatbuilding and seamanship.[35]

The Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections also contain examples of an antique Tongan weapon style that essentially disappeared thereafter: one in the Zeeuws Museum (see Figure 10.3) and another in the Tropenmuseum (Figure 16.4). Barely a handful of these extremely rare stellate-sectioned clubs remain in existence and almost all others were collected during Cook's voyages two decades earlier. No two examples of this particular style are exactly the same. However, all possess a regular star-shaped, tapering head section generated through a cordage-based calculation method related to cat's cradle.[36] They are utterly different from every other club type produced in the region. Similarly rare and transitional, but reflecting the stylistic influence of recent European visitors, examples of Tongan *mata* clubs collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage are found at the Tropenmuseum (see Figure 9.4) and in Leiden (RV 34-3). *Mata* are hardwood Tongan copies of European swords and knives. In the 1770s, edged weapons had been presented to several Tongan chiefs by Cook and some were still evident on Tongatapu during the French visit.[37] Again, only a handful of *mata* clubs exist in museum collections.[38] One was retrieved by marine archaeologists of the Queensland Museum (MA4821) from the wreck of HMS *Pandora*, which foundered on the Great Barrier Reef in 1791.[39]

The rarity of *mata* illustrates how short-lived this terminal 18th-century club type was: half the known examples were collected in the early 1790s and the form's development clearly sought to satisfy a local need for artefacts copying the Western weapon form in lieu of imported blades. The Fijian sandalwood boom from 1801–1816, as well as the establishment of Christian missions in Tonga from 1824, thereafter ensured a stable supply of iron blades, effectively rendering *mata* obsolete.[40] Importantly, the two Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage *mata* identified here in museum collections only vaguely resemble two illustrated in La Billardière's *Atlas* (Figure 16.5), both of which are described (not impossibly) as being made of bone. Artistic licence may explain the discrepancies, but one seems to display a diagnostic column of (probably ivory) inlays in the handle. Even more distinctive, the other replicates the quillons and two-edged blade of a European smallsword or Chinese *jian*. If the engraved objects *were* collected (rather than simply observed) on the voyage, they remain unidentified in museum collections. Their relative uniqueness, however, offers a strong potential identifier of other destinations for the voyage material, since it seems possible that at least four *mata* reached Batavia.

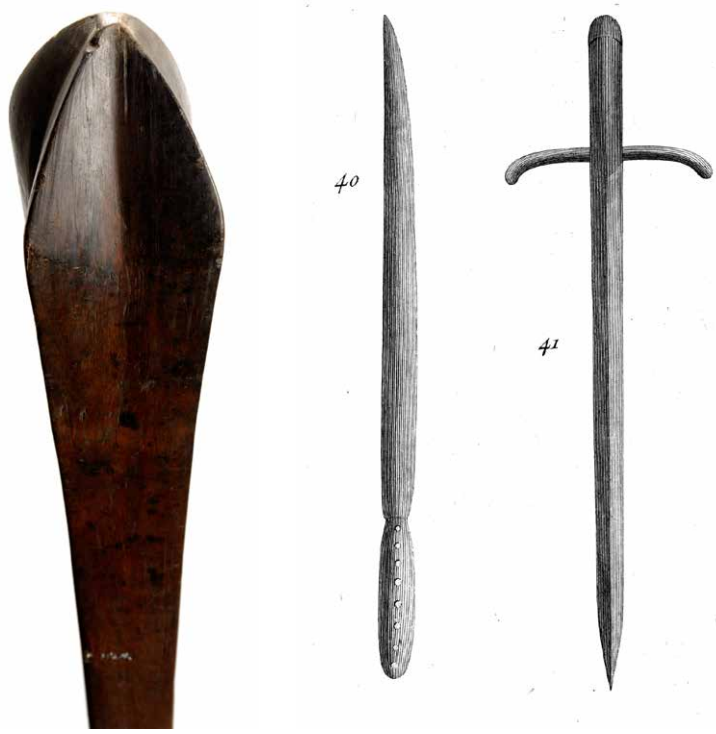

*Figure 16.4 (left). Detail of stellate-sectioned Tongan '*akau tau*, club, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, now in the Tropenmuseum collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (TM-A-1628).*

Figure 16.5 (right). Figs 40 and 41 of plate 33 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting two Tongan* mata*, blade-skeuomorphic club, supposedly made of bone, collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition. Anon, 'Sorte de coutelas d'os'; 'Espect de sabre d'os', 1800, engravings.*

Fijian club forms in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections

The several Fijian *i wau*, club, sold to the French voyagers in Tonga illustrate styles circulating at the time. However, to understand their value, Tongan cultural representations of Fijian warriors must be considered. As well as transforming Lauan culture, the *gauna vakatoga* equally influenced Tonga. Many Tongan *matāpule*, chiefly herald, lines claim a categorically Fijian identity, having descended from men who immigrated from Lau, Cakaudrove, and elsewhere in the 17th century. During the investiture of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, the political ruler of Tonga, 'Fijian' warriors, their bodies painted black for battle, wearing turbans and armed with Fijian clubs and spears, traditionally cleared spectators from the ceremonial ground before the ruler-elect emerged.[41] The performers were led by the *matāpule* titleholder *Taifisi*, Firm Fiji, descended from a Tongafisi chief of that name who settled in northern Tonga around 1600.[42] These material culture symbols index qualities of brutal efficiency and remorselessness in war attributed to Fijian warriors around 1800, qualities which Tongan men admired and emulated. Many Tongans were employed as mercenaries in Fiji during the period discussed here and Fiji was viewed as a 'finishing school' for

Figure 16.6. Fijian bowai*, pole club, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, now in the Leiden collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (RV-34-2).*

Tongan warriors. Indeed, several 18th-century Tongan military practices—pre-battle parades, body paint, and cannibalism—were described (accurately or otherwise) as habits acquired from participation in Fijian warfare.[43] As the weapons of an esteemed warrior people, *i wau* had great value.

Stylistically, there are both similarities and clear differences between the Fijian clubs collected in Tonga during the Cook and Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyages, as well as those entering museum collections in the 19th century. The Tropenmuseum's *culacula*, paddle club (TM-A-1630), and *tuki*, beaked battle-hammer (TM-A-1605)—probably represented in La Billardière's *Atlas* (see Figure 9.2)—are the earliest extant examples of their type.[44] However, like a Fijian *gata*, club, also depicted in the *Atlas*,[45] these types were painted by Sarah Stone in London's Leverian Museum in the late 18th century.[46] Examples must therefore have been collected during Cook's voyages. Sadly, those earlier pieces have not yet been found. Several other Fijian club types are documented for the first time in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections: a fish-bladed *gugu*, dance club, in Bergen (BME 4); an *ula tavatava*, lobed throwing club, also in Bergen (BME 7; see Figure 6.8); an *ula drisia*, ball-headed throwing club, in the Peabody Museum (67-10-70/351), engraved in the *Atlas*;[47] a *bowai*, pole club, in Leiden (Figure 16.6) and a lighter *gadi*, one-handed pole club, in the Tropenmuseum (TM-A-1613). In contrast to this diversity, Fijian clubs collected in Tonga during the 19th century overwhelmingly consist only of larger pole clubs, *kolo* throwing clubs copying the *ula tavatava* style (or Fijian originals), and *culacula*.[48] The many Fijian club types cut from uprooted saplings (*waka*, *vunikau*, *saulaki*, etc.) are among the very commonest found in museum collections generally, and yet they are notably absent from all Tonga-mediated collections; implying that a strong, probably aesthetic cultural filter was patterning the regional arms trade. Tonga's consumers of Fijian weaponry were selective, and became more so in the transition from the later 18th century to the 19th.

Tongan and Fijian club engraving in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections

La Billardière's *Relation* provides the only firsthand historical description of Tonga's remarkably complex decorative art of *tongi 'akau*, shallow club engraving, being performed. He also recorded the widespread use of imported iron gravers—in this case procured from the French—on Tongatapu by 1793, revealing how rapidly *tufunga* had taken advantage of new tools.[49] Reflecting this innovation, Tongan engraving demonstrates even stronger differences between the 1770s, 1790s, and early 1800s than does club form. Approximately half of the Cook voyage clubs are engraved, in contrast to 80% of those collected post-1800.[50] In the 1770s, Tongan

clubs were overwhelmingly engraved only on their heads with simple bands of incised hatching, grids, and triangles. Over the following fifty years, conversely, Tongan clubs increasingly became completely covered with a Fijian-style iconography of parallel relief-carved zigzags termed *tavatava*, as on Leiden's Fijian *bowai*.

The Bruni d'Entrecasteaux corpus demonstrates the frequency and coverage of later engraving, while its iconography evenly mixes the earlier and later styles. It is also notable that the contemporary clubs collected in Vava'u by Malaspina effectively lack engraving altogether, suggesting very strongly that this development was, at least initially, a purely south Tongan phenomenon.[51] We can consequently refine the current model of stylistic change in this art form,[52] to observe that the general intensification and popularization of engraving occurred rapidly on Tongatapu during the 1780s. This essentially confirms Kaeppler's suggestion that the Cook voyagers' introduction of steel tools triggered a sudden development in Tongan engraving.[53] However, in iconographic terms European influence seems to have been negligible. The sudden expansion of Tongan engraving occurred against the backdrop of its longer term Fijianization over the last quarter of the 18th century. This is closely paralleled by a less intensive Tonganization and expansion in contemporaneous Fijian engraving, largely caused by the employment of Tongan *tufunga* at Fijian courts and the re-engraving of clubs imported into Tonga. The hybridization of engraving in both archipelagos reflects the coherent character of the region as a sphere within which artists, their works, and the styles they indexed flowed fluidly across geographical and political boundaries.

The strongest innovation in engraving, however, was entirely indigenous to Tonga.[54] Compared to earlier examples, there was a remarkable increase in the frequency and complexity of figurative ideograms. We still see old-fashioned *apa'apai* bearing motifs such as nose-to-nose reflected animals (dogs or pigs) otherwise found only on some Cook voyage pieces, and presumably from the same man's hand.[55] However, several clubs in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections feature much more complex ideographic compositions than those collected during the 1770s. An *apa'apai* now held in Bergen (BME 1), for example, displays novel motifs of pairs of figures fighting, receiving tribute, fishing, handling tame birds, and interacting in more complex ways. We also encounter images in this collection of human beings using clubs, spears, fish hooks, and adzes. The articulation of humans to each other and to artefacts was a new feature of ideographic representation in Tonga, heralding the birth of true pictorial narrative in Tongan art: of subjects not merely being but also acting. Furthermore, while quadrupeds, sharks, and pigeons are represented in the Cook corpus, the 1790s pieces introduce turtles, bonito, stingrays, octopuses, banded rails, and tropicbirds. Indeed, the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection contains the earliest known examples of two coherent multiple species zoomorphic compositions, which I have elsewhere termed 'ideogram deployment along avian or marine lines': the marine theme in the Bergen *apa'apai* (Figure 16.7) and the avian in the Leiden *pakipaki* (Figure 16.3).[56] These are among the most aesthetically refined and delicate aspects of Tongan engraving, encountered surprisingly early in the art's efflorescence.

Figure 16.7. Detail showing zoomorphic engraving on a Tongan apa'apai*, club, held in the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection of the Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 1).*

Conclusion

The Tongan and Fijian sculpture collected and observed on the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage illustrates a pivotal moment of dynamic transformation in a sophisticated art form. Mutual influence and intensive commerce between the region's three large archipelagos had been substantial for at least three centuries and Tongan *tufunga* played a fundamental role in mediating that cultural intercourse. There are good reasons, however, to view this period as one of particular transformation in carving, notably the last glimpses of earlier 18th-century Tongan styles and the prominence of extremely ephemeral artefacts like the *mata*. Emergent features reflect strong Fijian and Samoan influence on Tongan culture, which was particularly receptive to foreign influence at this time. Equally, the vast increase in engraving's complexity, coverage, and figurative components shows that Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's vessels anchored at Tongatapu during the first bloom of an intense artistic efflorescence within the island's carving workshops.

Notes

1 La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), 2 vols.

2 Kaeppler, *Holophusicon …* (Altenstadt and Honolulu, 2011):23–46; Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook …* (Cambridge, 1955–74), II:243–75; III:123–80, 889–965, 1013–51; David *et al.*, ed., *The Malaspina Expedition 1789–1794 …* (London, 2001–4), III:101–46.

3 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:164–6.

4 Derrick, *A History of Fiji* (Suva, 1968):118–23.

5 Broadly speaking, contacts between these archipelagos have been continuous since their contemporary settlement circa 1,100 BC. See Davidson, 'Western Polynesia and Fiji: Prehistoric Contact, Diffusion and Differentiation in Adjacent Archipelagos', *World Archaeology* 9 (1977):82–94; Gifford, *Tongan Society* (Honolulu, 1929):12–13; Irwin, *The Prehistoric Exploration and Colonisation of the Pacific* (Cambridge, 1992); Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds…* (Berkeley, 2002).

6 Ella, 'The War of Tonga and Samoa, and the Origin of the Name Malietoa', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 8:4 (1899):231–4; Gifford, *Tongan Society*:14–15; Helu, *Critical Essays …* (Canberra, 1999):233.

7 Mageo, 'Myth, Cultural Identity, and Ethnopolitics: Samoa and the Tongan "Empire"', *Journal of Anthropological*

Research 58:4 (2002); Pepa, 'Tongans in Niuean Oral Traditions: A Critique', *Journal of Pacific History* 32 (1):103–8.

8 Campbell, *Island Kingdom …* (Christchurch, 2001):32; Hooper and Huntsman, *Matagi Tokelau …* (Apia, 1991):22–7 and passim; Hugh Laracy, ed., *Tuvalu …* (Suva, 1983):54, 67, 87, 92; Pepa, 'Tongans in Niuean Oral Traditions'; Smith, 'Uea; or, Wallis Island and its People', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1 (1892):108–9.

9 Davidson, 'Western Polynesia and Fiji'; Kaeppler, 'Exchange Patterns in Goods and Spouses: Fiji, Tonga and Samoa', *Mankind* 11 (1978):246–52.

10 Derrick, *History*:40–3, 118–24; Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands …* (London, 1817), I:317–48; Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia …* (London, 1861):266–78; Williams and Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (London, 1858), I:94–5.

11 Clunie, *Yalo I Viti, Shades of Fiji …* (Suva, 1986); Hooper, 'A Study of Valuables in the Chiefdom of Lau, Fiji' (Cambridge, 1982):180.

12 Thompson, 'The Culture History of the Lau Islands, Fiji' *American Anthropologist* 40 (1938):190–4.

13 Hocart, *Lau Islands, Fiji* (Honolulu, 1929); Hooper, 'Gatu Vakaviti: The Great Barkcloths of Southern Lau, Fiji', in *Pacific Material Culture* (Leiden, 1995):153.

14 Routledge, *Matanitū …* (Suva, 1985):17–18.

15 Derrick, *History*:81.

16 Martin, *An Account*, I:320–33; Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau …' (Norwich, 2007), I:14–20, 61–5, 394–6.

17 Roth and Hooper, *The Fiji Journals of Baron Anatole Von Hügel, 1875–1877* (Suva and Cambridge, 1990):400; Williams and Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, I:105.

18 Hocart, *Lau Islands*:119–31; Martin, *An Account*, II:276–7; Thomas, [Letter], Tongatapu, 8 August 1832, *Missionary Notices* 219 (1834):433–4.

19 Derrick, *History*:316.

20 Williams and Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, I:94.

21 Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists …* (Nelson, 2002):38; Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau', I:223; St. Johnston, *The Lau Islands (Fiji) and their Fairy Tales and Folk-Lore* (London, 1918):62.

22 Campbell, 'The Lateen Sail in World History', *Journal of World History* 6:1 (1995):15–18; Finney, 'Voyaging Canoes and the Settlement of Polynesia', *Science* 196 (4296) (1977):1278–80.

23 Hocart, *Lau Islands*:119–31.

24 Clunie, *Yalo I Viti*:113–16.

25 Biersack, 'Kava'onau and the Tongan Chiefs', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 100:3 (1991): 240–6.

26 Seemann, *Flora Vitiensis …* (London, 1865–73):78; [Vason], *An Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Residence at Tongataboo …* (London, 1810):161.

27 See, for example, Clunie, '*Tapua*: "Polished Ivory Shrines" of Tongan Gods', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 122:2 (2013): 172–3, 194–6; Mills, "*Akau Tau*: Contextualising Tongan War-Clubs', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 118:1 (2009):18–19.

28 Hooper, *Pacific Encounters …* (London, 2006):248–55; Martin, *An Account*, I;331–3. European whalers and sandalwood buyers only intensified this phenomenon from 1806 by using ivory as their primary trade commodity with Fijians. See Derrick, *History*:118–25; Patterson, 'Narrative of the Wreck of the "Eliza" in the Fiji Islands in 1808', in Lockerby, *The Journal of William Lockerby …* (London, 1925):112.

29 Mills, 'Violent Encounters: Historical Notes on the Curatorial Representation of Polynesian Weapons', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 21 (2009):186–201.

30 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:95–6, 143.

31 Clunie, *Fijian Weapons & Warfare* (Suva, 1977); Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists*:96–98; Mills, "*Akau Tau*'.

32 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau', I:231–6; [Vason], *Authentic Narrative*:167.

33 La Billardière, *Atlas* … (Paris, 1800): plate 33 (fig. 38).

34 Fundacion La Caixa, *Islas de los Mares del Sur* (Barcelona, 2001):150–1.

35 Mallon, *Samoan Art and Artists*:96–98; Martin, *An Account*, I:371–6; Campbell, *Island Kingdom*:37–40.

36 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau', I:159, 184–223.

37 La Billardière described how the chief Finau (probably Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Ma'ofanga) asked the French to regrind an English bayonet received from Cook. *Relation*, II:127.

38 For example, Oldman, 'The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts: Tonga, Samoa and Fiji Groups', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 48:2 (1939):35; plate 50 (fig. 507).

39 Gesner, 'Interpretation of Selected Artefacts from the *Pandora* Historic Shipwreck (1791)', *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum: Culture* 9:1 (2016):325–6, fig. 460; QM, 'Ceremonial Club or Staff' (MA4821).

40 Derrick, *History*:37–49; Lātūkefu, *Church and State in Tonga* … (Canberra, 1974).

41 Collocott, 'The Supernatural in Tonga', *American Anthropologist* 23 (1921):428.

42 Hocart, *Lau Islands*:30.

43 Derrick, *History*:122–3; Martin, *An Account*, I;329–30.

44 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 33 (fig. 37).

45 Ibid.: plate 33 (fig. 39). See Figure 1.8.

46 Stone, 'Collection of Drawings …', n.d.:87, 88, Australian Museum. https://australianmuseum.net.au/a-collection-of-drawings-by-miss-sarah-stone?page=5&assetID=

47 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 33 (fig. 36). See Figure 1.8.

48 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau', I:231–6, 386–90.

49 La Billardiere, *Relation*, II:143.

50 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau', I:266–70.

51 Fundacion La Caixa, *Islas de los Mares del Sur*.

52 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau', I:224–52, 266–70, 293–5, 330–2, 365–6, 396–400.

53 Kaeppler, *From the Stone Age to the Space Age in 200 Years* (Nuku'alofa, 1999):24–5.

54 See Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau', I:350–73.

55 For example, the *apa'apai* held in the Zeeuws Museum (3600-BEV-Z-81).

56 Mills, 'Tufunga Tongi 'Akau', I:371.

CHAPTER 17

Tongans in 1793

PHYLLIS HERDA AND BRONWEN DOUGLAS

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From 23 March to 9 April 1793, the French expedition under the command of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux anchored at the small island of Pangaimotu, not far from the site of the modern Tongan capital of Nuku'alofa, on the island of Tongatapu. While unfamiliar with Tongan customs and history, the voyagers created an interesting snapshot of the archipelago at the end of the 18th century. During the visit, they met and exchanged gifts with the local aristocracy or political elite, who feasted their guests and entertained them with performances by Tongan women and men. The Frenchmen also met, traded, and interacted with the Indigenous population more widely.

This chapter is based mainly on close scrutiny of a detailed narrative of the French stay in Tongatapu and its accompanying *Atlas*, published by the naturalist La Billardière.[1] We focus primarily on this, amongst a plethora of mostly unpublished accounts by participants in the expedition,[2] because its availability and popularity amongst contemporary French, English, and German readers contributed significantly to shaping European understandings and stereotypes of Tonga and its people.[3] Of course, neither La Billardière nor any of his shipmates spoke or understood the Tongan language. They did have access to limited vocabularies compiled by earlier European voyagers and several expedition members constructed their own wordlists on Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's orders,[4] but they were clearly unaware of the more subtle connotations of what they saw and were told. Yet French assumptions about what was going on, while often misguided, convey a convincing sense of contemporary Tongan society, embellished by a thoughtful interpretation of ongoing power struggles which anticipated more than two decades of civil war soon to sweep the archipelago.

Exchange and barter

Reciprocal gift exchange initiated and informed social interaction between Tongans and Europeans. La Billardière noted: 'the chiefs did not propose exchanging their goods for ours: they made us presents and received everything we offered to them'.[5] For Tonga's elite, offering exquisite gifts, together with food and entertainment, constituted the means to bring the outsiders into the Indigenous social realm through their complex fabric of exchange. They thereby transformed a mere encounter into something more, demonstrating a desire and an intention to forge an enduring social relationship. The

provision of gifts and hospitality by high-ranking Tongans began at the first meeting when a man came out to the ships on a canoe and 'announced himself as one of the chiefs of the island'. He presented a pig to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and received an axe in return.[6] Such exchanges continued throughout the French stay in Tongatapu.

However, not all transactions between Tongans and the French involved gift prestations: barter was common, especially with non-chiefly people. From Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's viewpoint, obtaining fresh food and water to replenish the ships' stores was essential and occupied a good portion of French activity at the islands. However, the tenor of these dealings was different from reciprocal gift exchange with the Tongan elite, as La Billardière made clear:

> it was hard to resist the enthusiasm with which the natives brought their wares to sell; all spread them out as best they could. We were much amused to see them hold their little pigs under their arms and from time to time pull their ears to let us know that they wanted to sell them.[7]

A kind of market was soon established on the island of Pangaimotu in an attempt to subdue the crowds and manage trading:

> An enclosure was marked out with a rope tied to the end of stakes, which were driven into the ground four to five metres apart from each other. We planned that such barriers would hold back the inhabitants by day and night, given that more than 2,000, mostly from Tongatapu, had already gathered around us.[8]

Tongan personages

The French met several of the key players in later political hostilities, whose status and interrelationships are partly clarified by La Billardière's narrative. Of all the people met by Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and his men, four were evidently central to their visit: La Billardière rendered their names as Finau, 'King' Toubau, 'Queen' Tiné, and Fatafé; Bruni d'Entrecasteaux called them Feinou, 'old' Toubou, Tinée, and Fatafé.[9] Finau was the first of these personages encountered. According to La Billardière:

> A chief of the warriors named *Finau* came aboard at around five in the afternoon. A man about 45 years old, he was of medium height and very fat. Like the other inhabitants, his features were completely European. Varied areas of his body were covered in scars; he showed us two on his chest which he said resulted from spear wounds received in several combats against the inhabitants of Fidgi [Fiji].[10]

The French officers spent much time with Finau. La Billardière was clear that they depended on him and a handful of other chiefs to discipline large crowds of unruly Tongans. Theft, as the French saw it, was a persistent problem and it was soon evident that only such chiefs had the capacity to retrieve missing items.[11]

Finau was probably Fīnau ʻUlukālala-ʻi-Maʻofanga. He was a renowned warrior who, as a younger man, had travelled to Fiji and fought alongside the Tui Nayau, ruling titleholder of Lakeba in the Lau Islands. The ferocity with which Fīnau fought earned him and his famous war club the nickname of *Uluqala*, 'empty skull', in tribute to his unmatched skill in clubbing individuals and smashing their skulls. When Fīnau returned to Tonga, the name stuck and was translated as ʻUlukālala where it became a hereditary family name and eventually a chiefly title.[12] ʻUlukālala-ʻi-Maʻofanga was the father of Fīnau ʻUlukālala-ʻi-Feletoa who ostensibly ruled most of Tonga following multiple assassinations and violent political unrest in the late 1790s. He was a central character in William Mariner's account of his four-year sojourn in Tonga after a shipwreck in 1806.[13] Mariner's narrative earned Tonga and ʻUlukālala-ʻi-Feletoa a certain notoriety among Europeans visiting the Pacific.

La Billardière reported that Finau gifted Bruni d'Entrecasteaux 'a diadem made from beautiful feathers of the red-tailed tropicbird [*Phaethon rubricauda*], together with other very small feathers of a brilliant red colour'.[14] Feather headdresses, known as *palā tavake*, were sacred regalia reserved for the high chiefs of Tonga, most especially the holder of the very high-ranking title, the Tuʻi Tonga. They comprised reeds or sticks covered with feathers from the *koki*, red-breasted musk parrot (*Prosopeia tabuensis*), or crowned by a fan of tail feathers from the white-tailed tropicbird (*Phaethon lepturus*), known in Tonga as the *tavake*, for which the headdress is named.[15] Only three references to the *palā tavake* have been found in the European explorer literature on Tonga. Apart from La Billardière's *Relation*, it is described in Cook's journal and narrative of his third voyage in 1777, is illustrated in an engraved drawing of the Tuʻi Tonga Pau by Cook's artist John Webber,[16] and is mentioned in an unpublished diary of the Spanish expedition of Alejandro Malaspina.[17] The location today of the *palā tavake* presented to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux is unknown, if indeed it has survived. It is a mystery why ʻUlukālala-ʻi-Maʻofanga had a feathered headdress since he was not of the Tuʻi Tonga's people. Nor did La Billardière record that he wore it. However, since ʻUlukālala gave Bruni d'Entrecasteaux the headdress in the presence of Tiné, half-sister of Tuʻi Tonga Pau and a very high-ranking woman, it is possible that he gifted it on her behalf.

Soon after the French met Finau, his followers told them 'at length about the king *Toubau* whose power they extolled'. They said he was the 'supreme chief (*egui laï*) [*ʻeiki lahi*, great chief]' of Tongatapu and the other Tongan islands. The next morning, this powerful individual visited Bruni d'Entrecasteaux on the *Recherche*.[18] La Billardiére described him thus:

> *Toubau* looked to us to be at least sixty. This old man was of average height and much fatter still than *Finau.* His clothes were in the same style as those of the other Islanders, differing only in the fineness of their fabric. He wore a very beautiful mat fastened around his body by a girdle of cloth made from the bark of the paper mulberry.[19]

In return for Toubau's prestation of two pigs, several fine mats, and two pieces of barkcloth—each 'so large' that if unrolled it would 'entirely cover' the ship—the French presented him with an array of gifts befitting his status, including a 'red coat' which

he immediately donned.[20] Three days later, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux accepted Toubau's invitation to attend a *fête*, entertainment, on Tongatapu. The commander's 'presents' to the chief were received with 'much gratitude'. However, since Tongans associated the colour red with rank and sanctity:

> nothing in all that was offered to him excited as much admiration from this numerous gathering as a piece of crimson damask, the bright colour of which elicited cries of *eho*, *eho* from all sides … They uttered the same cry when we unrolled several pieces of ribbon predominantly red in colour.[21]

This man—known to La Billardière as 'king' Toubau and to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux as 'old' Toubou [Tupou][22]—was almost certainly Tuʻi Kanokupolu Mumui. The name Tupou is associated with the Tuʻi Kanokupolu title and dynasty. By the late 18th century, Tonga was a highly stratified polity based on chiefly rank, titular authority, and tribute.[23] There were three paramount titles: the Tuʻi Tonga, the Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua, and the Tuʻi Kanokupolu. The Tuʻi Tonga was the highest ranking, as the first Tuʻi Tonga was said to be the son of the god Tangaloa ʻEitumatupuʻa. Descent from divine ancestors bestowed honour and authority on the titleholder and his relatives, but specifically on his eldest sister, the Tuʻi Tonga Fefine and her children**.** The Tuʻi Tonga is often designated as the traditional sacred ruler of Tonga. After the establishment of the modern Tongan monarchy by a different lineage, the title was abolished in 1865 upon the death of Laufilitonga, the last Tuʻi Tonga.

The Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua and Tuʻi Kanokuplou are collaterally descended from the Tuʻi Tonga. The first holder of the Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua title was a younger brother of a Tuʻi Tonga in about the 15th century. Similar branching occurred in the early 17th century in the case of the Tuʻi Kanokupolu title, whose first recipient was the younger brother of a Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua. The Tuʻi Haʻatakalua and Tuʻi Kanokupolu, although junior in chiefly rank to the Tuʻi Tonga, were vested with executive authority and were the political rulers of the Tongan archipelago.[24] The separation of sacred rank and political power was recognized by the French and its traces weave through La Billardière's narrative. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux explicitly noted that in Tonga 'the men who exercise power' were distinguished from 'those to whom honours are rendered'. He deplored 'this division of two things which ought to be inseparable', on the grounds that it resulted in 'general anarchy and factions between the family holding sovereignty and that which exercises it'.[25]

Mumui—Toubau or 'old' Toubou—was called to the Tuʻi Kanokupolu title after internal factionalism led to a rapid succession of titleholders. He was said to have had great respect for tradition and no personal drive to become Tuʻi Kanokupolu. However, his son Tukuʻaho was a very ambitious man and knew that his own succession and that of his descendants could only be accomplished through his father's holding the title. The visitors might have met Tukuʻaho on several occasions, though he is not so named in the narratives. During Toubau's visit to the *Recherche*, 'a chief named *Omalaï*' positioned himself on Toubau's left. During the subsequent *fête*, the 'great crowd of islanders' were 'presided over' by the same man, who directed the movements of the French. Toubau told them he was 'his son'.[26] Subsequently, following a lethal affray

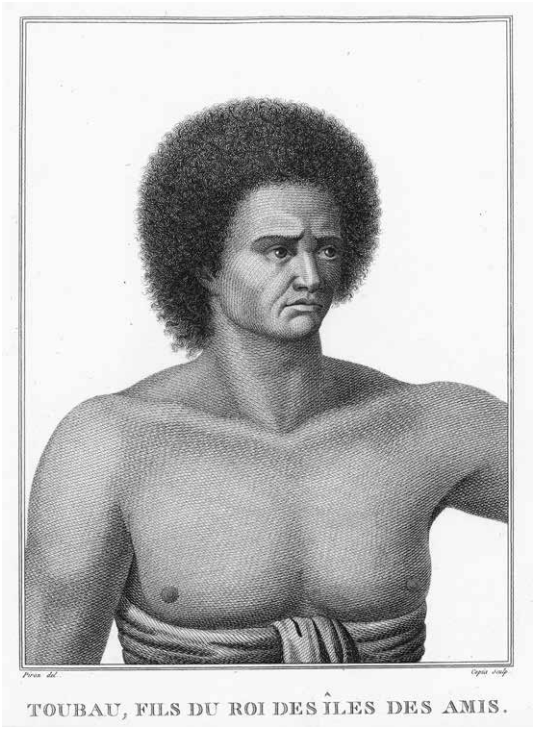

Figure 17.1. [Fig. 1] of plate 29 of La Billardière's Atlas *portraying a Tongan named Toubau, said to be the son of the king, perhaps Tuku'aho. Copia after Piron, 'Toubau, fils du roi des îles des Amis', 1800, engraving.*

in which at least two Tongans died, 'the son of the king' was taken hostage on the *Recherche*. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux specifically called this man 'young Toubou' while the caption of an engraved portrait of the 'son of the king of the Friendly Islands' in La Billardière's *Atlas* labels him Toubau (Figure 17.1).[27] This sketchy information does not allow a definitive identification of Omalaï as 'young' Toubou/Toubau or of either as Tukuʻaho. However, Tukuʻaho was the most notable of Mumui's sons. Several years before the French visit, military success had enabled him to establish his father as Tuʻi Kanokupolu, thereby buttressing his own political authority. Tukuʻaho was himself was named Tuʻi Kanokupolu upon Mumui's death in 1797 and his assassination in 1799 sparked years of political unrest in the Tongan islands.

The day after their first meeting with Toubau, the French had been visited by an enormously fat woman, 'aged at least 50 years', whom they were told was 'Queen Tiné'.[28] The anthropologist Elizabeth Bott suggested that because Tongans referred to a chiefly woman as *taʻahine*, La Billardière and his shipmates assumed this to be her personal name.[29] La Billardière subsequently outlined the information the visitors had gleaned about 'the reigning family' from 'different chiefs', who used playing cards to demonstrate the genealogy of the late Tuʻi Tonga Pau, titleholder during Cook's visit to Tonga in 1777. The naturalist understood that Tiné was receiving 'all the honours' due to the male Tuʻi Tonga because Pau's son Fatafé had been 'very young' on the death of his father and 'the sovereignty' had eventually passed to Tiné.[30] This eminent figure is depicted on the right of an engraving in the *Atlas* entitled 'Danse des îles des Amis, en présence de la reine Tiné' (Dance of the Friendly Islands in the presence of Queen Tiné) (Figure 17.2).

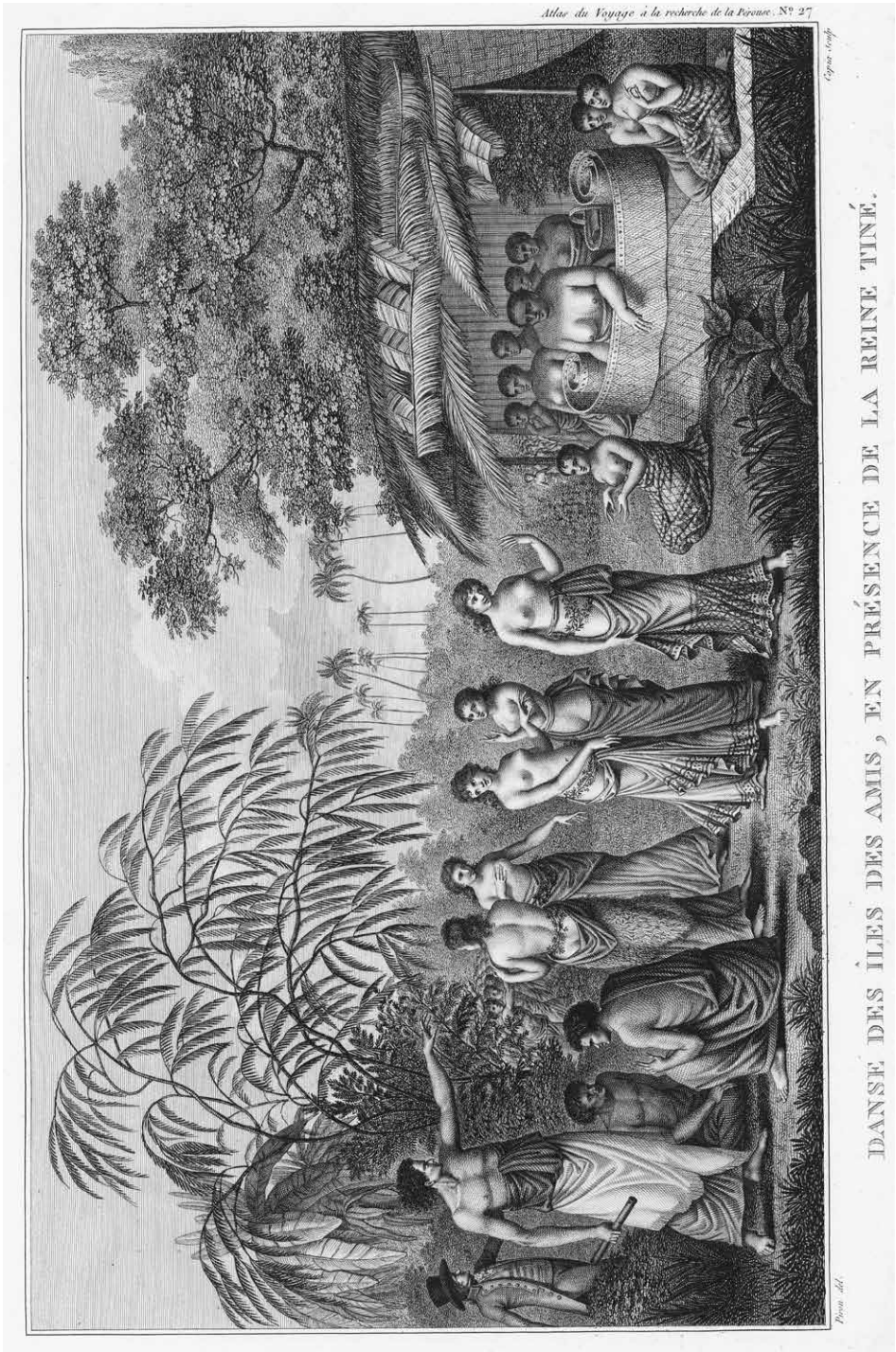

Figure 17.2. Plate 27 of La Billardière's Atlas *depicting Tongan women dancing during an entertainment given by 'Queen' Tiné for Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. Copia after Piron, 'Danse des îles des Amis, en présence de la reine Tiné', 1800, engraving.*

All Tongan *hohoko*, genealogy, point to the probable identification of Tiné as Tuʻi Tonga Fefine Nanasipauʻu, elder half-sister of Tuʻi Tonga Pau, who died around 1784, and elder full sister of his eventual successor Tuʻi Tonga Maʻulupekotofa, who also died before 1793.[31] La Billardière recorded that Tiné had a sister named Nanatchi but the French did not meet this woman. Their 'Nanatchi' might have been a mishearing of Nanasipauʻu, whom Tongan traditions place as Tuʻi Tonga Fefine at the time of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's visit, when there was no reigning Tuʻi Tonga.

While ignorant of the complexity of Tongan ranking, the French had no doubt that Tiné's rank was exalted. Some evidently powerful chiefs, including Finau, appeared to pay her very grudging respect if they could not avoid her presence:

> *Tiné* was very jealous of the honours which the chiefs dared not refuse her when they met; so some avoided finding themselves in her presence …, for they would have been obliged … to take her right foot and place it very respectfully on their head to mark their inferiority. This queen informed us with an air of satisfaction that even king *Toubau* was compelled to pay her these marks of respect, because it was from her that he derived his dignity.[32]

However, the visitors also recognized that, if Tiné 'had all the honours' of sovereignty, she did so without 'exercising its power', which was controlled by Toubau—the Tuʻi Kanokupolu.[33] Tiné undoubtedly had political influence but the Tuʻi Kanokupolu was responsible for the government of the islands.

The French puzzled over why Pau's son Fatafé—presumably Fuanunuiava—was said to have been 'too young to succeed' his father on his death.[34] In 1777, Cook had witnessed an unusual performance of a ceremony called *fakataumafa*, to provide for, which Pau conducted to ensure his son's succession.[35] Fatafé would have been about 17 years old when Pau is estimated to have died, given that Bruni d'Entrecasteaux adjudged his age in 1793 as '25 to 26 years' and Mariner thought he was around 40 years in about 1806.[36] La Billardière described Fatafé as a married man who dealt roughly with underlings or malefactors and directed the female dancers during Tiné's entertainment for Bruni d'Entrecasteaux.[37] He is depicted doing so on the left of the engraving of the 'Danse des îles des Amis' (Figure 17.2). It was thus clearly not his age which still kept Fuanunuiava from the Tuʻi Tonga title. However, La Billardière further gathered that Fatafé could not 'ascend the throne' until after the death of his 'aunt' Tiné. In conversation with Bott in the 1950s, Queen Sālote confirmed that strict protocol dictated that the Tuʻi Tonga's son should not take the title while his father's sister, the Tuʻi Tonga Fefine, still lived.[38]

It is also likely that Fuanunuiava was prevented from becoming Tuʻi Tonga at this time by the muscular political ambitions of Mumui's son Tukuʻaho and the Kanokupolu people. Both La Billardière and Malaspina gained the impression that Fatafé (Fatafegi in Spanish orthography) was not deemed a worthy successor to the title. La Billardière reported Finau's sneer with respect to Fatafé: 'everyone passed themselves off as chiefs (*egui*) [*'eiki*, chief]'. Malaspina heard a month later in Vavaʻu, the archipelago's northern group, that it was Fatafegi's 'miserable luck' to have either been 'assassinated' or forced to live amongst 'the lowest hoi polloi in Tongatapu'.[39]

Such ambiguities are evident in La Billardière's representations of Fatafé. Of unquestionably high rank, he appeared to be subject to the depredations of Toubau (Mumui) or his son, who seized gifts given to Fatafé by the French but was in turn compelled to render him the homage due to his 'superior rank'.[40] Earlier, Bruni d'Entrecasteaux had acknowledged Fatafé's rank by presenting him with 'a red coat', thereby inspiring Finau's 'jealousy' and 'very disgruntled' withdrawal. La Billardière assumed that, as in his response to Tiné, Finau had avoided Fatafé in order not to have to 'render him the honour due to his rank'.[41] Fuanunuiava was eventually named Tu'i Tonga in 1795. Interestingly Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui was said to have directed his succession in an attempt to restore political order in Tonga.[42]

Visual representations

Piron, the artist on the *Recherche,* made numerous sketches of Tongatapu and its inhabitants during the expedition's stay on the island. Some are still stored in the Archives nationales de France in Paris. The Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac also holds Piron's preparatory plate drawings for two of the three engraved portraits of men met in Tonga published in La Billardière's *Atlas*.[43] The field sketches include a named profile head study of 'Fineau' (Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Ma'ofanga) (Figure 17.4) and a three-quarters head and shoulders portrait labelled 'Toubeau' (possibly Tuku'aho, son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui),[44] together with several unnamed portraits and figures, including a few women.

Figure 17.3. Piron's portrait sketch, held in the Archives nationales de France, perhaps of the Tongan chief Fuanunuiava, which served as a model for the depiction of Fatafé (Fuanunuiava) in Copia's engraving 'Danse des îles des Amis, en présence de la reine Tiné'. 'Tongatabou', [1793], pencil on paper (MAR 5 JJ 4).

An unnamed head and torso portrait of a man, labelled 'Tongatabou' (Figure 17.3), may well be of Fatafé (Fuanunuiava), since it certainly served as a model for the engraving of him as dance director during Tiné's entertainment (Figure 17.2). The preparatory plate drawings are of Finau (Figure 17.5) and a Fijian 'chief' visiting Tonga, known to the French as Vouacécé (possibly Vuasese) and much admired by them (Figure 17.6).[45] The engravings are of Finau ('chief of the warriors'), Toubau ('son of the king') (Figure 17.1), Vouacécé, and an unnamed woman.[46] These sketches, plate drawings, and engravings are the only extant visual representations of most of these individuals.

Piron's portraiture is predominantly naturalistic, in that he sought to depict as faithfully as possible the persons he met or saw in particular places visited. He rendered his subjects sensitively, as individuals actually encountered, with distinctive features and idiosyncratic characteristics. For instance, his rather idealized profile field sketch of Finau (Figure 17.4) is transformed in his preparatory plate drawing (Figure 17.5) into a convincing frontal, head and shoulders portrait of the man described in La Billardière's narrative: stout, middle-aged, 'European' in features, with a scarred body and an aura of authority. Within the limitations of a linear technology, the engraving is a faithful, reversed reproduction of the original tonal plate drawing.[47]

Piron's empirical practice was nonetheless shaped by his neoclassical training and republican values, informed by contemporary Enlightenment philosophies about humanity and its ideal representation. Prevailing artistic conventions decreed that human figures should be depicted as universal types, drawing on classical and neoclassical models. Differentiation of ethnographic subjects was achieved by

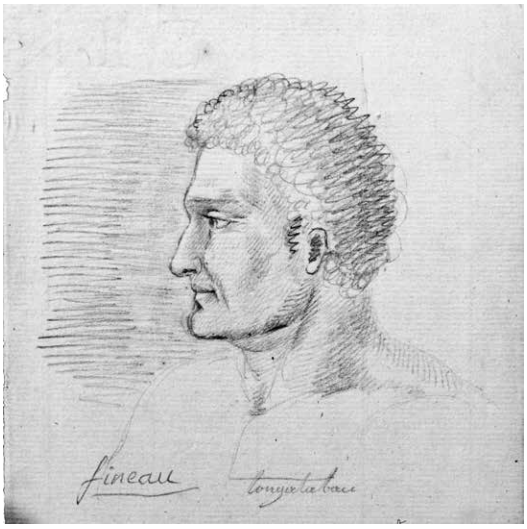

Figure 17.4. Piron's portrait sketch, probably of the Tongan chief Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Ma'ofanga, held in the Archives nationales de France. 'Fineau', [1793], pencil on paper (MAR 5 JJ 5[2]).

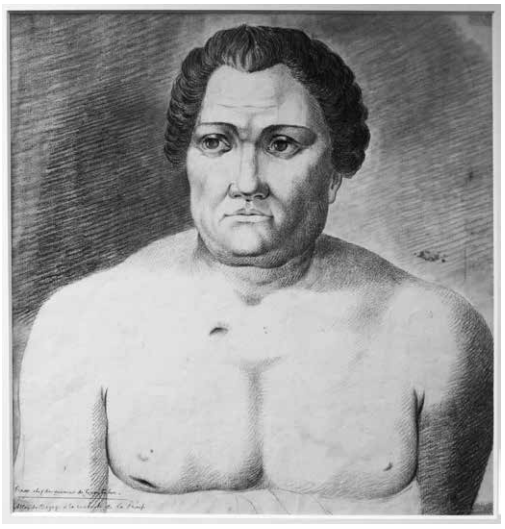

Figure 17.5. Piron's preparatory plate drawing, probably of the Tongan chief Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Ma'ofanga, in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. 'Finau, chef des guerriers de Tongatabou', [1793–5], crayon on paper (ICONO PP0184858).

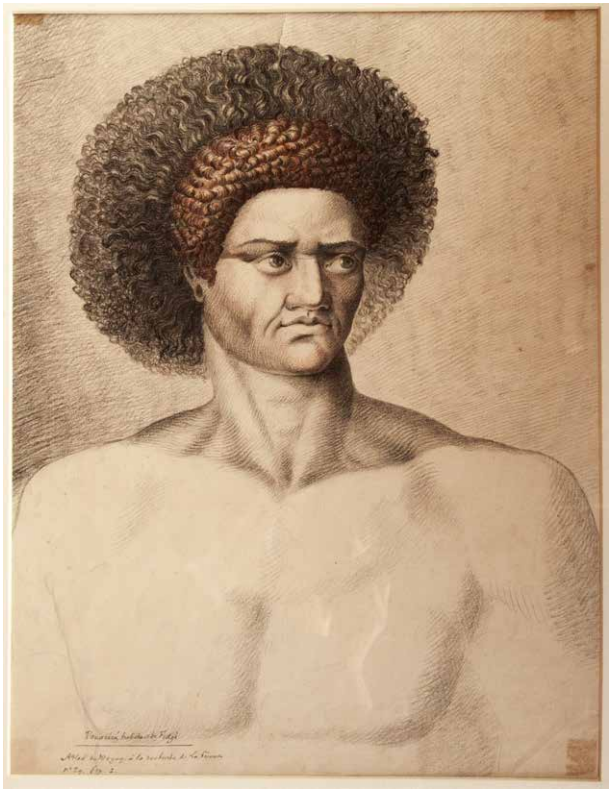

Figure 17.6. Piron's preparatory plate drawing of a Fijian named Vouacécé, met by the French in Tongatapu, in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. 'Vouacécé, habitant de Fidji', [1793–5], crayon enhanced with red chalk on paper (ICONO PP0184857).

scrupulous concern for details such as hair style, dress, weapons, and accoutrements, as in Vouacécé's carefully delineated Fijian coiffure (Figure 17.6), very different from that shown on Tongans.[48] The sharply defined musculature of classical male portraiture was perhaps not inappropriate to many of the body shapes seen by the French in Tongatapu. La Billardière described Tongans as 'in general, very tall and well built', with a 'fine shape' and 'very pronounced muscles'.[49] Bruni d'Entrecasteaux opined that Vouacécé 'was not a more beautiful man than the Friendly Islanders; for it is impossible to see a finer race of men, especially that of the chiefs'. However, he was of 'equally fine physique'.[50]

Conclusion

Important light is cast on a significant period in the history of Tonga by the descriptions of Tongatapu and its inhabitants recorded in La Billardière's *Relation* and illustrated in the varied visual archive of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage, including the engravings in La Billardière's *Atlas*. These materials are historically salient, despite the brevity of the French visit, the unfamiliarity of place, people, and their language, and the preconceptions which the visitors owed to prevailing contemporary ideas, the precedents of earlier voyage publications, or personal experience and values. French efforts to name the individuals they met, describe what they saw, and record what they were told throw useful light on key Tongan protagonists, their interrelationships, and their actions. Such details illuminate the antecedents to a period of intense dynastic

rivalries in Tonga, which culminated in decades of civil war engulfing the archipelago from the late 1790s. The complexities of these antecedent events and relationships are often no longer fully appreciated, but the fleeting glimpses of a past world inscribed in the written and visual residues of this French voyage can help redress gaps in modern historical knowledge.

Notes

1 La Billardière, *Relation du voyage …* (Paris, 1800), II:92–177; *Atlas …* (Paris, 1800).

2 See Chapter 1.

3 La Billardière's two-volume *Relation* of the voyage with its *Atlas* of engraved plates appeared in France in 1800. Separate illustrated English translations were published that year by John Stockdale and John Debrett and a German edition in 1801–2. The work was reprinted several times in France and the *Atlas* was reissued in 1817.

4 Chapter 14. Bruni d'Entrecasteaux found Cook's vocabulary of 'little help' and praised the 'quite systematic application' with which several of his own shipmates tackled the task of acquiring 'some knowledge of the inhabitants' language'. *Voyage …* (Paris, 1808), I:300, 303.

5 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:128.

6 Ibid.:94.

7 Ibid.:94–5.

8 Ibid.:98.

9 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:285, 290–1, 304; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:96, 98, 113, 123. The English editions of La Billardière's narrative replace his French orthography for three of these names with that used in Cook's third voyage narrative: Feenou, Toubou, and Fattafaihe. Cook and King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean …* (London, 1784), I:231, 283–5.

10 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:95.

11 For example, Ibid.:98–9, 104, 110–11, 114–15, 118, 140.

12 Bott [Spillius], 'Discussions of Tongan Custom …', 1958–9, Palace Records Office, Nuku'alofa; Hocart, 'The Windward Islands of Fiji', 1909–12, National Library of New Zealand (qMS-0963):242; personal communications, Deryck Scarr, 1985; Fergus Clunie, 1985.

13 Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands …* (London, 1817), 2 vols.

14 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:162.

15 Herda and Lythberg, 'Featherwork and Divine Chieftainship in Tonga', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 123:3 (2014):277–300; Herda, Lythberg, Mills, and Taumoefolau, 'What's in a name?: Reconstructing Nomenclature of Prestige and Persuasion in Late 18th-Century Tongan Material Culture', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 126:4 (2017):443–68.

16 Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook …* (Cambridge, 1955–74), III:117; Cook and King, *Voyage*, I:267; John Hall after Webber, 'Poulaho, King of the Friendly Islands', in Ibid.: plate 18. Cook recorded the name of the 'King of Tongataboo' (Tu'i Tonga) as Paulaho, rendered Poulao by La Billardière. Cook and King, *Voyage*, I:264; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:98. However, since this term roughly translates as 'large scrotum or testicles' and is offensive to many Tongans today, we refer to him as Pau. See, Herda, Lythberg, Mills, and Taumoefolau, 'What's in a name?':461.

17 Pineda y Ramírez, 'Diario', 1792–3, Museo Naval, Madrid (MS 92).

18 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:113–14.
19 Ibid.:116.
20 Ibid.:114–16.
21 Ibid.:131–3.
22 Ibid.:113; Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:290.
23 For a detailed reconstruction and documentation of late 18th-century Tongan rank, power, and politics in the context of European voyages, see Bott, 'Power and Rank in the Kingdom of Tonga', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 90:1 (1981):7–81; Herda and Lythberg, 'Featherwork and Divine Chieftainship in Tonga'.
24 For a discussion of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title in Tongan history see Campbell, 'The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Ancient Constitution of Tonga', *Journal of Pacific History* 17:4 (1982):178–94.
25 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:305–6; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:106, 164, 172.
26 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:116, 131–2, 134.
27 Ibid.:158–9; Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:296.
28 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:123.
29 Bott with Tavi, *Tongan Society at the Time of Captain Cook's Visits* … (Wellington, 1982):61; see also Thomas, [Notebook], 1862–73, NLA (MS 4070):29.
30 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:163–4.
31 O.F. Veikune, 'Tohi Hohoko 'eni 'a O.F. Veikune', n.d. Palace Records Office, Nuku'alofa.
32 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:125–6, 162–3.
33 Ibid.:164.
34 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:304.
35 Cook and King, *Voyage*, I:336–54. See Herda and Lythberg, 'Featherwork and Divine Chieftainship in Tonga':291–3.
36 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:304; Martin, *An Account*, I:133.
37 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:98–9, 153, 170.
38 Ibid.:164; Bott [Spillius], 'Discussions of Tongan Custom':241–2.
39 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:106; Malaspina, *Viaje Político-científico Alrededor del Mundo por las Corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida* … (Madrid, 1885):382.
40 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:171.
41 Ibid.:106.
42 Bott [Spillius], 'Discussions of Tongan Custom':n.p.
43 Piron, [Esquisses], [1792–5], ANF (MAR 5 JJ 4, 5^2); [Dessins], [1792–5], MQB – JC (MQB ICONO). See Chapters 13, 18.
44 Piron, [Esquisses], ANF (MAR 5 JJ 5^2).
45 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:312–13; La Billardière, *Relation*, II:164–6. For a linguist's opinion on the likely equivalent of this name in Fijian as Vuasese, see Paul Geraghty, 'French Expedition', *Fiji Times Online*, 5 November 2016 http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?ref=archive&id=377400
46 Anon. [after Piron], 'Finau, chef des guerriers de Tongatabou'; Copia after Piron, 'Vouacécé, habitant des îles Fidgi'; 'Femme des îles des Amis', in La Billardière, *Atlas*: plates 8 ([fig. 2]), 29 ([fig. 2]), 30 ([fig.1]).
47 Anon. [after Piron], 'Finau, chef des guerriers de Tongatabou', in La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 8 ([fig. 2]).
48 See Chapters 13, 18. See also Leclerc-Caffarel, 'Exchange Relations Between Fijians and Euro-Americans (1774–1854) …' (Norwich, 2013), I:82.
49 La Billardière, *Relation*, II:175.
50 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage*, I:312–13.

CHAPTER 18

Translation and Transformation—Piron's Drawings

NICOLA DICKSON

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A year or two ago, I crossed the D'Entrecasteaux Channel by ferry and spent a week on Bruny Island, Tasmania. Walking along the beach of Adventure Bay—the location of landings by the English voyagers Cook, Furneaux, and Bligh and the Frenchman Bruni d'Entrecasteaux—was an evocative experience. I visited in January, the same time of year as the second landing by Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. Many of the plants illustrated in the *Atlas* of the naturalist La Billardière were flowering and readily identifiable, as was the *perruche à taches noires* (ground parrot with black marks), also the subject of a plate in the *Atlas*.[1] Yet evidence of the history of encounters between Europeans and the island's Indigenous people exists only as place names and memorials. This absence is in stark contrast to the optimistic concept of living humanity represented in the *Atlas* engravings of the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land.

Experiencing the geographic location of Adventure Bay as a cultural place—a locality endowed with a layering of historical events—is enabled by reading texts that reveal these histories. Since studying Bernard Smith's *Imagining the Pacific* as a student,[2] I have been fascinated by occurrences during the European voyages of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Contemplation of the possible perceptions and thoughts generated by encounters between Indigenous and European peoples—both actual and those mediated by representations—interests me greatly. Insights gained from contemporary interpretations of these experiences are much enriched by opportunities to view and reflect on the collections amassed during the voyages. Such archival materials inspire my artistic practice, which visually re-presents these histories. The voyage artefacts act as touchstones across time and space. The persistent traces of the hands and minds they expose emphasize the mutuality of human experience. As an Australian person firmly grounded in the present, my ability to connect directly with the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux expedition is only possible via extant contemporary records and relics. My situation is partly comparable to that of a European person of the 1800s—such as Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and his crew, including Piron—whose understanding and knowledge of distant people and lands encountered were facilitated by published accounts and the display of artefacts. Certainly, such readers were better placed than I to grasp the discourses of the time and the tacit meanings they underpinned. However,

the physical attributes informing the relics' aesthetic qualities persist, implying the possibility of shared perceptions.

Piron's drawings

Among the collections assembled during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage is a corpus of drawings created by the artist Jean Piron.[3] Piron remained part of the expedition until its dissolution in Java when, as a republican supporter, he was detained by the Dutch. Eighteen months later, ill health prevented his leaving when the opportunity arose. Convinced of the value of the visual materials he had amassed, he copied numerous drawings for La Billardière to take back to France to be published as part of the record of the voyage. The ultimate fate of Piron and the drawings he retained is unknown, after he was seen by a former shipmate in Manila in 1799.[4] Both at the time of their creation and now, direct access to the surviving drawings is limited, apart from low-resolution online reproductions of those held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac in Paris.[5] Piron's drawings were not themselves intended for public viewing but as a resource for the manufacture of engraved plates, enabling the printing and circulation of multiple copies of the images. The processes used to create an engraved plate and then print from it are completely different in nature from those used for drawing. Rather than being spontaneous and immediate, they are laborious and strictly sequential. Despite marked changes in the quality of the image as Piron's tonal drawings were translated into linear engravings by another artist, their derivation from the visual records created by an eyewitness and their publication within the journal of an eminent naturalist endowed them with great veracity for a European public captivated by tales of different peoples and places. Then and now, the collection of engraved plates in La Billardière's *Atlas* is the most accessible tangible visual record of the expedition.

Piron used a range of mediums and techniques to construct his drawings. Some are simple pencil or ink sketches, with minimal rendering of form. Others were executed with a combination of black and sanguine crayon, pencil, and ink wash, or black crayon and gouache to extend the tonal range. Both white and coloured papers were used as grounds. The 27 drawings archived in the Museé du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac vary in complexity. Most could be described as 'finished' drawings and appear to be the foundational images that various engravers—Jacques-Louis Copia, Jacques-Louis Pérée, and Pierre Maleuvre—used to develop the plates for the *Atlas*. These drawings show no evidence of the tentative structural marks guiding a drawn response to a novel experience.

This is not the case with most of the drawings by Piron held in the Archives nationales de France in Paris.[6] Many are raw—immediate pencil and crayon field sketches (Figure 18.1). Searching for forms to describe what he observed**,** Piron used multiple lightly drawn lines to form quickly the familiar anatomical building blocks of the human spine, major muscle groups, neck, and head. A heavier line then emphasized the chosen form. This rapid technique for rendering the figure is the same as that still taught to student artists. The speed of execution demanded for such field drawings to capture quickly and accurately the movement of a body, the arrangement of a group of people, or a facial profile implies well learnt skills. As I look at these sketches, I am struck by the communality between Piron and myself within the experience of observational drawing. Sharing and understanding a familiar process invites me

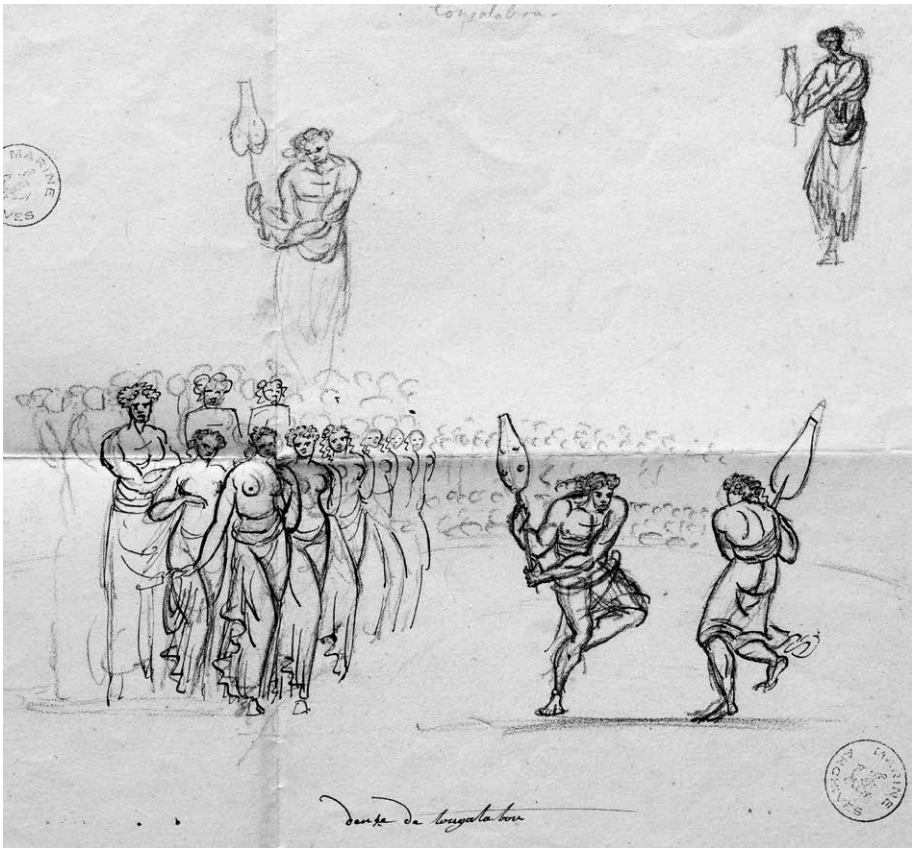

Figure 18.1. Piron's field sketch of a dance in Tongatapu held in the Archives nationales de France. 'Danse de tongatabou', [1793], pencil and ink on paper (Marine 5 JJ 4).

to imagine the circumstances of the creation of Piron's sketches. I wonder what he might have felt and thought as he recorded events and people physically encountered, how he selected what to draw amid overwhelming sensory and emotive experiences. Furthermore, experiential appreciation of the process of developing a field sketch into a more complex representation stimulates me to speculate why Piron made the particular formal choices he did in order to transform his observational sketches into idiosyncratic preparatory plate drawings.

These preparatory plate drawings reveal Piron to be a trained artist capable of making images with a high degree of verisimilitude. However, several persistent stylistic features suggest his intention was more complex than solely producing a visual record of outward appearances. The human figures he drew resemble those decorating Etruscan vases and feature highly emphasized musculature and elongation of the neck and legs, with a corresponding diminution in the size of the head and torso. The figures, frequently clothed in flowing drapery drawn to stress movement and form, are arranged into postures derived from classical sculpture. The strong classical references evidenced in Piron's plate drawings and their subsequent engravings have been noted

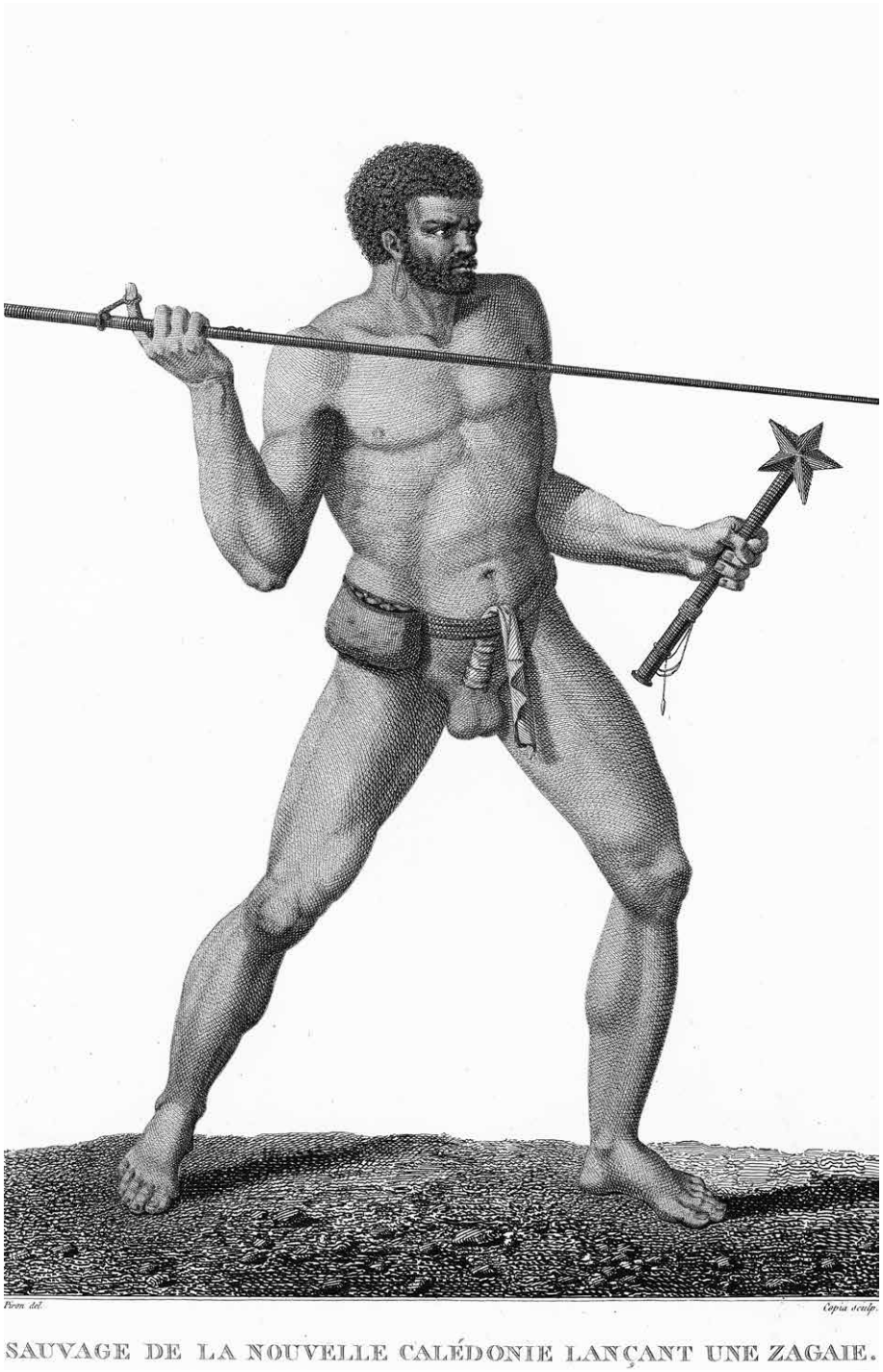

Figure 18.2. Plate 35 of La Billardière's Atlas *showing a Kanak man in New Caledonia throwing a spear. Copia after Piron, 'Sauvage de la Nouvelle Calédonie lançant une zagaie', 1800, engraving.*

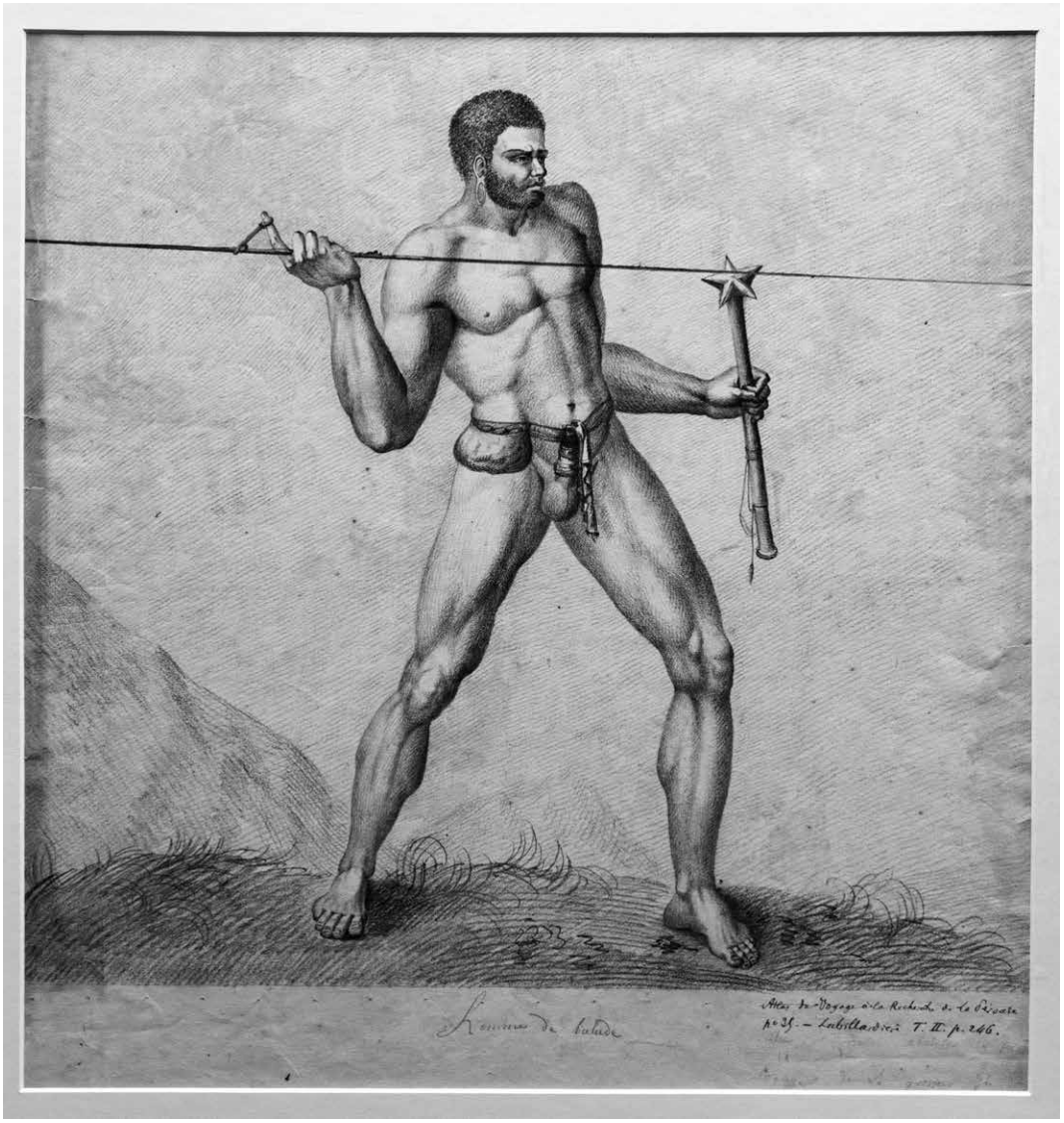

Figure 18.3. Piron's preparatory plate drawing of a Kanak man at Balade, New Caledonia, in the collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. 'Homme de balade', [1793–5], pencil on paper (ICONO PP0154787).

by several authors.[7] The persistent distortions of form meant that some commentators judged his figure drawing as defective and of little merit.[8]

The distinctive features of Piron's drawings are retained to a high degree in Copia's translations of the images into engraved plates. Where possible, comparing the engravings with corresponding drawings shows that the idealized musculature is preserved, though somewhat refined. Copia consistently increased the proportion of the head and frequently modified the posture of the body, the linear nature of the engraving hardening the human form into a sculptural stillness. Details of hair texture,

bodily ornamentation, and items of material culture found in the drawings persist in the prints. In several instances, the engraving is the reverse image of the drawing and they are almost identical, suggesting that these plates were based directly on tracings of Piron's drawings. For example, apart from reversal, the engraving 'Sauvage des îles de l'Amirauté' (Savage of the Admiralty Islands; see Figure 13.1) differs minimally from Piron's drawing held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.[9] However, in the engraving 'Sauvage de la Nouvelle Calédonie lançant une zagaie' (Savage of New Caledonia throwing a spear; Figure 18.2), the subject's posture, spear position, and facial expression are all subtly altered from the drawing (Figure 18.3). Moreover, the figures are not reversed, indicating that the image was totally redrawn. These slight but definite changes transform my reading of the image—from one where the subject hovers between readiness to throw the spear or flee to one of a person fully focussed on his target. Within the act of editing and 'perfecting' the image, inadvertent or deliberate shifts in meaning were created. Yet, despite the changes in form and materiality inherent in the transformation process, Piron's classical allusions remain as a consistent indicator of intention.

Piron: neoclassical artist

For Piron to fulfil his duties as expedition artist and create accurate visual records of the people and natural history of places visited, the physical presence of the subject was essential. Material artefacts had to be obtained, natural history specimens collected, and people bargained with. The creation of the drawings depended to varying degrees on negotiated encounters, the most intimate being those between himself as artist and an Indigenous person as acquiescent or involved subject. Piron's drawings are very personal artefacts recording these engagements and other events he witnessed. La Billardière's narrative describes the rapid and often unpredictable unfolding of encounters, their exact nature differing between locations.[10] Invariably such events involved intense meetings of bodies and minds driven by their needs and desires. Preconceptions and understandings on both sides converged to transform all involved.[11] Engulfed in emotional and sensory tumult, Piron was preoccupied with representing the people he drew *as he understood them*. His interpretations were moulded by the interplay of contemporary philosophies about the nature of humanity and how to render it visually, his republican ideals, and his actual experience of encounters. The drawings are material legacies of how Piron's beliefs and feelings influenced him to create representations that, in his terms, recorded his experience of people encountered more accurately than would mere naturalistic physical forms.

As a professional artist, Piron would have been trained within a highly institutionalized system of art education. Artistic practice at this time was intellectually directed and designed to engage with political and social issues. In France during the years preceding the Revolution, painting was a major conduit for the dissemination of aspirations for social change.[12] Enlightenment philosophies advocated cultural reform through reasoned thought. The complex, fantastic, asymmetrical imagery of the preceding Rococo period was considered a symptom of cultural excess and a widespread degeneration of values. Artists responded by attempting to endow their works with aesthetic qualities that would evoke the ethical qualities of truth, purity,

and honesty. Visual restraint, harmony, and balance were valued and progressively adopted. Artists were encouraged to extract the essence of a subject and represent it as a type or universal form using classicized exemplars from antiquity and the Renaissance. The revolutionary character and serious purpose of this visual language, termed 'Neo-classicism' in the mid-19th century, were perfectly understood and recognized by audiences of the time.[13]

The neoclassical visual strategies Piron deliberately employed to convey his perceptions are most evident in the 16 full- and half-length portraits of people among the engravings in the *Atlas*. Apart from a single map of the Indian and South Seas, the *Atlas* images can be categorized into two groups. The first comprises 10 narrative scenes featuring Indigenous people performing either ritual or daily activities and incorporating the use of cultural objects within a natural setting. Several depict the visiting Europeans observing or participating in these activities. The second group includes images of plants, birds, material artefacts, and people. These engravings have the formal characteristics of natural history illustration. Following the tenets of neoclassicism, the subjects are represented generically as 'type specimens'.[14] Piron's appropriation of body postures derived from classical statuary to represent the human figure further directs viewers familiar with classicized conventions. All subjects were depicted with a high level of descriptive detail, isolated in the flat empty space bounded by a linear rectangular border. This mode of rendering natural history subjects without any contextualizing background is typical of the period.

The degree of verisimilitude of the images ensures that viewers past and present can identify both similarities and differences in the natural history subjects, in comparison to forms of plants, birds, and people already known to them. The empty space surrounding these subjects, however, fosters a certain permissiveness in the interpretation. Considered separately, the isolated subject offers few clues for elucidation. The compilation of the engravings as a group within the object of the *Atlas* offers a framework for perceiving and understanding the engravings. Their assemblage and publication in a volume separate from the narrative accounts, viewable in any order, implies a strong commonality between the subjects and marked distinction from the viewer. Their ambiguity and pleasing aesthetic qualities endow them with a seductiveness that tempts viewers to absorb them as an entity prior, or as a substitute, to reading the written accounts in the narrative. They invite imagining. Their compilation provides a rich visual alphabet to imagine the foreign places and peoples encountered during the voyage.

Re-presenting Piron

Two hundred years ago, such imaginings occurred within an intellectual framework determined by the Enlightenment philosophies outlined above and emerging contexts of imperial expansion. By contrast, most modern interpretations of the engravings are shaped by postcolonial values and their visual expression in postmodernism. My artistic engagement with the history of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage is situated in this context and takes the form of the production of a body of five paintings derived from multiple quotations from the natural history plates.[15] My intention is to point to the complex dialogic nature of the recorded encounters which progressively

influenced Piron's conceptions and resultant representations. Imaginatively placing myself in the mindset of Piron, I re-present the images to communicate aesthetically the circumstances of their production. Combining quotations from the *Atlas* with neoclassical imagery provides a visual context for the work. Most classical allusions in French paintings of the second half of the 18th century are esoteric and lost to the contemporary viewer. Instead, I have utilized the simpler iconography of classicized ornamental imagery. Motifs such as scrolls, swags of drapery, beading, the acanthus leaf, shells, and palmate forms are readily interpreted today as 'classical'. Ornamental imagery serves as a social language, denoting wealth and prestige.[16] It reflects and subliminally informs cultural values due to its ubiquity and background repetitious nature. Incorporating it in my paintings enables visual expression of the influence of underlying Enlightenment discourses that informed European modes of seeing and representing exotic people contemporaneous with Piron.[17]

My strategy of melding the two forms of imagery uses a compositional structure derived from the ceiling designs of the English architect Robert Adam. His prodigious output influenced taste across Europe in the late 18th century.[18] His designs exemplify the conceptual basis of the visual character of neoclassicism, with its balanced, restrained adoption of classical iconography in order to convey ideals of character aesthetically through form (Figure 18.4). Adam commissioned painters to reproduce vignettes that

Figure 18.4. Nicola Dickson's photograph of a neoclassical ceiling design in Somerset House, London, 2012, photograph.

were quotations from pre-existing paintings depicting the subjects of Greek or Roman mythology. These quotations were painted in a highly representational manner. They operate formally and conceptually as motifs in the broad field of the ceiling design. Reference to classical themes is further emphasized by the presentation of these motifs in a frame composed of classical ornamental forms. These frames, which were either painted or comprised of stuccowork, unify and separate the individual motifs from the surrounding areas of flat colour.

Similarly, each of my Bruni d'Entrecasteaux paintings has a comparable symmetrical patterned structure, consisting of a series of geometrically shaped motifs regularly arranged in a hierarchy of sizes. Each painting contains between five to seven quotations from a number of engravings. I consider the five resultant paintings to be a single work. Inspired by the large scale of Adam's designs, the separate paintings are to be displayed closely together on a wall, enabling the viewer to experience the work as a assembly of interrelated images within an extended visual field.

The paintings are all acrylic and oil on linen and measure 137 cm in height. The width of each panel alternates between 111 and 91 cm. In reference to the pastel palettes frequently used by Adam, the initial layer constructed for each painting is a pale green ground created from multiple layers of translucent greens and blues. On to this ground is painted a central large motif encircled by smaller ones in each corner. The subject of each motif is a figure quoted from one of the black and white natural history engravings in the *Atlas*. I re-present the quotations naturalistically in colour using translucent layers of oil paint enlivened by a bronze underlay. People, plants, and material artefacts are depicted in detail, retaining the conventions of natural history illustration. Each subject occupies a shallow featureless space enclosed by a frame. The motifs are physically linked by the inclusion of a rectangular grid that intersects each of them and extends across the group of paintings. Formal unification of the series is further achieved by repetition of the framing structure used to isolate the motifs. The composition of the frames encircling each motif is integral to the meaning of the work and offers a context for interpreting the enclosed image. Unlike Adam's frames, mine are sinuous hybrid structures in which classicized forms such as the acanthus leaf are fused with images of various items of the material culture of Islanders illustrated in the *Atlas*. The intertwined imagery comprising the frames acts as a visual metaphor of the transformative experience of exchange that occurred in encounters.

The central motif is the dominant image of each painting, due to its scale, compositional location, and subject. The central motifs from left to right are quoted, respectively, from plate 35 ('Savage of New Caledonia throwing a spear'), plate 11 ('Hornbill of Waigiou Island'), plate 6 ('Woman of Cape Diemen'), plate 39 ('Magpie of New Caledonia'), and plate 36 ('Woman of New Caledonia').[19] I chose to quote images offering a rich exploration of the complexity of cross cultural encounters but also of encounters with place, since voyagers' physical experiences in different geographic locations influenced their developing conceptions. The imperative to collect, classify, and record previously undescribed species was an integral part of the scientific rationale underlying the voyage. Such representations of local flora and fauna, interesting in their novelty and potential economic value, informed European ideas about botany and about New Holland (Australia) and the Pacific Islands.

The relation of one central motif to another across the work was constructed to allow the re-presented nuances of body language to communicate across the series. In addition to compositional adhesiveness, this technique enables viewers to expand their engagement with the work by imagining their own narratives. Such considerations also directed my selection of the three full length portraits re-presented, from a possible four. Because birds are sentient, I chose them rather than plants to serve as the two remaining central motifs. The two images of perching birds were an obvious choice as their posture allowed for engagement with the human figures depicted and a straightforward re-presentation into a hybrid frame.

My criteria for the selection of images included whether it was possible to incorporate the form using neoclassical conventions. This was an important consideration in establishing balance and symmetry across the work, as was employing visual restraint in terms of marking, tone, and contrast in their re-presentation. To refer simultaneously to the intense, sensual nature of encounters, I countered this restraint by re-presenting the full length portraits on a scale comparable to the actual human body. The large scale, intense colour, and somewhat bizarre collation of *Atlas* imagery with classicized iconography offer viewers of the installed work a perceptual experience suggestive of the passion and unpredictability of encounters.

In contrast to Piron's experience as expedition artist, bombarded with visual information, I faced the challenge of a relatively small visual resource on which to draw. The shortage of representations of material artefacts from Van Diemen's Land in the *Atlas* made it difficult always to create frames culturally consistent with the subjects portrayed within. I persisted with my formal strategy, however, as it was more important to symbolize an obvious European-Indigenous exchange within the hybrid frames than to maintain cultural consistencies unappreciated by most modern viewers.

The three re-presentations of Indigenous people in the left-, central, and right-hand panels are exemplars of the shifting relationship between conceptions of humankind and experiences of encounter that occurred during the expedition. In each image, ethnographic details such as hair texture, marks of ritual scarification, ear lobe distortions, clothing, and objects are described empirically. Representations of the form and posture of the body, however, are based on neoclassical conventions. Bronwen Douglas pointed out that these type specimens encapsulate the collective experience between members of the expedition and Indigenous groups. Such experiences were governed to a large extent by the Indigenous people encountered, whose desires and motivations determined their demeanour, modes of communication, and actions. These actions impacted on European intentions, conceptions, and resultant textual and visual representations.[20]

In the central painting, a Tasmanian woman balances an infant precariously perched on her shoulders (Figure 18.5). The gesture of her left hand with its tapering fingers suggests a painting by Raphael. The exact source of this image is less important than acknowledging that the woman's calm, balanced, idealized body reflects the esteem Piron held for the 'natural man' he believed he had encountered in Van Diemen's Land. This evaluation was also expressed by La Billardière who recounted multiple peaceful encounters with individuals and family groups during the expedition's second landing in Van Diemen's Land in 1793.[21]

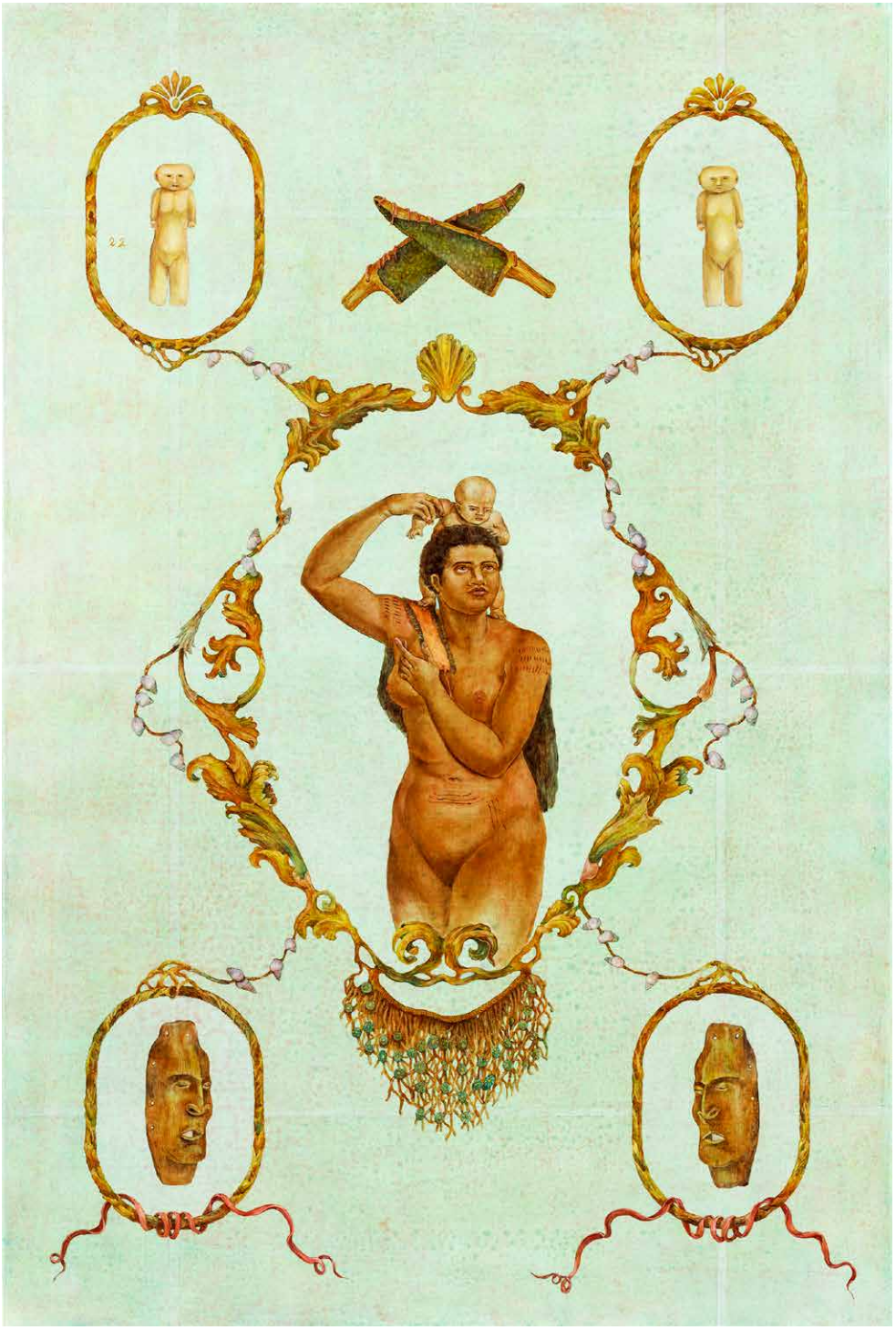

Figure 18.5. Nicola Dickson's painting of a woman of Van Diemen's Land. 'Femme du Cap de Diemen after Piron', 2014, acrylic and oil on linen (artist's collection).

Figure 18.6. Nicola Dickson's painting of a Kanak man in New Caledonia. 'Sauvage de la Nouvelle Calédonie after Piron', 2014, acrylic and oil on linen (artist's collection).

The static serenity of this image is in stark contrast to the dynamic figures of Kanak in New Caledonia depicted in the left- and right-hand paintings. The striking image on the left depicts a man with exposed genitalia in a highly combative pose (Figure 18.6). His body and upheld spear face the other paintings but his determined facial expression focusses further away. On the right, a Kanak woman stands in an active contrapposto pose, her steady gaze directed resolutely outside the frame (Figure 18.7). Both figures display well developed musculature, in contrast to La Billardière's description of the thin, hungry people met in New Caledonia.[22] Tension between neoclassical ideals and empirical description is evidenced strongly in these images which represent idealized type specimens but convey indirectly the sustained assertive intentions of Kanak towards the voyagers.[23]

I selected the corner motifs and the Indigenous artefacts used to construct the hybrid frames for the central motifs from the engravings of 'Effets' (effects) in La Billardière's *Atlas*.[24] These plates assemble images of multiple items of the material cultures of Tonga and New Caledonia depicted in vastly different scales and composed in a balanced arrangement. Pérée is named as the engraver of two of the plates but the others are unattributed. Only one acknowledges an original artist, in this case La Billardière himself. These objects were probably drawn or engraved directly in Europe from collected artefacts. The small, individual black and white figures in these plates do not clearly elaborate the materiality of each object. Each is identified by a number corresponding to the 'Table des planches' (Table of plates) published in La Billardière's narrative of the voyage.[25] The physical separation of image from table and the paucity of information provided ensure that the primary impression given by the representation of artefacts in these plates is of a jumble of slightly perplexing objects. The conception that the inhabitants of New Caledonia were assured, aggressive people is reinforced by the depiction in the *Atlas* of numerous examples of Kanak weaponry. I incorporated several of these objects into the frames and corner motifs in the left- and right-hand paintings.

Unfortunately, there is no comparable 'Effets' plate of items from Van Diemen's Land. Baskets and a water carrier are depicted in the narrative scenes in Plates 4 and 5 of the *Atlas* but the forms of these objects were unsuitable to integrate into framing structures. In choosing corner motifs for the central painting, I elected instead to use Tongan and Kanak representations of the human form included in the 'Effets' plates (a statue and a mask) as counterpoint to the highly idealized Western representation of the 'Femme du cap de Diemen'. My melange of images derived from different locations within the one painting is a conscious strategy which leaves their nature and significance open for speculation. As poorly differentiated items of material culture, they collapse differences between groups encountered. However, the captions in the 'Table des planches' gesture to an acknowledgement of shared humanity by invoking analogy with known or assumed usages ('rasp', 'fishhook', 'pillow', 'club' …). My approach mirrors the Eurocentric conceptual grouping of the subjects of the engravings as 'others', distant and different from the viewer, but also assimilable as fellow human beings.

The two paintings referencing encounters with place are positioned to the left and right of the central panel: one re-presents the hornbill of Waigeo Island (Figure 18.8); the other, a New Caledonian magpie (Figure 18.9). In these works, slings, combs, fishhooks, clubs, and necklaces meld with classical iconography to form the frames that encircle the birds. Experiences of place are further evidenced by the re-presentation

Figure 18.7. Nicola Dickson's painting of a Kanak woman in New Caledonia. 'Femme de la Nouvelle Calédonie after Piron', 2014, acrylic and oil on linen (artist's collection).

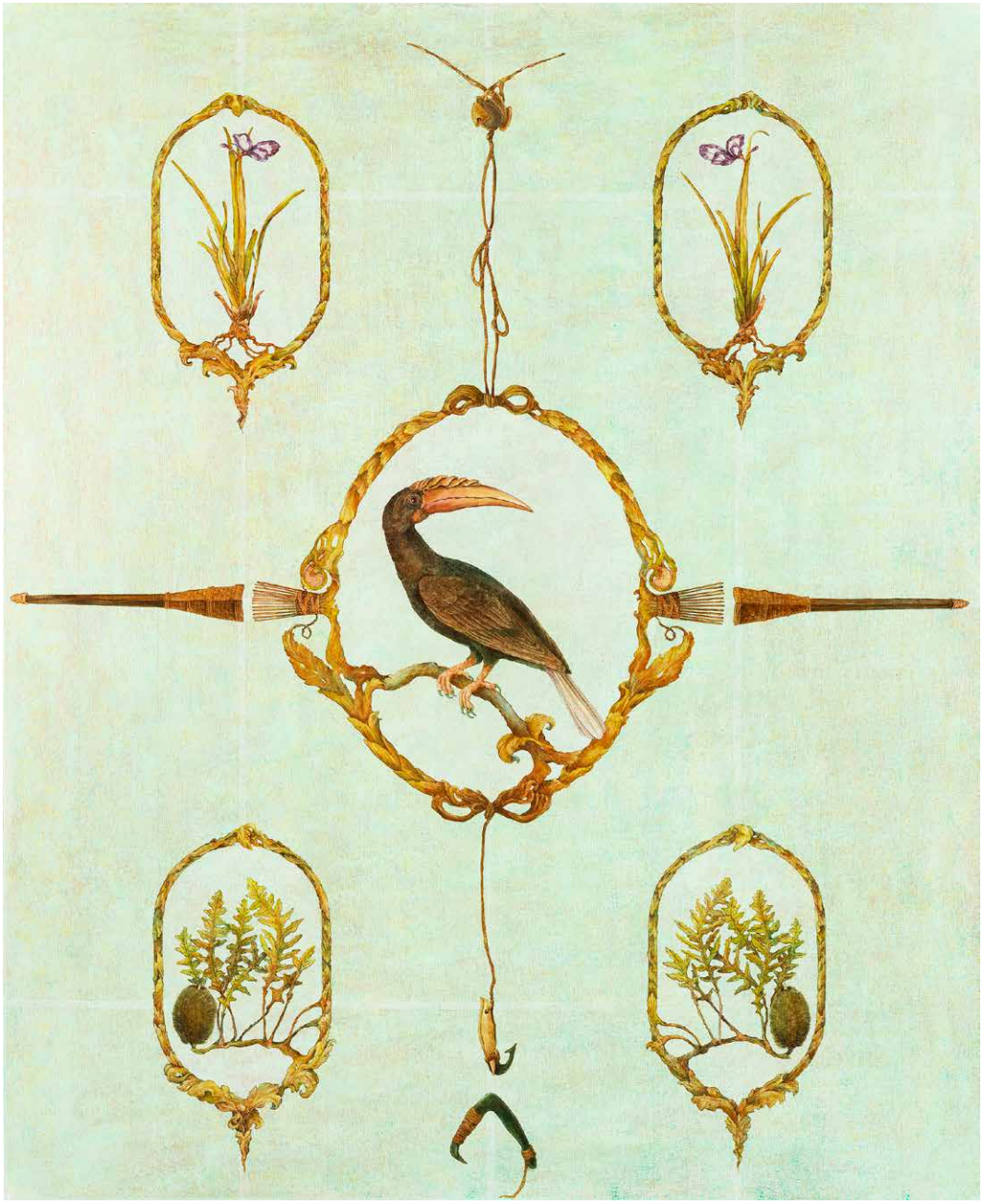

Figure 18.8. Nicola Dickson's painting of a hornbill of Waigeo Island. 'Calao de l'île de Waygiou after Audebert', 2014, acrylic and oil on linen (artist's collection).

of botanical engravings as corner motifs. Most of the botanical plates in the *Atlas* are attributed to the well known Flemish botanical artist Pierre-Joseph Redouté, in some cases 'perfected' from original drawings by Piron. As Redouté did not accompany the voyage, it is obvious that these images were made after La Billardière's return to Europe and the repatriation of his plant collection from England.

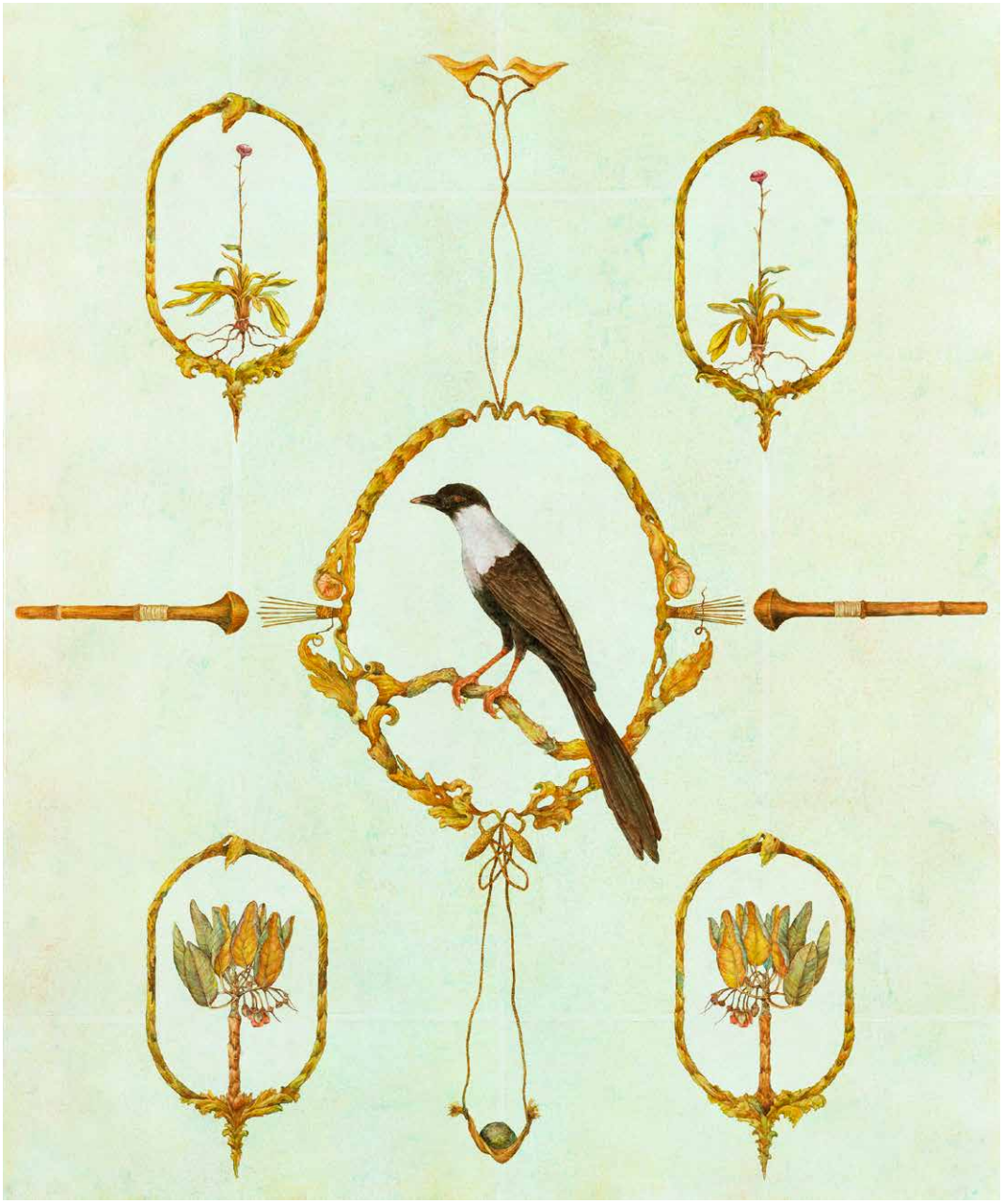

Figure 18.9. Nicola Dickson's painting of a magpie in New Caledonia. 'Pie de la Nouvelle Calédonie after Audebert', 2014, acrylic and oil on linen (artist's collection).

Images of plants previously unidentified by Europeans generated a great deal of public and scholarly interest. As a botanist, La Billardière naturally gave prominence to such specimens in his *Atlas* and described their discovery and identification in detail in his narrative. He later published a two-volume work on the flora of Australia, lavishly illustrated with engravings. Some were derived from Piron's drawings.[26]

Conclusion

The collection of engravings in La Billaridère's *Atlas* offers a portal to engagement with events and encounters that occurred during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition. In creating my Bruni d'Entrecasteaux painting series, I did not intend simply to reproduce selected engravings in paint but to re-present them in a manner that allows the contemporary viewer to engage aesthetically with and reappraise the original imagery. Translating an image from one medium to another inevitably changes our perceptions of the image due to the different aesthetic qualities of each medium. Combined with shifts in scale, different modes of presentation, and personalized processes of working, any translated image is endowed with unique qualities. The particular way I have re-presented selected engravings as paintings was directed by my aim to allude to the cultural framework that informed Piron's drawings, the contexts of exchange and encounter that enabled and informed the drawings, and the operation of certain formal qualities of the collection of engravings on viewers' readings of the works. Significantly, the original drawings, translated into the engravings that I have quoted, are now transformed into paintings that sit conceptually within the context of contemporary Western art. Their public circulation will consist of reproduction in a book and also as an exhibition on a gallery wall. This particular cultural space invites critical scrutiny and evaluation of the intentions of the images in a completely different manner from viewing the engravings in the *Atlas*. In this circumstance, viewers will perceive and interpret the installed imagery as an entity, independent from other relics of and treatises on Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition.

The practice of recycling and re-working images has been used throughout the history of Western art. The re-presentation of images from La Billardière's *Atlas* into a new context is consistent with the very strategy Piron, the neoclassical artist, intentionally used to convey meaning in his representations. As such, my strategy helps convey a sense of the complexity of meaning revealed by these visual relics of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage.

Notes

1 Pérée after Audebert, 'Perruche à taches noires du Cap de Diemen', in La Billardière, *Atlas* … (Paris, 1800): plate 10.

2 Smith, *Imagining the Pacific* … (Carlton, 1992).

3 Duyker, *Citizen Labillardière* … (Carlton, 2003):74.

4 Collins and Hannah, 'Through Classicising Eyes: Revisiting Piron's Images of Pacific Islanders from d'Entrecasteaux's Voyage', *Journal of New Zealand Art History* 29 (2008):33; Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique* … (Paris, 1986):65, note 48.

5 Piron, [Dessins], [1792–5], MQB – JC (ICONO).

6 Piron, [Esquisses], [1792–5], ANF (MAR 5 JJ 4, 5[2]).

7 Collins and Hannah, 'Through Classicising Eyes':27; Douglas, 'Art as Ethno-historical Text …', in *Double Vision* … (Cambridge, 1999):74; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:221; Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* … (Oxford, 1969):110–11.

8 Hamy, 'Notice sur une collection de dessins provenant de l'expédition de d'Entrecasteaux', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 7[e] série, 17 (1896):130; Richard, *Une grande expédition*:65.

9 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 3; cf. Piron, 'Homme des isles de l'amirauté', in [Dessins] (ICONO PP0154838).

10 La Billardière, *Relation du voyage* … (Paris, 1800).

11 Jolly and Tcherkézoff, 'Oceanic Encounters: a Prelude', in *Oceanic Encounters* … (Canberra, 2009):1.

12 Spate, 'Introduction', in *French Painting* … (Sydney, 1980):6.

13 Honour, 'Neo-Classicism', in *The Age of Neo-Classicism* … (London, 1972):xxii, xxv

14 Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 81.

15 Dickson, 'The Bruni d'Entrecasteaux Volume' (Canberra, 2014).

16 Trilling, *Ornament* … (Seattle, 2003):84.

17 Douglas, 'In the Event: Indigenous Countersigns and the Ethnohistory of Voyaging', in *Oceanic Encounters* … (Canberra, 2009):175.

18 Stillman, *The Decorative Work of Robert Adam* (London, 1966):31.

19 Péree after Audebert, 'Calao de l'île de Waigiou'; 'Pie de la Nouvelle Calèdonie', in La Billardière, *Atlas*: plates 11, 39; Copia after Piron, 'Femme du cap de Diemen'; 'Sauvage de la Nouvelle Calédonie lançant une zagaie'; 'Femme de la Nouvelle Calédonie', in Ibid.: plates 6, 35, 36.

20 Douglas, 'In the Event':175, 180; see Chapter 2.

21 La Billardiere, *Relation*, II:43; See Chapter 2.

22 Ibid., *Relation*, II:184.

23 Douglas, 'Art as Ethno-historical Text':75; 'In the Event', 188.

24 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plates 31–3, 37–8. See Figures 1.6–1.10.

25 La Billardière, 'Table des planches …', in *Relation*, II, Tables:105–7.

26 La Billardière, *Novæ Hollandiæ: plantarum specimen* (Paris, 1804–6), 2 vols.

Lisa Reihana's *Emissaries*

Billie Lythberg

Following a chance encounter in Canberra in 2005 with a panoramic French wallpaper summarizing 18th-century voyages in the Pacific,[1] Māori multi-media artist Lisa Reihana has produced a series of works that reimagine *Les sauvages de la mer pacifique* (The savages of the Pacific Sea) as large-scale digital installations. *in Pursuit of Venus* (2012) [*iPOV*] and *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]* (2015–2017) [*iPOVi*] are live action masterworks of filmic interrogation.[2] All feature contemporary Pacific peoples engaged in the cultural activities upon which the original wallpaper was based. *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]* (2015–2017) also includes British navigator James Cook and his men, its title denoting pathogens and miscegenation.

Les sauvages de la mer pacifique (Figure 18.10) was realized by Jean-Gabriel Charvet—a known admirer of the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau—and exemplifies both universalist French Enlightenment perceptions of human similarities and differences and the cutting-edge technologies of the time. Ten metres long, the 20-panel wallpaper required the capabilities of 'designers, papermakers, pigment chemists, woodblock cutters, printers' as well as 'the vision of industrialists'.[3] More than one thousand engraved wood blocks were required to print, individually, its lush colours.[4] Each 2.5 metre long drop was assembled from pieces of handmade paper, probably 610 x 459 mm, with hand-painted details overlaying printed faults and pasted joins.[5] In many ways, the construction and decoration of the wallpaper resembled barkcloth making in Polynesia.

The wallpaper was later often referred to as *Les voyages du capitaine Cook* (The voyages of Captain Cook).[6] However, in his 48-page prospectus for the project, the manufacturer Joseph Dufour acknowledged La Billardiere's narrative of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage as his source for sections to be devoted to the 'peoples' of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), New Holland (Australia), and the Admiralty Islands. He explained that they would occupy the middle ground of panels 18 and 19—though in the finished work they extend into panel 20. Following Dufour's plan, Charvet represented men and women variously fishing, preparing the sail of a canoe, grouped beneath coconut palms, and resting after a meal.[7] Close scrutiny of panel 20 reveals a Tasmanian kelp water carrier positioned behind a woman kneeling to gather shellfish. One such artefact features in an engraving by Copia in La Billardière's *Atlas* of the voyage: 'Sauvages du Cap de Diemen préparing leur repas' (Savages of Cape Diemen preparing their meal) (see cover and Figure 2.5).[8] The modern revival of these Tasmanian women's artworks is the subject of Julie Gough's feature in this book.[9]

Dufour's imagined 'general gathering place' was 'Otahïti' (Tahiti), named *la Nouvelle-Cythère* (New Cythera, the island of Aphrodite, the Roman Venus) in Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's 'so seductive description', following his visit in 1768.[10] Supposed 'kings' and 'queens' and their most elegant subjects occupy the foreground of this evocative dreamland, while less beguiling people, events, and encounters—including the death of Cook in Hawai'i, shown in panel 10—are relegated to the middle distance: that is, to areas designed for excision to accommodate the doorways and windows of the upper- and middle-class domestic spaces for which the wallpaper was designed. The Admiralty Islanders and Tasmanians, met and admired by Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and his men,[11] are consigned

to just such background status within 'a kind of imaginary utopia peopled in the most unlikely way with a few familiar subjects, such as the Three Graces, amid the unfamiliar luxuriant tropics that serve to reassure and to perhaps lend a hint of European authority over unfamiliar cultural domains'.[12]

Reihana first saw *Les sauvages de la mer pacifique* at the National Gallery Of Australia.[13] The only example of the wallpaper in Australia at the time of its purchase in 1983, its arrival at the NGA coincided with a burgeoning interest in the cultural legacy of French explorations of Australia, exemplified by the publication of Leslie Marchant's *France Australie* and the conference *The French Australian Connection*.[14]

While referencing Venus as both a location for European imaginations and for the planet's transit across the sun in 1769, for which Tahiti was a key observation point,[15] Reihana's series also include the cinematic moniker 'POV' for 'point of view': an apt denotation for her time-based digital artworks designed to challenge notions of representation and unsettle viewpoints. Technically and conceptually complex, they restore agency, movement, sound, dignity, solemnity, and humour to their Pacific inhabitants. In Reihana's hands, the wallpaper is recreated as a painted and painterly backdrop within which men and women, in dramatized scenes, dance, prepare and drink *kava*, joke, sing, and drum. Whereas Dufour's wallpaper wrapped a room, with its audience at the centre and Pacific-as-periphery, Reihana's viewer-as-witness is part of a circular journey as the 'panorama', now a slow-moving filmic loop, pans before their eyes. As each vignette unfolds, anticipation and revelation are masterfully handled: the point of view may be from behind the main actors and protagonists may slip out of frame while still moving, reminding the viewer that theirs is merely a glimpse of multiple, complex Pacific lives. An evocative soundscape conveys further information about what can and cannot be seen—the birdsong and ambient lapping of waves enhance this outdoor utopia.

With great subtlety, Reihana points towards things missing from Dufour's original and rewards those of her viewers able to bring lived experience of the Pacific and its people to their viewing. Anthropologist and historian Nicholas Thomas has described this series as 'the most remarkable work to date, by any contemporary artist, to engage the legacies of European romance and representation in the Pacific in relation to the Islanders' own sense of self'.[16]

As the centrepiece of Aotearoa-New Zealand's Venice Biennale installation in 2017, *Lisa Reihana: Emissaries, in Pursuit of Venus [infected]* is the first of Reihana's iterations to feature Australian Aboriginal people (Figure 18.11) and thus re-emphasize Tasmanian presence in the documentation of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage—strikingly so, in comparison to the relative absence of Aboriginal Australians in the many published accounts of Cook's three voyages. More than this, their re-occupying the foreground of *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]* (2017) offers a visual counterpoint to the myth of Australia as *terra nullius*, employed to justify the dispossession of the continent's original inhabitants. Reihana's restorative strategy extends to the catalogue of *Emissaries*, which includes an interview with Aboriginal artist Brook Andrews, reconsidering and reimagining colonial histories and, in Andrews' words, 'questioning historicity and the museum narrative'.[17]

Notes

1 Reihana explained that her partner and collaborator James Pinker was fascinated by the wallpaper on seeing it at the National Gallery of Australia and took her to see it.

2 Research for the project began in 2007. *in Pursuit of Venus* (2012) is a single channel video, eight minutes long; *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]* (2015) is a single channel immersive panaroma, 32 minutes long; as the centre piece of *Emissaries*, *in Pursuit of Venus* [infected] (2017) is 64 minutes long. For catalogues detailing these works, see AAG, *Lisa Reihana: In Pursuit of Venus* (Auckland, 2015); *Lisa Reihana: Emissaries* (Auckland, 2017).

3 Bioletti, Davey, and Peel, 'Made in Mâcon: Investigations into the Production of Wallpaper', in *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* (Sydney and Canberra, 2000):24.

4 Ibid.:25, note 11.

5 Ibid.:23.

6 Butler, 'Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique: In England, America and Australia', in *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*:16.

7 Dufour, *Les sauvages de la mer pacifique …* (Mâcon: 1804 [an XIII]):45.

8 La Billardière, *Atlas…* (Paris, 1800): plate 5.

9 Gough, *et al.*, *tayenebe: Tasmanian Aboriginal Women's Fibre Work* (Hobart, 2009). See Chapter 13, feature.

10 Dufour, *Les sauvages*:10, 22.

11 Chapter 2.

12 Capon, 'Foreword', in *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*:4.

13 For a list of complete and partial sets of this wallpaper in private and civic collection, see Hall, ed., *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* (Sydney and Canberra, 2000):44–7.

14 Butler, 'Les Sauvages':15; Marchant, *France Australe …* (Perth, 1982); Nisbet and Blackman, ed., *The French-Australian Cultural Connection …* (Kensington, 1984).

15 Cook, the naturalist Daniel Solander, and the astronomer Charles Green recorded the transit of Venus in Tahiti on 3 June 1769. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook …* (Cambridge, 1955–74), I:97–8.

16 Nicholas Thomas, in Stone and Reihana, *In Pursuit of Venus: Introducing the Panoramic Video by Lisa Reihana* (Auckland, n.d.).

17 Andrew and Reihana, 'In Conversation', in AAG, *Lisa Reihana: Emissaries*:77.

Figure 18.10. Charvet's design of Dufour et Cie's Les Sauvages de la mer Pacifique (The Voyages of Captain Cook), *1805, panels 11–20, held in the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, woodblock, printed in colour, from multiple blocks, hand-painted gouache through stencils, 170 x 1060 cm (83.1524.1–5).*

Figure 18.11. Detail of the Koomurri Mob in Lisa Reihana, in Pursuit of Venus (infected)*, 2017, still from single channel immersive panorama.*

PART 5

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EPILOGUE

CHAPTER 19

Reflections

NICHOLAS THOMAS

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In one sense, the questions are simple enough: what artefacts were collected? What became of them? Where are they now? But these questions of the assemblages made of Indigenous material culture—that is, Indigenous heritage—during the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, or any other to Oceania from the late 18th century onward, are anything but simple. The material archive—of specimens, books, manuscripts, field illustrations, and other visual sources—is extraordinarily rich yet also deeply challenging, from the perspective of the identification and documentation of artefacts. The evidence is fragmented, dispersed, often unavailable online, and difficult to interpret. Catalogues and publications include errors of fact or interpretation. Museum artefacts are in various instances uncatalogued or misleadingly catalogued. Many fanciful claims have been made for the voyage provenances of artefacts and relics.

Since the 1930s, scholars in Sweden, the US, Britain, New Zealand, Australia, and elsewhere have sought to identify the artefacts collected during the three voyages of James Cook. These investigations gained particular momentum from the 1970s onward and have attracted still more scholarly interest over the first decades of the 21st century, as the broader field of crosscultural encounter has been recognized as an especially fertile arena of inquiry and debate, across a range of disciplines including art history, anthropology, history, literary history, the history of science, and geography. The growing engagement of Indigenous scholars across the Pacific and around the Pacific rim has powerfully and positively challenged scholarly traditions and raised a host of new questions.

Given eight decades of research, it might be assumed that Cook-voyages artefacts have been conclusively identified and documented. To the contrary: while we indeed know a great deal more than we did, new studies seem only to draw attention to previously unsuspected complexities. Material known through archival sources is in various cases yet to be traced. In this context, it is truly astonishing that the editors and contributors to this book have succeeded, in a little longer than five years, in identifying some 170 artefacts (including a dozen plaster casts) across nine museums. This is all the more remarkable given that, though affiliated with the Cambridge-based Artefacts of Encounter and Pacific Presences projects, this scholarly voyage of rediscovery was supported through no major, dedicated funding. The book is moreover a significant

achievement for its fascinating re-assessment of the voyage as a whole, based on inquiry that fully integrates the diverse genres of source material dispersed across many collections.

I am prompted to step back from the detail of the particular study to reflect on what it is that is distinctive about historic, ethnographic artefacts. Consider the objects encountered in museums in relation to other notable expressions of culture and heritage: on the one hand, the elaborated houses that were (and sometimes still are) so prominent a feature of the inhabited, cultured landscape across the Pacific; on the other, the astonishing variety of self-decoration practices that were and often still are vital to ritual occasions and other ceremonial or public events. In relation to the former, artefacts are *portable*. In relation to the latter, artefacts are *durable*. These points are obvious, but they may be obvious in a consequential way. Artefacts such as those discussed and traced in this book were emphatically mobile, and it is this mobility that now appears to constitute their history: they were removed from their milieux of origin and successively recontextualized in varied private hands, institutions, and collections, and brought into potential or actual use in a correspondingly varied set of ways over time. That portability also makes it possible for things in the present to be circulated and shown, for example, in temporary exhibitions with particular cultural, geographic, and conceptual foci. That portability also makes it possible, in principle, that artefacts could in the future be returned to their communities of origin, temporarily or permanently.

Artefacts' durability is equally vital and constitutive. This is admittedly a relative condition—given the susceptibility of organic material, in particular, to decay. But it is this that enables created things to embody and exemplify the form, uses, and aesthetic elaboration intended by their makers and typically enacted through use prior to their European acquisition. That relative material stability, that embodiment of intention, enables them to constitute 'evidence of' historic Indigenous culture for those of us who encounter them decades or centuries after their making. As evidence, they are distinctively immediate, powerfully physical, yet also more or less indeterminate, in the sense that one may examine the physical expression of an artistic motif, but not have straightforward access to its intended effect or meaning.

That durability also makes artefacts especially tangible, potent, and often poignant as expressions of Indigenous heritage. That power and poignancy have been manifest in many of the artefact 'encounters' that participants and associates in the research projects referred to have been privileged to participate in. A term such as 'study visit' does not prepare one for just how intense and moving an opportunity to examine historic artefacts—in the company of experts, curators, artists, and Indigenous community members—can be.

There are many other issues opened up by histories of this kind. Ethnographic collections occupied ambiguous situations. While voyage records such as charts and journals were considered strictly the property of the Crown or the government body that commissioned the venture, artefacts were treated rather as personal souvenirs, yet souvenirs that mariners and savants often thought they should present to museums or universities. And the natural history of the period was paradoxically also both cosmopolitan and patriotic: specimens were exchanged widely but collections also

upheld as expressions of the scientific accomplishments of particular nations. Hence Joseph Banks's effort to return collections to La Billardière was perhaps an expression of personal generosity but also certainly of scientific statesmanship.

The depth of this book's historical scholarship creates a resource that will enable not only further work on the particular voyage and our understandings of the particular cultures represented in the collections, but also the deeper and broader exploration of what collection-making and ethnographic collection-making meant in Europe in the period. Many individual artefacts are moreover suggestive. The Tongan clubs that emulated European swords, now held in the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen in Leiden (RV-34-3) and Amsterdam (TM-A-812), exemplify the innovation in Indigenous material culture typical of late 18th-century Oceania, and yet typically overlooked. The documentation of pieces of this kind points toward a more deeply historicized understanding of the arts of Oceania, attentive to specific works and their histories rather than 'types' and 'traditions', hence also better equipped to acknowledge the sheer variety and ingenuity of Islander creativity over time. To conclude with a hope: that the collections re-assembled through this remarkable collective study may at some point in the future be re-assembled physically, through an exhibition that would enable the stories of this voyage, and of their moment in the history of Oceania, to be encountered and explored in person.

PART 6

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CATALOGUE

APPENDIX 1

Catalogue of the Objects

FANNY WONU VEYS, BILLIE LYTHBERG,

AND ANDY MILLS

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To view Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology objects, enter the museum object number (e.g. 67-10-70/355) in the 'Quick Search' box on the museum's 'Collections Online' page: https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/

Adzes

1: Ceremonial adze [handle only] (*Toki poutangata*); Aotearoa-New Zealand
Wood, *pāua* (abalone shell); 22 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiana; Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 10

2: Cast of BME 10; Ceremonial adze [handle only] (*Toki poutangata*); Aotearoa-New Zealand
Plaster, paint; 22 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-5

3: Adze [handle only]; New Caledonia
Wood, fibre; 22 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 9

4: Cast of BME 9; Adze [handle only]; New Caledonia
Plaster, paint; 22 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-4

5: Adze [handle only]; New Caledonia
Wood, fibre; 21 x 12 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; V/B-027

6: Adze; New Caledonia
Wood, stone, fibre; [dimensions unknown]
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864); Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-9
[Exchanged with Museo di Antropologia, Florence—whereabouts now unknown]

7: Adze; New Caledonia
Wood, stone, fibre; 21.5 x 16 x 10.5 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864); Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-10

8: Adze (*Toki*); Tonga
Wood, stone, coconut fibre; 52 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864); acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-8

Anthropomorphic carvings

9: Statuette; New Caledonia
Wood; 29 x 7.88 x 4.93 cm
Acquired from collection of Dominique-Vivant Denon (1826); Previously Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Musée des Antiquités nationales, Musée de Marine
Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, France; 72.56.125

10: Statuette; New Caledonia
Wood; 29.5 x 8.7 x 6.74 cm
Acquired from collection of Dominique-Vivant Denon (1826); Previously Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Musée des Antiquités nationales, Musée de Marine
Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, France; 72.56.126

11: Statuette; Tonga
Wood; 36.8 x 10.6 x 11 cm
Acquired from collection of Dominique-Vivant Denon (1826); Previously Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Musée des Antiquités nationales, Musée de Marine
Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, France; 72.56.127

Axes

12: Axe [handle only]; New Caledonia
Wood; 40 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 11

13: Cast of BME 11; Axe [handle only]; New Caledonia
Plaster; 40 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-2

14: Hache-ostensoir, Ceremonial axe (*Bwar*); New Caledonia
Wood, fibre, flying fox hair, nephrite; 57 x 25 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; V/B-025

15: Hache-ostensoir, Ceremonial axe (*Bwar*); New Caledonia
Wood, fibre, flying fox fur, shell, nephrite, European fabric; 57.3 x 21.7 x 16 cm
Previously Musée de l'Homme
Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, France; 71.1946.0.51 X

Bows, arrows, and spears

16: Bow; Ambon, Maluku Province, Indonesia
Wood, resin, pigment, gold leaf; 193 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 20

17: Bow (*Husul*); Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Black palmwood, split cane, fibre, pigment; 170 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 19

18: Bow; Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
Wood, fibre; 176 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 15

19: Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*); Tonga
Wood, fibre; 190 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 16

20: Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*); Tonga
Wood, fibre; 188 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 17

21: Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*); Tonga
Wood, fibre; 170 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 18

22: Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*); Tonga
Wood, fibre; 178.1 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864); Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801); Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/310

23: Arrow or Spear; Admiralty Islands, Manus Province, PNG
Wood, obsidian, parinarium nut paste; 128 cm, handle 98 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 13

24: Arrow or Spear; Admiralty Islands, Manus Province, PNG
Wood, obsidian, parinarium nut paste; 128 cm, handle 98 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 14

25: Arrow (*Lapi*); Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 71 cm, head 42 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 27

26: Arrow (*Lapi*); Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 91 cm, head 31 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 34

27: Arrow (*Lapi*); Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 90 cm, head 24 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 35

28: Arrow (*Lapi*); Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 84 cm, head 28 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 36

29: Long arrow (*Maltohu*); Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 125 cm, head 23 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 26

30: Long arrow (*Maltohu*); Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 133 cm, head 16 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 28

31: Long arrow (*Maltohu*); Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 110 cm, head 19 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 29

32: Long arrow (*Maltohu*); Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 157 cm, head 22 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 30

33: Arrow; Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 128 cm, handle 98 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 12

34: Arrow; Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 112 cm, head 17 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 31

35: Arrow; Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
Bamboo, bone, fibre; 127 cm, head 29 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 32

36: Arrow; Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
Bamboo, bone, fibre; 127 cm, head 22 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 33

37: Arrow; Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
Bamboo, bone, fibre; 125 cm, head 27 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 37

38: Arrow; Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
Bamboo, wood, bone, fibre; 98 cm, head 11 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 38

39: Fish arrow; Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 71 cm, head 13 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 39

40: 9 Sporting arrows (*Kaho*); Tonga
Bamboo, wood, fibre; various lengths, 70–80 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 22

41: 17 Sporting arrows (*Kaho*); Tonga
Bamboo, wood, fibre; various lengths 70–80 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 23

42: 3 Sporting arrows (*Kaho*); Tonga
Bamboo, wood, fibre; various lengths 70–80 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 24

43: War arrow (*Ngahau*); Tonga
Bamboo, wood, fibre; 114 cm, head 24 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 25

44: Spear (*Tao*); Tonga
Wood; 349.8 x 6.5 x 6.4 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801); Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/359

45: Spear (*Tao*); Tonga
Wood; 354 x 4.6 x 4.5 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801); Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/360

46: Spear (*Tabevatu*); Fiji
Wood; 255 x 5.4 x 5 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801); Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/376

47: Spear; New Caledonia?
Wood; 183 x 2 cm
Natura Artis Magistra Collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-813

Clubs

48: Club (*Tewhatewha*); Aotearoa-New Zealand
Wood; 146 x 18 x 2.5 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/352

49: Club; Fiji
Wood; 112 x 12.6 x 4.4 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/347

50: Club; Fiji
Wood; 89.5 x 18 x 3.9 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/350

51: Beaked Battle-hammer (*Tuki*); Fiji
Wood; 98 x 8 cm
Natura Artis Magistra collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1605

52: Fish-bladed Dance club (*Gugu*); Fiji
Wood; 99 x 12 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 4

53: Cast of BME 4; Fish-bladed Dance club (*Gugu*); Fiji
Plaster, paint; 99 x 12 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum),University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-7

54: Paddle club (*Culacula*); Fiji
Wood; 123 x 22 cm
Natura Artis Magistra Collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1630

55: Pole club (*Bowai*); Fiji
Wood; 110.5 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-2

56: One-handed Pole club (*Gadi*); Fiji
Wood; 90 x 6 cm
Natura Artis Magistra Collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1613

57: Ball-headed Throwing club (*Ula drisia*); Fiji
Wood; 59.6 x 9.4 x 8.3 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/351

58: Lobed Throwing club (*Ula tavatava*); Fiji
Wood; 41 cm, head 9 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 7

59: Cast of BME 7; Lobed Throwing club (*Ula tavatava*); Fiji
Plaster; 41 cm, head 9 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-1

60: Club; New Caledonia
Wood; 71 x 25 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; V/B-031

61: Club; New Caledonia
Wood; 69 cm, blade 20 x 25 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 5

62: Cast of BME 5; Club; New Caledonia
Plaster, paint; 69 cm, blade 20 x 25 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-6

63: Club; New Caledonia
Wood; 71 cm, head 13 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 6

64: Cast of BME 6; Club; New Caledonia
Plaster, paint; 71 cm, head 13 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-4b

65: Club; New Caledonia
Wood; 70 x 5.3 cm
Natura Artis Magistra collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1595

66: Club; New Caledonia
Wood; 60 x 30 cm
Natura Artis Magistra collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1596

67: Club; New Caledonia
Wood; 73 x 13 cm
Natura Artis Magistra Collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1614

68: Club *(Baru)*; Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
Wood; 132 x 7.5 cm
Natura Artis Magistra (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1657

69: Club; Tonga
Wood; 111.5 x 9.8 x 4 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/346

70: Club (*Apa'apai*); Tonga
Wood; 95 x 10 x 4 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. Lausanne, Switzerland; V/C-018

71: Club (*Apa'apai*); Tonga
Wood; 138 x 14 cm;
Natura Artis Magistra Collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1627

72: Club (*Apa'apai*); Tonga
Wood; 120 x 11 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 1

73: Cast of BME 1; Club (*Apa'apai*); Tonga
Plaster, paint; 120 x 11 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-10

74: Club (*Apa'apai*); Tonga
Wood; 79 cm
Donated (1808) and acquired by Aarnout Matthias van Citters
Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg, the Netherlands; 3600-BEV-Z-81

75: Paddle club (*Pakipaki*); Tonga
Wood; 102 x 11 x 7 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; V/C-019

76: Paddle club (*Pakipaki*); Tonga
Wood; 127 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-1

77: Paddle club (*Pakipaki*); Tonga
Wood; 112 x 10 cm
Natura Artis Magistra Collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1626a

78: Paddle club (*Pakipaki*); Tonga
Wood; 123 x 11.6 x 4.3 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/348

79: Paddle club (*Pakipaki*); Tonga
Wood; 134 x 13 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 2

80: Cast of BME 2; Paddle club (*Pakipaki*); Tonga
Plaster, paint; 134 x 13 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-8

81: Paddle club (*Pakipaki*); Tonga
Wood; 114 cm
Donated (1808) and acquired by Aarnout Matthias van Citters
Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg, the Netherlands; 3600-BEV-Z-80

82: Pole club (*Povai*); Tonga
Wood; 112 x 6.4 x 4.5 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/349

83: Stellate-sectioned club; Tonga
Wood; 95 x 7.5 cm
Natura Artis Magistra Collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1628

84: Stellate-sectioned club; Tonga
Wood; 62.5 cm
Donated (1808) and acquired by Aarnout Matthias van Citters
Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg, the Netherlands; 3600-BEV-Z-82

85: Sword-replica club (*Mata*); Tonga
Wood; 145 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-3

86: Sword-replica club (*Mata*); Tonga
Wood; 101 x 8.5 cm
Natura Artis Magistra Collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-812

87: Club; Tonga
Wood; 104 x 6 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 3
[Probably the reworked handle of a *pakipaki* or *apa'apai* club]

88: Cast of BME 3; Club; Tonga
Plaster, paint; 104 x 6 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk Museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk Museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-11

Dagger

89: Dagger; Admiralty Islands, Manus Province, PNG
Ray-spine, wood, parinarium nut paste; 44 x 2.5 x 2.5 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/383

Fans

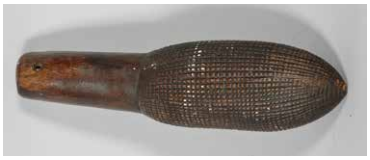
90: Fan; Ambon, Maluku Province, Indonesia
Palm leaf; 42 cm long, blade 34 x 28 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 42

91: Fan; Ambon, Maluku Province, Indonesia
Palm leaf; 42 cm long, blade 34 x 28 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 43

Fibre arts

92: Barkcloth beater; New Caledonia
Wood; 29 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 41

93: Cast of BME 41; Barkcloth beater; New Caledonia
Plaster, paint; 29 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-12



94: Barkcloth (*Ngatu*); Tonga
Plant fibre; 71 x 48 cm
Donated by Ange-Jean-Victor Raoul (1838), Acquired by Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul
Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, France; BA.1972.00.1332

95: Waist adornment [Belt] (*Nau*); Tonga
Coconut fibre, shell; 170 cm x 1.6 cm
Donated by Ange-Jean-Victor Raoul (1838), Acquired by Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul
Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, France; BA.1972.00.1338

96: Coconut fibre waist garment [fragment] (*Sisi fale*); Tonga
Coconut fibre, shell, feather, coconut shell, teeth; 34 x 56 x 2 cm
Previously Musée de l'Homme, Musée des Antiquités nationales, Musée naval du Louvre
Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, France; 71.1930.54.153 D

97: Basket (*Kato*); Tonga
Plant fibre; 32.5 x 20 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-22

98: Basket (*Kato*); Tonga
Plant fibre; 28 x 12 x 3.5 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; V/C-021

99: Straining bag?; Tonga
Coconut Spathe, Coconut fibre; 82 x 38 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-23

100: Fine mat (*Kie*); Tonga
Plant fibre, European fabric; 91 x 63.5 x 3.5 cm
Donated by Ange-Jean-VictorRaoul (1838), Acquired by Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul
Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, France; BA.1972.00.493

101: Fine mat (*Kie*); Tonga
Plant fibre; 465 x 72 x 2 cm
Donated by Ange-Jean-Victor Raoul (1838); Acquired by Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul
Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, France; BA.1972.00.1372

102: Fine mat (*Ngafingafi*); Tonga
Plant fibre; 136 x 132 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; I/G-0085

103: Fine mat (*Ngafingafi*); Tonga
Plant fibre; 110 x 140 cm (fringe 8 cm)
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; I/G-0266

104: Plaited cord (*Kafa*); Tonga
Coconut fibre; 18.4 x 4.3 x 3.3 cm
Donated by Ange-Jean-VictorRaoul (1838), Acquired by Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul
Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, France; BA.1972.00.1382

Fishing implements

105: Sinker (*Māhē*); Aotearoa-New Zealand
Stone, plant fibre; 8 x 6 x 5.5 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/244

106: Fishhook (*Matau*); Aotearoa-New Zealand
Wood, bone, plant fibre; 9.1 x 3.7 x 1.5 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/249

107: Fishhook (*Matau*) with line; Aotearoa-New Zealand
Bone, plant fibre; 53.5 x 1.9 x 0.4 cm; Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/410

108: Fishhook (*Matau*); Aotearoa-New Zealand
Bone (possibly human), plant fibre; 11 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 40

109: Fishhook [missing the barb]; Tonga
Wood, plant fibre; 7 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-12

110: Trolling fishhook (*Pa'atu*); Tonga
Pearl shell, turtle shell, plant fibre; 16 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864); Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805) Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-13

111: Trolling fishhook (*Pa'atu*) and line; Tonga
Pearl shell, turtle shell, plant fibre; 6 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-14

Fly whisk

112: Fly whisk (*Fue kafa*); Tonga
Wood, coconut fibre; 24 x 15 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; V/C-025

Food pounder

113: Food pounder (*Tuki*); Tonga
Wood; 30 x 10 cm
Natura Artis Magistra Collection (1912), Acquired by Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1799)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Tropenmuseum – Amsterdam, the Netherlands; TM-A-1612

Headrests

114: Headrest (*Kali hahapo*); Tonga
Wood; 37 x 14 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-17

115: Headrest (*Kali hahapo*); Tonga
Wood; 63 x 10.4 x 16.4 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, USA; 67-10-70/303

116: Headrest (*Kali hahapo*); Tonga
Wood; 49.7 x 6.8 x 3.6 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, USA; 67-10-70/304

117: Headrest (*Kali hahapo*); Tonga
Wood; 66.8 x 8 x 5.2 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, USA; 67-10-70/305

118: Headrest (*Kali palalafa*); Tonga
Wood; 80 x 10.5 x 2.8 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, USA; 67-10-70/307

119: Headrest (*Kali palalafa*); Tonga
Wood; 73 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-4

120: Headrest (*Kali toloni*); Tonga
Wood; 110.5 x 15.5 x 20.5 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-16

121: Headrest (*Kali*); Tonga
Wood; 101.3 x 15.5 x 18.7 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, USA; 67-10-70/377
[Details on this headrest suggest it may have been reworked from another object]

122: Clapping stick [Idiophone]; Tonga
Wood, metal; 112 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-6

Musical instruments

123: Panpipe (*Mimiha*); Tonga
Bamboo, plant fibre; 17 x 4.2 x 2 cm
Donated by Ange-Jean-Victor Raoul (1838), Acquired by Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul
Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, France; BA.1972.00.1287

124: Panpipe (*Mimiha*); Tonga
Bamboo, plant fibre; 28 x 10 x 1 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-15

125: Stamping tube (*Tukipitu*); Tonga
Wood, coconut fibre; 142 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835), Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 21

Oil containers

126: Oil container (*Sedri ni waiwai*); Fiji
Wood; 20 x 11 x 3 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-21

127: Oil container (*Sedri ni waiwai*); Fiji
Wood; 25.9 x 12.6 x 4.5 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, USA; 67-10-70/328

Paddles

128: Paddle (*Hoe*); Aotearoa-New Zealand
Wood; 184.5 x 11.75 x 3 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/334

129: Paddle (*Hoe*); Aotearoa-New Zealand;
Wood; 179.5 x 11 x 3.2 cm
Bought from the Massachusetts Historical Society (1864), Collection of Reverend William Bentley (1801), Acquired by Nathaniel Bowditch (1796)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA; 67-10-70/355

130: Paddle [lost]; Tonga?
Wood; [dimensions unknown]
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-7
[whereabouts unknown]

131: Dance paddle (*Paki*); Tonga
Wood, sperm whale ivory; 63 cm, head 12 cm
Bought from Major General Erik Anker in Christiania (1835); Acquired by Major General Peter Anker, ex-governor of Tranquebar
Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway; BME 8

132: Cast of BME 8; Dance paddle (*Paki*); Tonga
Plaster, paint; 63 cm, head 12 cm
Acquired by Professor Yngvar Nielsen for the Etnografisk museum (Ethnographic Museum), University of Oslo (1903)
Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway; UEM 49428-3

Personal adornment

133: Hat (*Mweeng* or *Tidi*); New Caledonia;
Plant fibre, feather; 25 x 18.5 x 20 cm
Previously Musée de l'Homme, Musée de l'Armée
Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, France; 71.1917.1.2 D

134: Band for hat; New Caledonia
Plant fibre, pearl shell, flying fox fur; 47 x 20 21 cm
Previously Musée de l'Homme, Musée des Antiquités nationales, Musée naval du Louvre
Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, France; 71.1930.54.1 D

135: Bracelet/Armband; Admiralty Islands?, Solomon Islands?, New Caledonia?
Trochus shell; 9–9.5 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864); Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-26

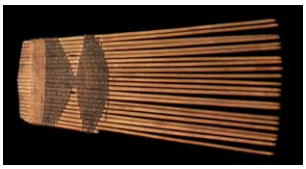
136: Bracelet/Armband; Admiralty Islands?, Solomon Islands?, New Caledonia?
Trochus shell; 8.5–9 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864); Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-27

137: Comb (*Helu tu'u*); Tonga
Coconut midrib, coconut fibre; 12.5 x 6 x 0.2 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; V/C-027

138: Comb (*Helu tu'u*); Tonga
Coconut midrib, coconut fibre; 13 x 5 x 0.2 cm
Donated (1824) and acquired by Benjamin Delessert
Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland; V/C-028

139: 3 Combs (*Helu tu'u*); Tonga
Coconut midrib, coconut fibre; 12.2 x 5.2 x 1 cm, 13.5 x 4.9 x 0.3 cm, 16.5 x 5.5 x 0.4 cm, 14.5 x 5 x 0.5 cm
3 combs donated by Ange-Jean-Victor Raoul (1838); Acquired by Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul
Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, France; BA.1772.00.1365.1, BA.1772.00.1365.2; BA.1772.00.1365.3, BA.1772.00.1365.4
[LAAC records do not confirm which three of these four combs formed the Raoul deposit]

140: Comb *(Helu tu'u)*; Tonga
Coconut midrib, coconut fibre; 11 x 5.6 cm
Acquired from collection of Dominique-Vivant Denon (1826); Previously Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Musée des Antiquités nationales, Musée de Marine
Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris, France; 72.84.237.4



141: Comb *(Helu tu'u)*; Tonga
Coconut midrib, coconut fibre; 15 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-24

142: Comb *(Helu tu'u)*; Tonga
Coconut midrib, coconut fibre; 12.9 x 6.1 x 0.3 cm
Donated by Pieter Buyskes (1864), Acquired by Arnold Adriaan Buyskes (before 1805)
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Museum Volkenkunde – Leiden, the Netherlands; RV-34-25

143: Necklace *(Kahoa)*; Tonga
Plant fibre, shell bead, bird bone; 118 x 1.1 cm
Donated by Ange-Jean-Victor Raoul (1838), Acquired by Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul
Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, France; BA.1972.00.1340

Tattooing instrument

144: Tattooing comb *(Hau)*, Tonga
Turtle shell, pearl shell, coconut fibre; 4.4 x 1.8 x 0.5 cm
Donated by Ange-Jean-Victor Raoul (1838), Acquired by Ange-Marie-Aimé Raoul
Musée des Beaux-Arts – LAAC, Dunkerque, France; BA.1972.00.1343

APPENDIX 2

Objects by Institution

FANNY WONU VEYS AND BILLIE LYTHBERG

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Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo, Norway			
Institutional Catalogue Number	**Unique Identifier**	**Object(s)**	**Attributed Provenance**
UEM 49428-1	59	Plaster cast of BME 7; Lobed Throwing club (*Ula tavatava*)	Fiji
UEM 49428-2	13	Plaster cast of BME 11; Axe [handle only]	New Caledonia
UEM 49428-3	132	Plaster cast of BME 8; Dance paddle (*Paki*)	Tonga
UEM 49428-4	4	Plaster cast of BME 9; Adze [handle only]	New Caledonia
UEM 49428-4b	64	Plaster cast of BME 6; Club	New Caledonia
UEM 49428-5	2	Plaster cast of BME 10; Ceremonial adze [handle only] (*Toki poutangata*)	Aotearoa-New Zealand
UEM 49428-6	62	Plaster cast of BME 5; Club	New Caledonia
UEM 49428-7	53	Plaster cast of BME 4; Fish-bladed Dance club (*Gugu*)	Fiji
UEM 49428-8	80	Plaster Cast of BME 2; Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Tonga
UEM 49428-10	73	Plaster Cast of BME 1; Club (*Apa'apai*)	Tonga
UEM 49428-11	88	Plaster Cast of BME 3; Club	Tonga
UEM 49428-12	93	Plaster cast of BME 41; Barkcloth beater	New Caledonia

Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire, Lausanne, Switzerland			
Institutional Catalogue Number	**Unique Identifier**	**Object(s)**	**Attributed Provenance**
I/G-0085	102	Fine mat (*Ngafingafi*)	Tonga
I/G-0266	103	Fine mat (*Ngafingafi*)	Tonga
V/B-025	14	*Hache-ostens*oir, Ceremonial axe (*Bwar)*	New Caledonia
V/B-027	5	Adze [handle only]	New Caledonia
V/B-031	60	Club	New Caledonia
V/C-018	70	Club (*Apa'apai*)	Tonga
V/C-019	75	Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Tonga
V/C-021	98	Basket (*Kato*)	Tonga
V/C-025	112	Fly whisk (*Fue kafa*)	Tonga
V/C-027	137	Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Tonga
V/C-028	138	Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Tonga

Musée des Beaux-Arts - LAAC, Dunkerque, France			
Institutional Catalogue Number	**Unique Identifier**	**Object(s)**	**Attributed Provenance**
BA.1772.00.1365.1-4	139	3 Combs (*Helu tu'u*) [LAAC records do not confirm which three of these four combs formed the Raoul deposit]	Tonga
BA.1972.00.1287	123	Panpipe (*Mimiha*)	Tonga
BA.1972.00.1332	94	Barkcloth (*Ngatu*)	Tonga
BA.1972.00.1338	95	Waist adornment [Belt] (*Nau*)	Tonga
BA.1972.00.1340	143	Necklace (*Kahoa*)	Tonga
BA.1972.00.1343	144	Tattooing comb (*Hau*)	Tonga
BA.1972.00.1372	101	Fine mat (*Kie*)	Tonga
BA.1972.00.1382	104	Plaited cord (*Kafa*)	Tonga
BA.1972.00.493	100	Fine mat (*Kie*)	Tonga

Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Paris, France			
Institutional Catalogue Number	**Unique Identifier**	**Object(s)**	**Attributed Provenance**
71.1917.1.2 D	133	Hat (*Mweeng* or *Tidi*)	New Caledonia
71.1930.54.1 D	134	Band for hat	New Caledonia
71.1930.54.153	96	Waist garment [fragment] (*Sisi fale*)	Tonga
71.1946.0.51 X	15	*Hache-ostensoi*r, Ceremonial axe (*Bwar*)	New Caledonia
72.56.125	9	Statuette	New Caledonia
72.56.126	10	Statuette	New Caledonia
72.56.127	11	Statuette	Tonga
72.84.237.4	140	Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Tonga

Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen - Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, the Netherlands			
Institutional Catalogue Number	**Unique Identifier**	**Object(s)**	**Attributed Provenance**
RV-34-1	76	Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Tonga
RV-34-2	55	Pole club (*Bowai*)	Fiji
RV-34-3	85	Sword-replica club (*Mata*)	Tonga
RV-34-4	119	Headrest (*Kali palalafa*)	Tonga
RV-34-6	122	Clapping stick [Idiophone]	Tonga
RV-34-7	130	Paddle [lost]	Tonga?
RV-34-8	8	Adze (*Toki*)	Tonga
RV-34-9	6	Adze [Exchanged with Museo di Antropologia, Florence—whereabouts now unknown]	New Caledonia
RV-34-10	7	Adze	New Caledonia
RV-34-12	109	Fishhook [missing the barb]	Tonga
RV-34-13	110	Trolling Fishhook (*Pa'atu*)	Tonga
RV-34-14	111	Trolling Fishhook (*Pa'atu*) and line	Tonga
RV-34-15	124	Panpipe (*Mimiha*)	Tonga

RV-34-16	120	Headrest (*Kali toloni*)	Tonga
RV-34-17	114	Headrest (*Kali hahapo*)	Tonga
RV-34-21	126	Oil container (*Sedri ni waiwai*)	Fiji
RV-34-22	97	Basket (*Kato*)	Tonga
RV-34-23	99	Straining bag?	Tonga
RV-34-24	141	Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Tonga
RV-34-25	142	Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Tonga
RV-34-26	135	Bracelet	Admiralty Islands? Solomon Islands? New Caledonia?
RV-34-27	136	Bracelet	Admiralty Islands? Solomon Islands? New Caledonia?

Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen - Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Institutional Catalogue Number	Unique Identifier	Object(s)	Attributed Provenance
TM-A-812	86	Sword-replica club (*Mata*)	Tonga
TM-A-813	47	Spear	New Caledonia?
TM-A-1595	65	Club	New Caledonia
TM-A-1596	66	Club	New Caledonia
TM-A-1605	51	Beaked Battle-hammer (*Tuki*)	Fiji
TM-A-1612	113	Food pounder (*Tuki*)	Tonga
TM-A-1613	56	One-handed Pole club (*Gadi*)	Fiji
TM-A-1614	67	Club	New Caledonia
TM-A-1626a	77	Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Tonga
TM-A-1627	71	Club (*Apa'apai*)	Tonga
TM-A-1628	83	Stellate-sectioned club	Tonga
TM-A-1630	54	Paddle club (*Culacula*)	Fiji
TM-A-1657	68	Club (*Baru*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA

Institutional Catalogue Number	Unique Identifier	Object(s)	Attributed Provenance
67-10-70/244	105	Sinker (*Māhē*)	Aotearoa-New Zealand
67-10-70/249	106	Fishhook (*Matau*)	Aotearoa-New Zealand
67-10-70/303	115	Headrest (*Kali hahapo*)	Tonga
67-10-70/304	116	Headrest (*Kali hahapo*)	Tonga
67-10-70/305	117	Headrest (*Kali hahapo*)	Tonga
67-10-70/307	118	Headrest (*Kali palalafa*)	Tonga
67-10-70/310	22	Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*)	Tonga
67-10-70/328	127	Oil container (*Sedri ni waiwai*)	Fiji

67-10-70/334	128	Paddle (*Hoe*)	Aotearoa-New Zealand
67-10-70/346	69	Club	Tonga
67-10-70/347	49	Club	Fiji
67-10-70/348	78	Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Fiji or Tonga
67-10-70/349	82	Pole club (*Povai*)	Tonga
67-10-70/350	50	Club	Fiji
67-10-70/351	57	Ball-headed throwing club (*Ula drisia*)	Fiji
67-10-70/352	48	Club (*Tewhatewha*)	Aotearoa-New Zealand
67-10-70/355	129	Paddle (*Hoe*)	Aotearoa-New Zealand
67-10-70/359	44	Spear (*Tao*)	Tonga
67-10-70/360	45	Spear (*Tao*)	Tonga
67-10-70/376	46	Spear (*Tabevatu*)	Fiji
67-10-70/377	121	Headrest (*Kali*)	Tonga
67-10-70/383	89	Dagger	Admiralty Islands, Manus Province, PNG
67-10-70/410	107	Fishhook (*Matau*) with line	Aotearoa-New Zealand

Universitetsmuseet, Bergen, Norway

Institutional Catalogue Number	Unique Identifier	Object(s)	Attributed Provenance
BME 1	72	Club (*Apa'apai*)	Tonga
BME 2	79	Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Tonga
BME 3	87	Club	Tonga
BME 4	52	Fish-bladed Dance club (*Gugu*)	Fiji
BME 5	61	Club	New Caledonia
BME 6	63	Club	New Caledonia
BME 7	58	Lobed throwing club (*Ula tavatava*)	Fiji
BME 8	131	Dance paddle (*Paki*)	Tonga
BME 9	3	Adze [handle only]	New Caledonia
BME 10	1	Ceremonial adze [handle only] (*Toki poutangata*)	Aotearoa-New Zealand
BME 11	12	Axe [handle only]	New Caledonia
BME 12	33	Arrow	Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
BME 13	23	Arrow or Spear	Admiralty Islands, Manus Province, PNG
BME 14	24	Arrow or Spear	Admiralty Islands, Manus Province, PNG
BME 15	18	Bow	Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
BME 16	19	Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*)	Tonga
BME 17	20	Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*)	Tonga

BME 18	21	Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*)	Tonga
BME 19	17	Bow (*Husul*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
BME 20	16	Bow	Ambon, Maluku Province, Indonesia
BME 21	125	Stamping tube (*Tukipitu*)	Tonga
BME 22	40	9 Sporting arrows (*Kaho*)	Tonga
BME 23	41	17 Sporting arrows (*Kaho*)	Tonga
BME 24	42	3 Sporting arrows (*Kaho*)	Tonga
BME 25	43	War arrow (*Ngahau*)	Tonga
BME 26	29	Long arrow (*Maltohu*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
BME 27	25	Arrow (*Lapi*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
BME 28	30	Long arrow (*Maltohu*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
BME 29	31	Long arrow (*Maltohu*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
BME 30	32	Long arrow (*Maltohu*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
BME 31	34	Arrow	Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
BME 32	35	Arrow	Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
BME 33	36	Arrow	Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
BME 34	26	Arrow (*Lapi*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
BME 35	27	Arrow (*Lapi*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
BME 36	28	Arrow (*Lapi*)	Buka, Bougainville Province, PNG
BME 37	37	Arrow	Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
BME 38	38	Arrow	Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
BME 39	39	Fish arrow	Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
BME 40	108	Fishhook (*Matau*)	Aotearoa-New Zealand
BME 41	92	Barkcloth beater	New Caledonia
BME 42	90	Fan	Ambon, Maluku Province, Indonesia
BME 43	91	Fan	Ambon, Maluku Province, Indonesia

Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg, the Netherlands

Institutional Catalogue Number	Unique Identifier	Object(s)	Attributed Provenance
3600-BEV-Z-80	81	Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Tonga
3600-BEV-Z-81	74	Club (*Apa'apai*)	Tonga
3600-BEV-Z-82	84	Stellate-sectioned club	Tonga

APPENDIX 3

Objects by provenance

WONU VEYS AND BRONWEN DOUGLAS

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Admiralty Islands (Manus Province, PNG)				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Arrow or Spear	Bergen BME 13	23	Pl. 38 (fig. 25)	/Fig. 1.10
Arrow or Spear	Bergen BME 14	24	Pl. 38 (fig. 25)	/Fig. 1.10
Dagger	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/383	89	-	Fig. 11.8

Ambon (Maluku Province, Indonesia)				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Bow	Bergen BME 20	16	-	Fig. 6.3
Fan	Bergen BME 42	90	-	-
Fan	Bergen BME 43	91	-	-

Aotearoa-New Zealand				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Ceremonial adze [handle only] (*Toki poutangata*)	Bergen BME 10	1	-	Fig. 6.4
Plaster cast of BME 10; Ceremonial adze [handle only] (*Toki poutangata*)	Oslo UEM 49428-5	2	-	-
Club (*Tewhatewha*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/352	48	-	-
Sinker (*Māhē*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/244	105	-	Fig. 11.1
Fishhook (*Matau*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/249	106	-	-
Fishhook (*Matau*) with line	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/410	107	-	-
Fishhook (*Matau*)	Bergen BME 40	108	-	Fig. 6.6
Paddle (*Hoe*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/334	128	-	-
Paddle (*Hoe*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/355	129	-	-

Buka, (Bougainville Province, PNG)				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Bow (*Husul*)	Bergen BME 19	17	-	Fig. 6.1
Arrow (*Lapi*)	Bergen BME 27	25	-	-
Arrow (*Lapi*)	Bergen BME 34	26	-	-
Arrow (*Lapi*)	Bergen BME 35	27	-	-
Arrow (*Lapi*)	Bergen BME 36	28	-	-
Long arrow (*Maltohu*)	Bergen BME 26	29	-	-
Long arrow (*Maltohu*)	Bergen BME 28	30	-	-
Long arrow (*Maltohu*)	Bergen BME 29	31	-	-
Long arrow (*Maltohu*)	Bergen BME 30	32	-	-
Club (*Baru*)	Amsterdam TM-A-1657	68	-	Fig. 9.1

D'Entrecasteaux Islands ('Louisiade'), Milne Bay Province, PNG				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Axe	-	-	Pl. 12 (fig. 9)	/Fig. 1.5
Necklace	-	-	Pl. 38 (fig. 27)	/Fig. 1.10
Shield	-	-	Pl. 12 (figs 7, 8)	/Fig. 1.5

Fiji				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Spear (*Tabevatu*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/376	46	-	Fig. 11.2
Club	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/347	48	-	-
Club	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/350	50	-	-
Beaked Battle-hammer (*Tuki*)	Amsterdam TM-A-1605	51	Pl. 33 (fig. 37)	/Fig. 9.2
Fish-bladed Dance club (*Gugu*)	Bergen BME 4	52	-	-
Plaster cast of BME 4; Fish-bladed Dance club (*Gugu*)	Oslo UEM 49428-7	53	-	-
Paddle club (*Culacula*)	Amsterdam TM-A-1630	54	-	-
Pole club (*Bowai*)	Leiden RV-34-2	55	-	Fig. 16.6
One-handed Pole club (*Gadi*)	Amsterdam TM-A-1613	56	-	-
Ball-headed throwing club (*Ula drisia*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/351	57	Pl. 33 (fig. 36)	/Fig. 1.8
Lobed throwing club (*Ula tavatava*)	Bergen BME 7	58	-	Fig. 6.8
Plaster cast of BME 7; Lobed throwing club (*Ula tavatava*)	Oslo UEM 49428-1	59	-	-
Oil container (*Sedri ni waiwai*)	Leiden RV-34-21	126	-	Fig. 16.2
Oil container (*Sedri ni waiwai*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/328	127	-	
Kava bowl (*Sedri ni yaqona*)	• -	-	Pl. 31 (fig. 9)	/Fig. 16.1
Club (*gata*)	• -	-	Pl. 33 (fig. 39)	/Fig. 1.8

New Caledonia				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/ Plate)**
Adze [handle only]	Bergen BME 9	3	-	-
Plaster cast of BME 9; Adze [handle only]	Oslo UEM 49428-4	4	-	-
Adze [handle only]	Lausanne V/B-027	5	-	-
Adze	Leiden RV-34-9 Now unknown	6	-	-
Adze	Leiden RV-34-10	7	-	Fig 8.1
Statuette	Paris 72.56.125	9	-	Fig. 4.7
Statuette	Paris 72.56.126	10	-	Fig. 4.8
Axe [handle only]	Bergen BME 11	12	Pl. 38 (fig. 21)	Fig. 6.10 /Fig. 6.11
Plaster cast of BME 11; Axe [handle only]	Oslo UEM 49428-2	13	Pl. 38 (fig. 21)	/Fig. 6.11
*Hache-ostenso*ir, Ceremonial *axe (Bwar)*	Lausanne V/B-025	14	Pl. 38 (fig. 19)	Fig. 12.2 /Fig. 12.3
*Hache-ostenso*ir, Ceremonial *axe (Bwar)*	Paris 71.1946.0.51 X	15	-	Fig. 4.3
Spear [probably New Caledonia]	Amsterdam TM-A-813	47	Pl. 35	/Fig. 18.2
Club	Lausanne V/B-031	60	Pl. 37 (fig. 15)	Fig. 12.9 /Fig. 12.10
Club	Bergen BME 5	61	Pl. 37 (fig. 15)	/Fig. 1.9
Plaster cast of BME 5; Club	Oslo UEM 49428-6	62	Pl. 37 (fig. 15)	/Fig. 1.9
Club	Bergen BME 6	63	Pl. 37 (fig. 10)	/Fig. 1.9
Plaster cast of BME 6; Club	Oslo UEM 49428-4b	64	Pl 37 (fig. 10)	/Fig. 1.9
Club	Amsterdam TM-A-1595	65	-	-
Club	Amsterdam TM-A-1596	66	Pl. 37 (fig. 12)	Fig. 9.5 /Fig. 9.6
Club	Amsterdam TM-A-1614	67	Pl. 37 (Fig. 11)	/Fig. 1.9
Barkcloth beater	Bergen BME 41	92	-	Fig 6.9
Plaster cast of BME 41; Barkcloth beater	Oslo UEM 49428-12	93	-	-
Hat *(Mweeng* or *Tidi*)	Paris 71.1917.1.2 D	133	Pl. 37 (fig. 2)	Fig. 4.4 /Fig. 4.5
Band for hat	71.1930.54.1 D	134	Pl. 37 (fig. 3)	Fig. 4.4 /Fig. 1.9

Santa Cruz Islands, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Bow	Bergen BME 15	18	-	-
Arrow	Bergen BME 12	33	-	-
Arrow	Bergen BME 31	34	-	-
Arrow	Bergen BME 32	35	-	-
Arrow	Bergen BME 33	36	-	-
Arrow	Bergen BME 37	37	-	-
Arrow	Bergen BME 38	38	-	Fig. 6.12
Fish arrow	Bergen BME 39	39	-	Fig. 6.13

Admiralty Islands?, Solomon Islands?, New Caledonia?				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Bracelet	Leiden RV-34-26	135	Pl. 37 (fig. 5)	-
Bracelet	Leiden RV-34-27	136	-	-

Tasmania				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Basket	-	-	Pls 4, 5	Figs 13.3, 13.4, 13.5, 13.6
Water carrier	-	-	Pl. 5	Figs 13.3, 13.6

Tonga				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Adze (*Toki*)	Leiden RV-34-8	8	-	-
Statuette	Paris 72.56.127	11	-	Fig. 4.9
Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*)	Bergen BME 16	19	-	-
Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*)	Bergen BME 17	20	-	-
Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*)	Bergen BME 18	21	-	Fig. 6.14
Man bow (*Kaufana tangata*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/310	22	-	-
9 Sporting arrows (*Kaho*)	Bergen BME 22	40	-	-
17 Sporting arrows (*Kaho*)	Bergen BME 23	41	-	-
3 Sporting arrows (*Kaho*)	Bergen BME 24	42	-	-
War arrow (*Ngahau*)	Bergen BME 25	43	-	-
Spear (*Tao*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/359	44	-	-
Spear (*Tao*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/360	45	-	-
Club	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/346	69	-	-
Club (*Apa'apai*)	Lausanne V/C-018	70	-	-

Tonga				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Club (*Apa'apai*)	Amsterdam TM-A-1627	71	-	-
Club (*Apa'apai*)	Bergen BME 1	72	-	Fig. 6.7
Plaster Cast of BME 1; Club (*Apa'apai*)	Oslo UEM 49428-10	73	-	-
Club (*Apa'apai*)	Middelburg 3600-BEV-Z-81	74	Pl. 33 (fig. 38)	Fig. 10.2 /Fig. 1.8
Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Lausanne V/C-019	75	-	-
Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Leiden RV-34-1	76	-	Fig. 16.3
Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Amsterdam TM-A-1626-a	77	-	Fig. 9.3
Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/348	78	-	-
Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Bergen BME 2	79	-	-
Plaster Cast of BME 2; Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Oslo UEM 49428-8	80	-	Figs 7.1, 7.2
Paddle club (*Pakipaki*)	Middelburg 3600-BEV-Z-80	81	-	Fig. 10.1
Pole club (*Povai*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/349	82	-	-
Stellate-sectioned club	Amsterdam TM-A-1628	83	-	Fig. 16.4
Stellate-sectioned club	Middelburg 3600-BEV-Z-82	84	-	Fig. 10.3
Sword-replica club (*Mata*)	Leiden RV-34-3	85	-	-
Sword-replica club (*Mata*)	Amsterdam TM-A-812	86	-	Fig. 9.4
Club	Bergen BME 3	87	-	-
Plaster Cast of BME 3; Club	Oslo UEM 49428-11	88	-	-
Barkcloth (*Ngatu*)	Dunkerque BA.1972.00.1332	94	-	-
Waist adornment [Belt] (*Nau*)	Dunkerque BA.1972.00.1338	95	-	Fig. 5.6
Waist garment [fragment] (*Sisi fale*)	Paris 71.1930.54.153 D	96	Pl. 32 (fig. 15)	Fig. 4.12/Fig. 4.13
Basket (*Kato*)	Leiden RV-34-22	97	Pl. 31 (fig. 7)	/Fig. 1.6
Basket (*Kato*)	Lausanne V/C-021	98	Pl. 31 (fig. 1)	Fig. 12.6/Fig. 12.7
Straining bag?	Leiden RV-34-23	99	-	-
Fine mat (*Kie*)	Dunkerque BA.1972.00.493	100	-	Fig. 5.5
Fine mat (*Kie*)	Dunkerque BA.1972.00.1372	101	-	-
Fine mat (*Ngafingafi*)	Lausanne I/G-0085	102	-	-
Fine mat (*Ngafingafi*)	Lausanne I/G-0066	103	-	Fig. 12.8
Plaited cord (*Kafa*)	Dunkerque BA.1972.00.1382	104	-	-

Tonga				
Object name	**Object number**	**Unique identifier**	**Cf. Atlas plate**	**Figure (Object/Plate)**
Fishhook [missing the barb]	Leiden RV-34-12	109	Pl. 32 (fig. 29)	/Fig. 8.11
Trolling Fishhook (*Pa'atu*)	Leiden RV-34-13	110	Pl. 32 (fig. 27)	/Fig. 1.7
Trolling Fishhook (*Pa'atu*) and line	Leiden RV-34-14	111	Pl. 32 (fig. 28)	/Fig. 1.7
Fly whisk (*Fue kafa*)	Lausanne V/C-025	112	Pl. 33 (fig. 32)	Fig. 12.4/Fig. 12.5
Food pounder (*Tuki*)	Amsterdam TM-A-1612	113	-	-
Headrest (*Kali hahapo*)	Leiden RV-34-17	114	Pl. 33 (fig. 35)	Fig. 11.3/Fig. 8.4
Headrest (*Kali hahapo*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/303	115	Pl. 33 (fig. 35)	/Fig. 8.4
Headrest (*Kali hahapo*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/304	116	Pl. 33 (fig. 35)	/Fig. 8.4
Headrest (*Kali hahapo*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/305	117	Pl. 33 (fig. 35)	/Fig. 8.4
Headrest (*Kali palalafa*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/307	118	Pl. 33 (fig. 34)	/Fig. 8.4
Headrest (*Kali palalafa*)	Leiden RV-34-4	119	Pl. 33 (fig. 34)	Fig. 11.6, 11.7/Fig. 8.4
Headrest (*Kali toloni*)	Leiden RV-34-16	120	-	Fig. 11.5
Headrest (*Kali*)	Cambridge MA 67-10-70/377	121	-	-
Clapping stick [Idiophone]	Leiden RV-34-6	122	-	Figs 8.5, 15.2
Panpipe (*Mimiha*)	Dunkerque BA.1972.00.1287	123	-	Fig. 5.7
Panpipe (*Mimiha*)	Leiden RV-34-15	124	-	Fig. 15.5
Stamping tube (*Tukipitu*)	Bergen BME 21	125	-	Fig. 15.1
Paddle [lost]	Leiden RV-34-7	130	-	-
Dance paddle (*Paki*)	Bergen BME 8	131	-	Fig. 7.4
Plaster cast of BME 8; Dance paddle (*Paki*)	Oslo UEM 49428-3	132	-	Fig. 7.3
Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Lausanne V/C-027	137	-	-
Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Lausanne V/C-028	138	-	-
3 Combs (*Helu tu'u*)	Dunkerque [3 of] BA.1772.00.1365.1 BA.1772.00.1365.2 BA.1772.00.1365.3 BA.1772.00.1365.4	139	-	Fig. 5.1
Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Paris 72.84.237.4	140	Pl. 32 (fig. 21)	Fig. 8.8/Fig. 8.9
Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Leiden RV-34-24	141	-	-
Comb (*Helu tu'u*)	Leiden RV-34-25	142	Pl. 32 (fig. 21)	Fig. 8.10/Fig. 8.9
Necklace (*Kahoa*)	Dunkerque BA.1972.00.1340	143	Pl. 32 (fig. 18)	Fig. 5.3
Tattooing comb (*Hau*)	Dunkerque BA.1972.00.1343	144	-	Fig. 5.2
Oil vial (*Fangu*)	-	-	Pl. 31 (fig. 14)	/Fig. 8.7

CONTRIBUTORS

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Julie Gough is a Hobart-based artist, curator, and writer. Her work uncovers and re-presents conflicting and subsumed histories, often about her family's experiences as Tasmanian Aboriginal people. She curated *Testing Ground* (Salamanca Arts Centre, 2013) and *tayenebe: Tasmanian Aboriginal Women's Fibrework* (Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, 2009), and was on the curatorial team for *INSIDE: Life in Children's Homes* (National Museum of Australia, 2011). Her PhD thesis is 'Transforming Histories: The Visual Disclosure of Contentious Pasts' (University of Tasmania, 2001). Since 1994, she has exhibited in more than 130 exhibitions and has work in most national collections.

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Rachel Hand is Collections Manager and Curatorial Assistant (Anthropology) at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge. Her research interests include early Pacific material in the National Museum of Ireland and Irish collecting within the British Empire. She published '"A Number of Highly Interesting Objects Collected by the Late Captain Cook": The Cook-Voyage Collections of Trinity College Dublin …', in *Cook-Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland, 1771–2015* (Museum Ethnographers Group, 2015). She is currently writing a catalogue of the ethnographic collections of the National Museum of Ireland.

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Tavake-faiʻana **Semisi Fetokai Potauaine** is an architecture, art, and design researcher and practitioner, affiliated with many institutions globally as academic and artist in resdience, and in New Zealand as lecturer and examiner. In 2010, as a Commonwealth Connections International Artist in Residence, he created new works based on the Tongan collections at the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology in Cambridge, analyzed in *Tatau: Fenapasi ʻoe Fepaki* (MAA, 2010). He is the author of 'The Tectonic of the Fale', *Interstices: Journal of Architecture and Related Arts* 6 (2005), and 'Tatau: Symmetry as Conflict Mediation of Line-Space Intersection', *Pacific Studies* 40 (2017).

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Thierry Vincent is Attaché de conservation (Curatorial Officer) in Le Havre, France. Responsible for the zoological and ethnographic collections of the Muséum d'Histoire naturelle (Museum of Natural History), he publishes on its history, curators, and collections. Also in charge of public promotion of the municipal Archives, he wrote a history of whaling in Normandy (Bertout, 1995) and two works on model sailboats in France (LR Press, 2009; Mer Septentrionale Editions, 2017). He has published 90 articles on the works of the naturalist Charles-Alexandre Lesueur and on the ethnology of coastal fishing in the department of Seine-Maritime (Normandy).

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COLLECTING IN THE SOUTH SEA

This book is a study of 'collecting' undertaken by Joseph Antoine Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and his shipmates in Tasmania, the western Pacific Islands, and Indonesia. In 1791–1794 Bruni d'Entrecasteaux led a French naval expedition in search of the lost vessels of La Pérouse which had last been seen by Europeans at Botany Bay in March 1788. After Bruni d'Entrecasteaux died near the end of the voyage and the expedition collapsed in political disarray in Java, its collections and records were subsequently scattered or lost.

The book's core is a richly illustrated examination, analysis, and catalogue of a large array of ethnographic objects collected during the voyage, later dispersed, and recently identified in museums in France, Norway, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United States. The focus on artefacts is informed by a broad conception of collecting as grounded in encounters or exchanges with Indigenous protagonists and also as materialized in other genres—written accounts, vocabularies, and visual representations (drawings, engravings, and maps).

Historically, the book outlines the antecedents, occurrences, and aftermath of the voyage, including its location within the classic era of European scientific voyaging (1766–1840) and within contemporary colonial networks. Particular chapters trace the ambiguous histories of the extant collections. Ethnographically, contributors are alert to local settings, relationships, practices, and values; to Indigenous uses and significance of objects; to the reciprocal, dialogic nature of collecting; to local agency or innovation in exchanges; and to present implications of objects and their histories, especially for modern scholars and artists, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous.

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