

Stone Remains in the Society Islands

By
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INTRODUCTION

SCOPE

The aim of this work is to make possible an understanding of the various types of stone remains found in the Society Islands and to record precise information concerning their form and construction. The numerous ruins which lie on the points and in the valleys of each island furnish ample material for determining their original appearance.

The results of a preliminary reconnaissance survey of stone structures made by Dr. E. S. C. Handy (29)¹ in the Society Islands in 1923 were turned over to me when, from January 1, 1925, through March, 1926, I undertook a more intensive archaeological investigation. Later, during 1929, 1930, and 1931, Tahiti served as the base of operations of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum Anthropological Expedition to the Tuamotu Archipelago, and as a member of that expedition I was able to take advantage of several opportunities to add to my notes on the Tahitian archaeological remains.

The record of ruins (pp. 56 to 171) reveals the ground covered. The island of Maiao and such large tracts of land as the eastern extremity of Tahiti and the southern and western shores of Raiatea remain quite unexplored. The sites of many historic marae (shrines and temples) are still to be discovered. Undoubtedly there exist, obscured by undergrowth on the coast or lost in the interior, petroglyphs and ceremonial structures in a better state of preservation than those observed, and capable of yielding new facts of importance in the study of ancient Society Islands culture.

Certain of the marae types are obviously derived one from the other, and their distribution in the archipelago shows the order of their appearance. But distribution by itself tells little concerning the length of time that has elapsed since the advent of a type. The time element is important for the solution of problems of external contacts and ultimate origin. Therefore, in a region where the traditional date of many structures can be learned in terms of the number of generations from the persons responsible for their

¹ Numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography, p. 181.

Punaauia District	60
Papara District	67
Vairao District	72
Teahupoo District	75
Pueu District	76
Tautira District	78
Hitiia District	78
Mahaena District	79
Tiarei District	81
Papenoo District	81
Haapape District	82
Moorea	95
Varari District	97
Haapiti District	97
Maatea District	99
Afareaitu District	101
Tevaro District	101
Faatoai District	105
Meetia	107
Historical note	109
Legend of Tuhiva	109
Chant of Meetia	111
Ruins	113
Tetiarao atoll	114
Huahine	119
Place names	123
Huahine Nui	123
Village and ruins at Maeva	125
Maraes at Maeva Village	125
Huahine Iti	127
Raiatea	142
Opoa District	145
Ruins outside Opoa District	145
Tahaa	151
Place names	155
Ruins	155
Borabora	157
Place names	160
Ruins	160
Maupiti	162
Place names	167
Ruins	167
Petroglyphs	167
Description	171
Meaning	171
Comparisons	175
Bibliography	177
Text figures 1-133	181
Plates 1-20	

Site 234. Marae Tamaruteaoa, on land Aihautai, Anau District (fig. 124; pl. 16, B). The best-preserved of Borabora maraes. It lies close enough to the lagoon waters to be reached by high tide. A copra plantation now encroaches upon the court.

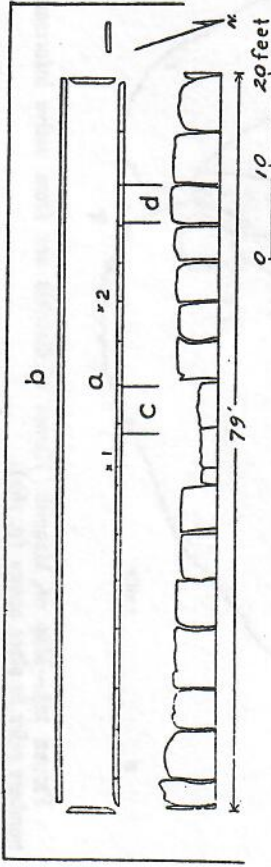


FIGURE 124.—Marae Tamaruteaoa on land Aihautai, Anau (Site 234): *a*, *ahu* faced entirely with limestone slabs (pl. 16, B), all of which are present, outlines of slabs on north face are given drawn to scale, *ahu* filled almost to top with small coral and basalt stones; *b*, front part of low platform 1.5 feet high, paved on this side with basalt flagstones 1 to 1.5 feet in diameter, front faced with bottom course of large basalt stones and second course of smaller stones; *c*, *d*, platforms or flat walls 1 foot high extending 10 feet or more; *x*, places where fragments of human bones were seen.

Site 235. Fortification named Pa-tahi, at Teparé, on the ridge dividing Anau District from Tiipoto District and south of the path, Teatae, leading from one to the other (fig. 122).

A thick, high, steep, loosely built wall has been erected across the ridge blocking the approach to that part of it which widens toward the south. A narrow platform runs along the inner side of the front wall, evidently a standing platform and probably for riflemen. Tyerman (56, vol. 2, p. 21) visited two forts on Borabora:

"Upon the great mountain of Paia . . . rude fortresses built on the least accessible slopes of the hills, and enclosing considerable spaces of the surface, intersected with strong walls, which served not merely as fences, but supplied ammunition wherewith to annoy an ascending enemy. These belonged to the two kings of the island; that on the south to Mai, and that on the north to Tefaaora. They were separated only by a foot-path, and extended along the rocky ridge of the mountain. Each pari is about half a mile in length, and furnishes a curious specimen of rough but effectual fortification, suited to the circumstances of the ground, and the modes of warfare formerly existing among the people. Within the enclosures are breadfruit, coconut, plantain, vi-apple, and other trees, to supply provisions, with water springs, on which a besieged garrison might subsist for months; so that it would be as difficult for their assailants to starve them into surrender as to storm their lines. In one place was the wreck of an old canoe, built in the last war, and laid there to appease the anger of some god."

Site 236. Petroglyph boulders at Vaiati.

Among numerous boulders on this land, about a quarter of a mile inland, there are two which are carved. The first is on the east bank of Vaiati brook and 30 feet from it. Two faces are carved with the petroglyphs shown in figure 131, *a*, *c*, and plate 20, *B*. The second petroglyph boulder is 150 yards northwest of the first and on the opposite side of the brook, 15 feet from it. The carved south face is shown in figure 131, *b*.

The first boulder, called *ofai houu* (turtle stone), is the mythical parent of the island and of the island's chiefs. This stone is supposed to have slept with the cliff Hohoi-rai, which is the cliff of Mount Paia, and from their union Vavau was born (25).

MAUPITI

PLACE NAMES

The map of Maupiti (fig. 125) shows place names and location of some of the maraes. The place names are from native informants and the French map of 1823 (16, pl. 7):

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1. Hotuparaoa, or Hutu-
paraoa Bluff | 17. Urufaatiu, highest peak
on the island. The old
name is Teurataha | 33. Teanaotemoo |
| 2. Terama Peak | 18. Maua Po | 34. Maoatea and Maoatera-
uri, two great rocks at
the water's edge rep-
resenting brothers,
that on the west the
older |
| 3. Tapoa Village | 19. Putua Hill | 35. Anao, a large rock on
the beach |
| 4. Hutuariritea Peak | 20. Tapele | 36. Tehotupuwaiwai, ridge
dividing Faanoa from
Taotoi |
| 5. Farauru | 21. Faatauhi Hill | 37. Vaihahau |
| 6. Ureureooha Peak | 22. Havai | 38. Vanaroo |
| 7. Teremu Peak | 23. Nuupure marae | 39. Teheva |
| 8. Maua Farefare | 24. Tirianoo Peak | 40. Farepaia |
| 9. Paetaha. The region in
the vicinity is denom-
inated Patuma on the
French map, 1823. | 25. Vaipahu (pronounced
Wai-pahu) | 41. Peao |
| 10. Tauwaa (pronounced
Kauwaa), or Farii
Hill | 26. Haamarumaru | 42. Motu Aie |
| 11. Haranai | 27. Piaitu | 43. Motu Ahi |
| 12. Pohiva | 28. Vaimariri Hill | 44. Tarahu-Apouhi |
| 13. Anutaea (pronounced
Anukaea) | 29. Puuroo | 45. Faretea |
| 14. Taieoaha | 30. Taharai Hill | 46. Vaiotaha |
| 15. Tepouhohu | 31. Pahihirohiro, a rock, on
the French map called
Terciavarua | |
| 16. Hotutavaeroa or Hutu-
tavaeroa | 32. Teaua, a rock. This or
a neighboring rock
was pointed out to me
as Tuturaporeho | |

RUINS

Duperrey shows 16 maraes on his excellent map (16, pl. 7) made in 1823, and assigns to one of them on the north side of the island the name Nuupure (Nuupure). The name of another Maupiti marae, to which an ancestor of King Mai of Borabora belonged, was Teahutapu (32, p. 260). Tyerman (56, vol. 2, p. 13) must have been misinformed when he was told that there were no less than 220 maraes on Maupiti. An exhaustive inquiry has netted the names of only 35 maraes. Handy and I saw the remains of 10 or 11, all in a very poor state of preservation. Most of them consisted of a rectangular pavement extending out from the shore. The platforms were mainly or entirely basalt stones. The *ahu* were faced with limestone slabs about 3 feet high and standing on the lagoon end of the platform. The platforms were neatly paved with basalt flagstones.

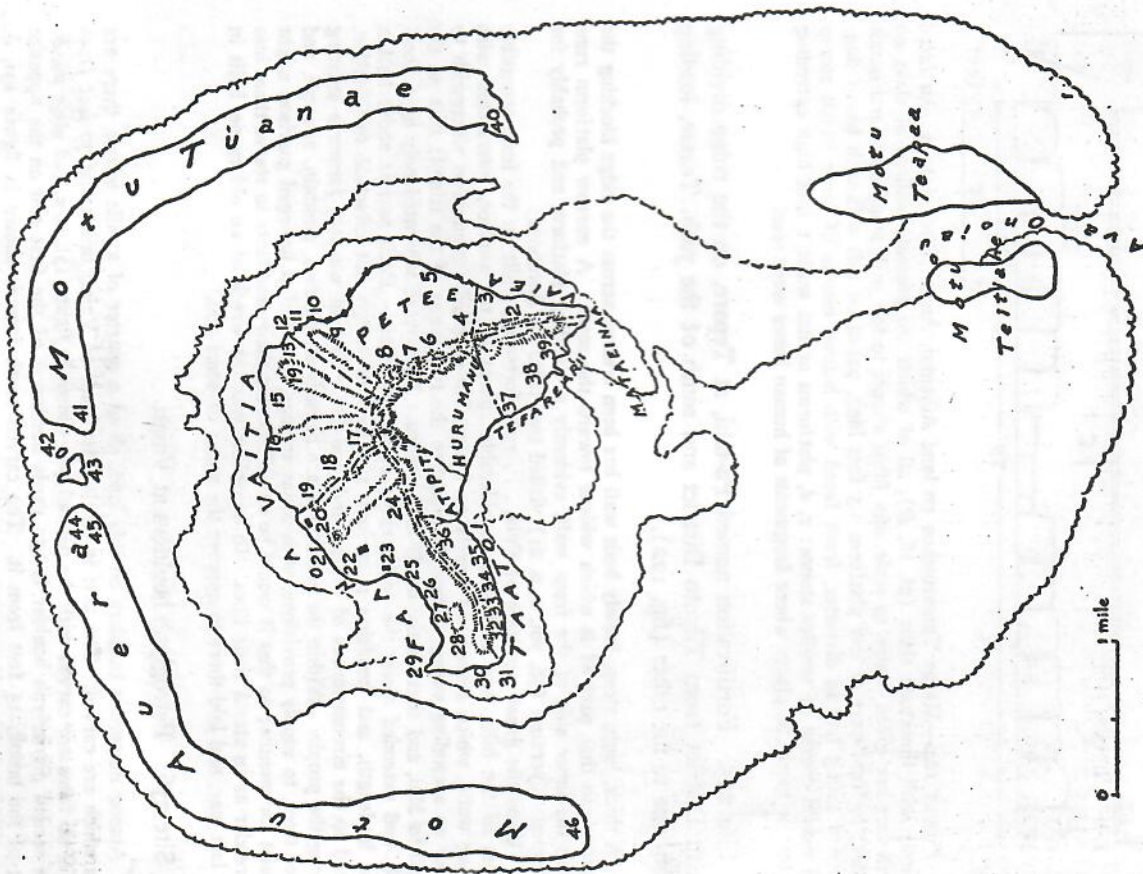


FIGURE 125.—Map of Maupiti. Names of districts are from native informants; numbers refer to place names (p. 167).

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Site 237. Marae Vaiahu, Tefarearii District (fig. 126).

A platform of basalt dike stones built out to low tide mark on the lagoon. Its height ranges from 1 to 4 feet. Across the lagoon end of the platform is a line of three or four limestone slabs on edge, undoubtedly marking the inland face of an *ahu*. In a vault (fig. 126, *b*), it is said, until recently the fishing gods were put at times of fishing. For the setting of the marae in relation to the chief's house, the original marae Teparoa, the marae Petau, the canoe jetty, the two maraes next to it, and to the assembly ground, see Handy's plan (29, fig. 12) of Tefarearii. Record by Handy.

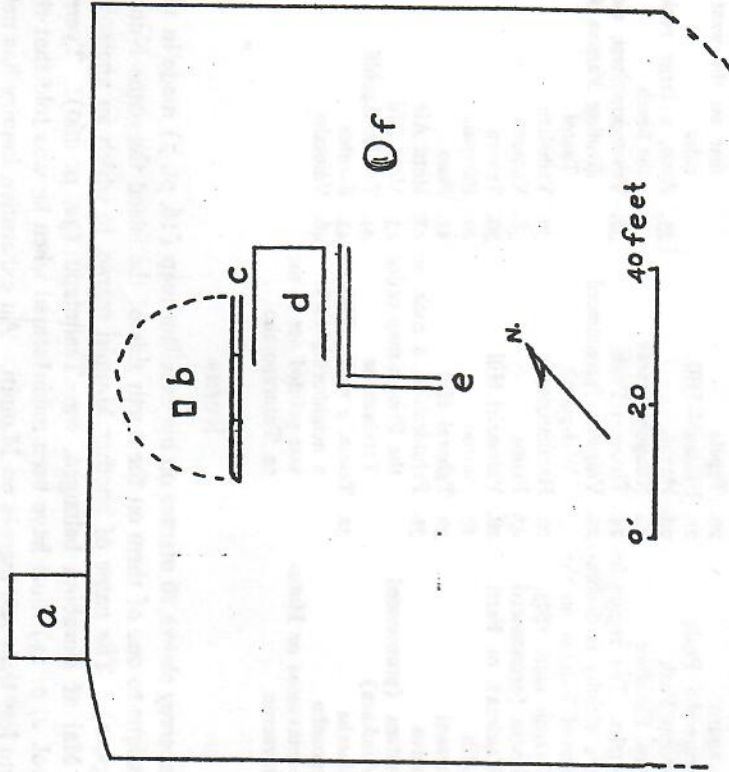


FIGURE 126.—Marae Vaiahu (Site 237), platform built of natural basalt blocks: *a*, extension recently built; *b*, vault lined with limestone slabs about 2 feet deep, 3 feet long, 2 feet wide, now empty, spot elevated above general level of platform indicating that vault was embedded in fill of *ahu*; *c*, three or four limestone slabs on edge marking inner face of *ahu*; *d*, slightly depressed area finely paved with pebbles; *e*, small wall; *f*, pit 4 feet deep, 4 feet in diameter, lined with rough stone; human leg, collar, and thigh bones as well as pig jaws and teeth lay in bottom of pit.

Site 238. A *pa* (fortification) on the east slope of Terama Peak, at the base of a bluff overlooking Vaiea Village (fig. 127), and rock named Tumupuua.

The *pa* consists of a loosely built wall enclosing an area of steeply sloping ground, 12 to 54 feet wide, 135 feet long. At one of the outer corners of the wall is a platform built up flush with the top of the enclosure.

On the opposite side of Terama Peak and resting on the slope above the bluffs of Tefarearii District is the great rock named Tumupuaa. In its shelter and round about it are the remains of native ovens, probably used by the refugees of the fort. On the west side of the rock is a house terrace, 30 feet long, 15 feet wide, 3 feet high along the front. It is faced with stones loosely laid up and filled with earth and small stones. Below this is another similar house terrace, 24 feet long, 15 feet wide.

Site 239. Three petroglyph boulders at Haranai, in a stream bed of a ravine north of Vaiea Village. The principal carving on two of these stones is shown in figure 130, b; the carvings on the third boulder, in figure 129, c. Record by Handy.

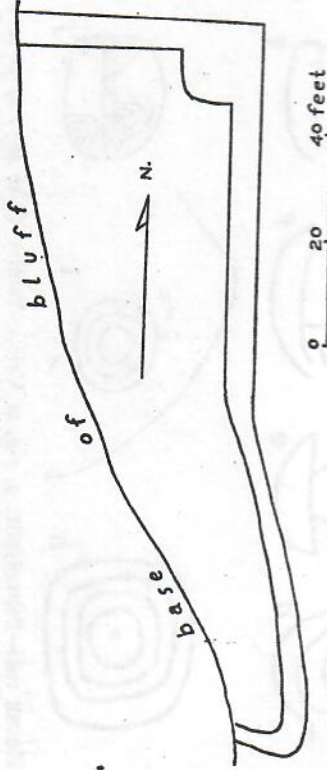


FIGURE 127.—Plan of fortification at base of east bluff of Terama Peak (Site 238), northeast corner is 6 feet high on outside.

Site 240. Tomb on the northeast coast, just seaward of the road, 50 yards from the shore.

The ruin consists of six or seven limestone slabs about 3 feet high set on edge and forming an enclosure 6 feet square partitioned across the middle by a single slab. The natives pointed it out as a burial place and strictly avoided approaching near it.

I have a list of the names of some marae of Maupiti, communicated to me in 1930 by my esteemed friend, Monsieur André Ropiteau, who made inquiries while visiting the island in that year:

1. Marae Vaiahu, dedicated to Hiro.
2. Marae Tehutu, belonging to Taurua-haamoehau.
3. Marae Faretai, belonging to Vahu-tai-nui.
4. Marae Faacte, belonging to Teiatua-i-te-pu-maroura.
5. Marae Hamau, belonging to Mauate-amoatua.
6. Marae Toahihia, belonging to Ope-i-te-ara-uroa.
7. Marae Rai-faairi, belonging to Manu-tahi-i-te-rauava.
8. Marae ? belonging to Puahi-i-te-papa-i-uruvaa.
9. Marae Teteoarai, belonging to Terii-re-i-te-vaa-tajunoa.

Henry (32, p. 129) says that the chief deities presiding over Vaiahu were Tu and Taaroa; de Bovis (7, p. 44) gives the god as Tuu-i-vahiau (Tu-i-

Vaiahu). To this list I can add from an old manuscript of lands belonging to the Mai family of Borabora, these two marae: Marae Te-tai-farii on the land Atipau, Taatoï District; Marae Tau, Taatoï or Atipiti District.

In 1932 Monsieur Ropiteau again visited Maupiti and secured a list of 23 additional marae, which list, together with some very valuable notes, he has published in the bulletin of the Société des Études Océaniques (47, pp. 120-129). The additional marae are:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ahiti-rai, at Ahiti-rai | Pihaetohora, or Farerua, at Patio |
| Abunee, at Hutuae | Poura, at Ati-faaroa |
| Ati-pae, at Ati-pae, inland | Rai-mae, at Ati-faaroa |
| Faahai, at Faahai | Rai-vanaa, at Faretupa |
| Fare-miro, at Fare-miro | Te-ahu-tapu, at Apapaterai (inland) |
| Farerua, or Pihaetohora, at Patio | Te-faataca, at Atipiti |
| Harumaruma, at Taotoi | Tereva, at Tereva, inland |
| Manutahi, at Manutahi | Teteoarai, at Hurumanu |
| Maraamea, at Maupai | Tiahihia, at Atipiti |
| Nuupure, at Farefau | Vaehaa, at Te-pae-arioi |
| Otu, at Taurere | A marae near marae Otu |
| Patu-pota, at Mahui | A marae at Vaimoo |

← PETROGLYPHS

DESCRIPTION

A number of petroglyphs have been discovered on Tahiti, Huahine, Raia-tea, Borabora, and Maupiti. In Tahiti the petroglyphs are on large boulders, and in the Leeward Islands, on the slabs of marae as well. That they are not common is certain. Nevertheless, the wide distribution of those which have been found, their uniformity and conventionality, prove that the making of petroglyphs was a well-established practice.

The carving of petroglyphs on marae slabs and such motives as are found on them—the turtle, which predominates, concentric circles, circle and dot, and canoe—may be placed within the period of historical inhabitants, but there is no way of dating the figures on boulders not associated with marae. The tradition collected in 1926, which claims that the human figures on a boulder at Tipaerui, Tahiti (Site 6), were carved in memory of the wife and twin children of one Tataurii who had taken refuge in Tipaerui has too much the ring of a local legend rationalized to fit the carving to be taken literally. Yet no very great age can be ascribed to this well-delineated carving on a flat rock in a steep brook bed where erosion is going on at a rapid rate.

Most petroglyphs are wrought by pecking broad, rather deep grooves. A few of the grooves are so broad and shallow as to lift the spaces between into low relief and shift the attention from the outline to the body of the figure. I doubt that the artist aimed at producing this effect, as it is only perfect in two figures (fig. 130, d, nos. 3, 4) or rough limestone slabs where narrow

lines would have been lost. The figures on the cornerstone of the chief's house platform at Tevaitoa (pl. 19, B) are sharply incised.

Human and turtle figures, concentric circles, representations of masks and headdresses, are the motives employed in Tahiti. The Leeward Islands add canoes and simple circles to these figures.

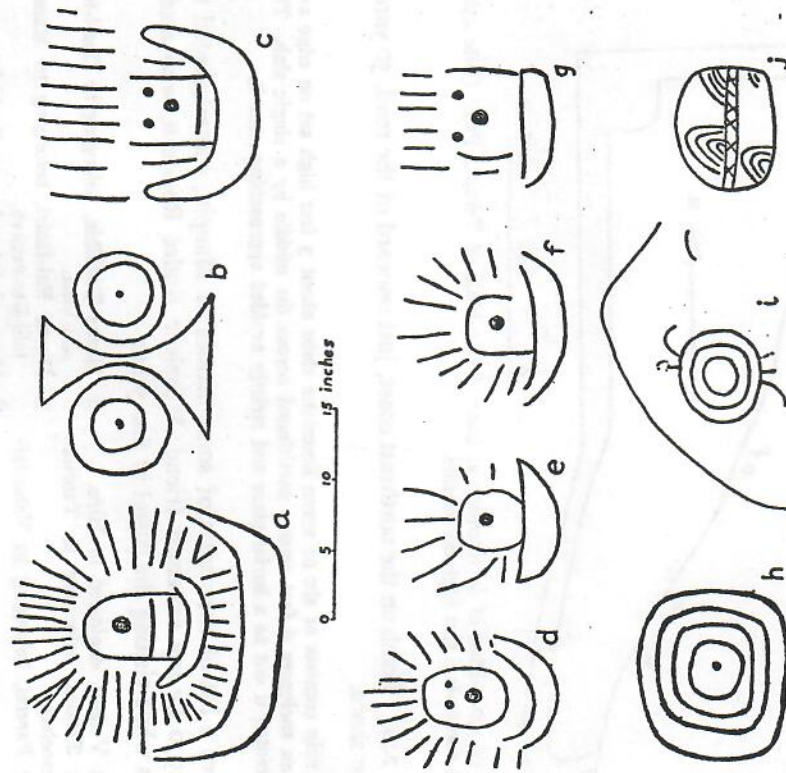


FIGURE 128.—Petroglyphs: *a, c-g*, at Vaiote, Tautira (Site 48); *b*, on easternmost boulder 12 feet in diameter, Faaa (Site 10); *h-i*, on boulders behind schoolhouse at Arae; *h*, single petroglyph 15 inches in diameter, on northwest face of middle boulder; *j*, decorative incisions on coconut shell plaque sewed on apron of mourner's costume from Tahiti (British Museum), diameter 1 inch.

Among all the petroglyphs in the Leeward Islands, only one is of human form (fig. 130, *b*). In this the body is outlined by a triangle and the legs are formed by a double line. The petroglyphs at Tipaerui, Tahiti, are nearly all of human form. There are several simple linear figures (fig. 129, *a*), but the two most conspicuous petroglyphs (fig. 129, *b*; pl. 19, *A*) have limbs and the sides of the body represented by double grooves. One of these has two heads, the left one located centrally on the body. Appended to the body are

two symbols which might be interpreted as representing the male and female sexual organs, or the male and the placenta.

Most of the turtle figures are simple outlines, but some have on their backs conventional markings. In these the cross predominates, and the circle, or concentric circles, or a combination of cross and circle, are used. A median vertical line crossed by two or more horizontal lines may represent the division of the shell into plaques, but the designs so individualize the turtles as to convey the impression that they indicate specific kinds of turtles or are symbols appropriated by individuals. However, there may be behind this decoration only a desire to fill the empty space.



FIGURE 129.—Petroglyphs: *a-b*, at Tipaerui (Site 6), each 16 inches high; *c*, on boulder at Vaiea, Maupiti, from photo by E. S. C. Handy.

Plain circle petroglyphs are rare. Plain circles with a dot in the middle, or a circle within a circle, are more common. Series of concentric circles running up to four and usually with a dot in the middle are also frequently found.

Canoe petroglyphs were discovered solely on three adjoining slabs of the seaward face of the *ahu* of marae Rauhuru at Maeva, Huahine (fig. 130). The four canoes on these slabs taper slightly upward at each end after the manner of the Society Islands war canoe. Resting toward one end of two of the canoes is a rectangle which suggests remotely the little house standing on the forward part of double traveling canoes or the fighting platform of war canoes. A young native spectator exclaimed, "Look at the smoke stacks!" But the native aversion to handling these marae slabs, as well as the weathered appearance of the grooves, argues against the modernity of the carving.

The supposition that certain figures on Tahiti, Raiatea, Borabora, and Maupiti (fig. 128, *a-g*; 130, *b*; 131, *a*) represent headdresses rests on their resemblance to pyrogravures on a bamboo quiver from the Society Islands in the British Museum (fig. 133) which unmistakably represent a type of head-dress common in the Society Islands as part of the chief mourner's costume. It will be seen, if the headdress as figured by Webber (13, vol. 3, p. 230), the pyrogravure (fig. 133), and the Raiatean petroglyph (pl. 19, B) are com-

from a horizontal line over a small human figure on Maupiti (fig. 130, b) may stand for a headdress of the same type. Petroglyphs at Vaiote, Tautira (fig. 128, a, c-h; Site 48) are, similarly, representations of masks and head-dresses.

That the use of concentric semicircles, as on the "headress" petroglyph of Borabora, is not foreign to historic Tahitian art is witnessed by the carving on one of the little incised coconut shell disks (fig. 128, j) tied to the apron of the mourner's costume in the British Museum.

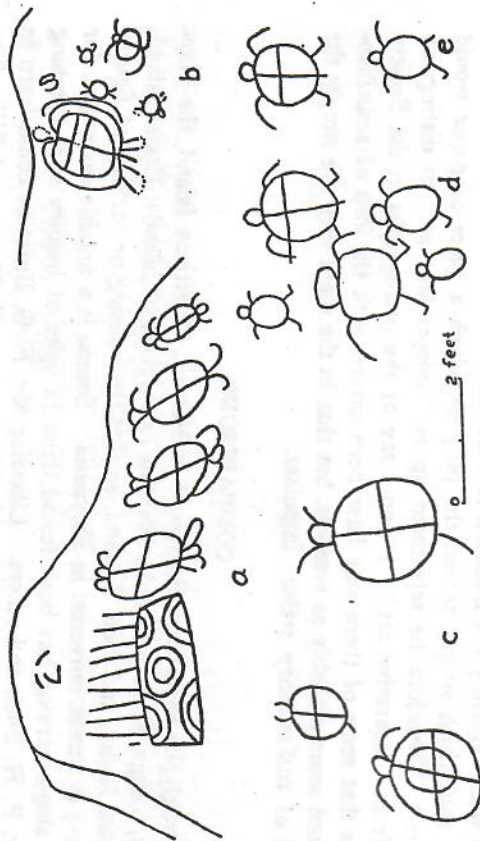


FIGURE 131.—Borabora petroglyphs: a, c, boulder, east bank of Vaiati brook, south face, c, west face; b, boulder, west bank of Vaiati, south face (Site 236); d-e, groups on two slabs of marae Farcopu (fig. 120).

MEANING

None of the groups of petroglyphs in the Society Islands are organized to portray an event or to form a decorative ensemble. They are individual figures added one after the other by the same or different artists without regard to the figures already carved.

The turtle figure predominates among the petroglyphs. The turtle, writes Henry (32, p. 384), was the shadow of the gods of the ocean. It was a choice food held sacred to the gods and eaten only by chiefs and marae keepers (32, p. 381). Maraes dedicated to Oro were distinguished from all others (32, p. 132) by stones "shaped like turtles' heads and set at regular distances along the sides of the construction."

At one marae in Faaa District, Tahiti (Site 9), whose enclosing walls and *ahu* were faced entirely with worked stones, were found four stones encircled

pared, that the resemblance of the petroglyph to the headdress and to the pyrogravure is too striking and detailed to be accidental. Elsewhere (22) I have analyzed this petroglyph and fully set forth its correspondence to this type of headdress. In brief, the radiating lines of the petroglyph apparently represent the slender tail feathers of the tropic bird; the upper, vertical part of the figure represents the frontal piece of pearl shell; the curved base represents the breast plate; the ovals bristling with spines at each end of the breast plate represent the pearl shells fringed with feathers; and the whole main outline of the figure represents the hood draped over the head and shoulders.

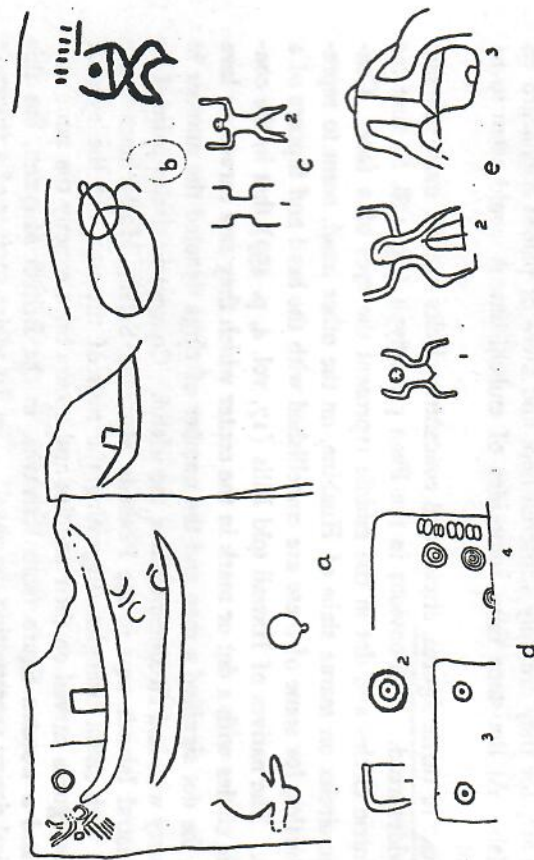


FIGURE 130.—Tahitian, Pitcairn, and Marquesan petroglyphs: a, on two adjoining facing slabs of marae Rauhuru (Site 120), Maeva, canoes on left are each 20 inches long; b, on two different boulders at Vaiea, Maupiti, from photo by E. S. C. Handy; c, Pitcairn petroglyph, after Scurat (52); d, on slabs of maraes of Huahine; 1, chevron design, 15 inches high, on slab of marae Manunu; 2, single petroglyph, 5 inches in diameter, on a slab of marae Fareie, Maeva; 3, two circles in partial relief on slab of marae Anini; 4, outline of four pairs of ovals and three series of concentric circles (the largest 13 inches in diameter) in partial relief on a slab of marae Anini; e, at Teueto, Tahauku, Hivaooa, Marquesas, from photo by Ralph Linton.

A petroglyph on Borabora (fig. 131, a) with nine or ten vertical parallel lines on a rectangular base, tastefully embellished with a central circle and a semicircle in each corner, suggests the frontlet of the Austral Islands head-dress (one in Peabody Museum, Harvard University, another in Cambridge University Museum, England) bearing a row of upright tropic bird feathers. A petroglyph on a different part of the same rock (pl. 20, B), with vertical, parallel lines, obviously also represents a headdress. The vertical lines rising

at one end with a groove. One of these was in place as a first-course stone of the inner facing of the court wall (fig. 18, *a, d*); from the proximity of the others, presumably they were also placed in the wall. These may be the stones to which Henry is referring, as there is something of the suggestion of a turtle's head in the form of the end encircled by a groove. However that may be, in the Leeward Islands the *ahu* of the marae are faced with slabs and there are no enclosing walls, and the turtle could, therefore, not be represented in the same way. It is quite possible that this idea of embellishing a marae with representations of the turtle as the representation of Oro was carried out in the Leeward Islands by the turtle petroglyphs on one or several of the slabs of a number of the marae. These petroglyphs, then, would be sacred symbols. It is difficult to think of them as being drawn in the spirit of decorative art, for they are only scattered here and there or placed haphazard on one slab. At the same time, some idea of embellishment would seem to be present.

Next to turtle figures, circles and concentric circles are the most common and widespread. It is obvious in the Faa petroglyph (fig. 128, *b*) that the concentric circles and dot in the middle represent the eyes of a face. Concentric circles on marae slabs of Huahine, on the other hand, seem to represent turtles, for some of these are embellished with the head and flippers of a turtle. The natives of Hawaii told Ellis (17, vol. 4, p. 459) that in the concentric circles with a dot or mark in the center which they saw carved on lava flows the dot signified a man and the number of rings denoted the number in the party who had circumambulated the island. Concentric circles painted on an Austral Islands tapa in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, are edged with small triangles suggesting the rays of the sun, but the eyes of human figures carved on their paddles and spears have exactly the same outline, and a wooden figure from Raiavavae, in the British Museum, has this identical design representing the navel. The flat under surface of a ridgepole on exhibition in the Papeete Museum, Tahiti, is ornamented with a row of these Austral Islands motives. It is certain, therefore, that though not all concentric circles represented the same thing, as the human eye, the sun, or the turtle, some of them were used to represent these things.

The ceremonial "headdress" petroglyphs on Raiatea, Borabora, and Tahiti may have functioned to represent magically the continued presence, surveillance, or influence of a chief mourner. The human figure at Tipaerui, Tahiti, attempts to represent something symbolically, for it is not realistic and it is not an idle scrawl. But it would be a mistake to attach symbolic significance to all Society Islands petroglyphs.

As in Hawaii (21, p. 120, figs. 17, 20), the Marquesas (39, pp. 96-99), New Zealand (28), and New Caledonia (41), in the Society Islands common petroglyph forms appear also as motives in burnt decorations or in tattooing,

or both. Among the other motives burnt into the Tahitian bamboo quiver with the headdress motive are turtles (fig. 133), represented in much the same way as in some of the petroglyphs. Ellis (17, vol. 1, pp. 262-266) says that circles, goats, dogs, fowl, fish, clubs, spears, and men engaged in battle and manual exercise were tattooed on the natives, and that, though some of the figures were probably invested with special meaning, they were adopted by the majority of the natives merely for decoration. In Wilson's painting (40, vol. 1, p. 140) of a group of distinguished natives at Matavai, Tahiti, in 1797, Tahitian tattooing is clearly illustrated. On the left hip of one native are tattooed an outer circle of dots with three concentric circles, a common petroglyph motive.

As petroglyphs in Polynesia are thus also decorative motives they may be classified as "artistic manifestations," to borrow a term from Luquet's study of New Caledonian petroglyphs (41, p. 54); what he concludes about them seems to apply in large measure to the Polynesian carvings. He says, "The figures were evidently not intended to decorate the surface on which they are drawn and which simply served the purpose which a piece of paper would with us." Therefore he sets them up as "independent art" to distinguish them from "decorative art." I would say of the petroglyphs in the Society Islands that some of them may have been carved with the idea of embellishment and some probably as symbols, but that in the main they are simply the record of rudimentary artistic impulses.

COMPARISONS

Petroglyphs have been discovered in Hawaii, Christmas Island, the Marquesas, Tonga, Society Islands, Pitcairn (52), Austral Islands, Easter Island, Chatham Island, and New Zealand, so that the incising or pecking of figures on stone is almost universal in Polynesia. Samoa is a notable exception, for not a single carving has been found there in spite of inquiry and searching by Dr. P. H. Buck and others. Likewise Mr. E. G. Burrows could learn in 1932 of none in Wallis or Futuna. They are rare in Tonga and Fiji. The practice of making petroglyphs, therefore, seems a trait belonging rather to distal (with reference to Asia) Polynesia, than to proximal Polynesia (Samoa, Niue, Tonga, Wallis, and Futuna).

Petroglyphs found to any extensive degree throughout Polynesia (as the linear human figure, concentric circles, bird and turtle figures) are exceedingly simple and appear sporadically throughout the world. Little reliance can be put on them as constituting in themselves a proof of cultural contact. Even in the more elaborate figures possibilities of correspondence through coincidence are great. For example, the unique cross and Y markings on the body of the turtle (fig. 132, *g*) are exactly paralleled on the body of a human petroglyph in Brazil (34, fig. 5). Masks, ceremonial costumes, and head-

resses are also represented by Brazilian petroglyphs (34, p. 54), and I have seen them somewhere represented in petroglyphs in the West Indies. Yet these considerations do not leave the petroglyphs without value in pointing out cultural contact; they only warn against exaggerating the significance of identical forms.

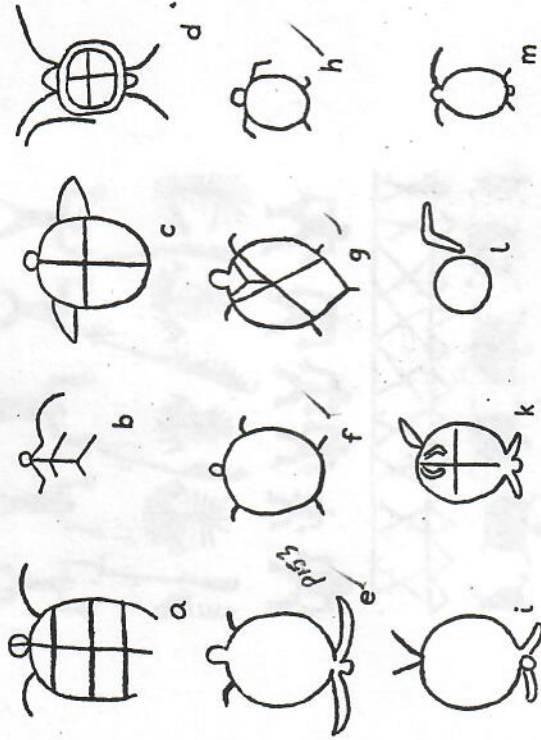


FIGURE 132.—Leeward Islands turtle petroglyphs: *a-c*, on facing stones of ancient chief's house platform at Tevaitoa, Raiatea, sketched by W. C. Handy, *a*, 15 inches long; *d*, on slab of marae Manunu, Maeva, Huahine, 12.5 inches wide; *e-h*, on one slab of marae Tainuu, Tevaitoa, Raiatea; *i-k*, on slab of marae Rauhuru, Maeva, Huahine; *l*, circle 7 inches in diameter on end slab of marae Manunu, Huahine; *m*, single figure on slab of Anini marae, Huahine, length 8 inches.

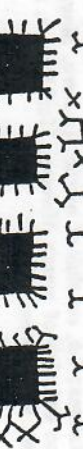
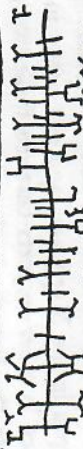
The representation of the human form in Polynesia by pecking two parallel lines for the limbs and the sides of the body has been discovered at only one group of petroglyphs in the Marquesas and one group in the Society Islands. The correspondence in other respects between these two groups is so detailed as to make tenable the hypothesis that the people who made both groups belonged to the same school. Whether these not un-Polynesian petroglyphs belong to the historic Marquesan and Tahitian cultures is a question. Linton (39, pp. 98, 149) says of the Marquesan group of figures: "Most of them differ sharply from any others observed in the Marquesas Islands. . . . The smoothly curved contours of the limbs are decidedly at variance with the canons of the historic natives." Likewise, the Tahitian group of petroglyphs differs from all others seen in the Society Islands and is at variance with the little which has survived of Tahitian art.

The Society Islands turtle petroglyphs marked with a cross, or crosses, or concentric circles, are a specialized form which would be indicative of Society Islands contact if found on other islands in Polynesia. But they and the headdress petroglyphs have not been reported elsewhere and hence rest in the category of local evolutions.

The simple turtle figure appears in Hawaii (21, fig. 19, pls. 7, C, 8, A), though rarely. A similar turtle petroglyph in the New Hebrides is illustrated by MacMillan Brown (8, p. 100).

Three canoe figures on Lanai in Hawaii (21, fig. 19, pl. 7, G) are remarkable in having the same upward-tapering ends as the Huahine canoe petroglyphs, a feature of historic Society Islands war canoes and one which, the Lanai petroglyphs would indicate, was at one time present in the Hawaiian canoes. The canoe petroglyphs in New Zealand (28) picture a local type of canoe and therefore need not have had any connection, beyond a common practice of copying familiar objects, with the figures of canoes cut on the slabs of a Huahine marae. Besides, the Huahine petroglyphs were probably carved long after the Maoris left.

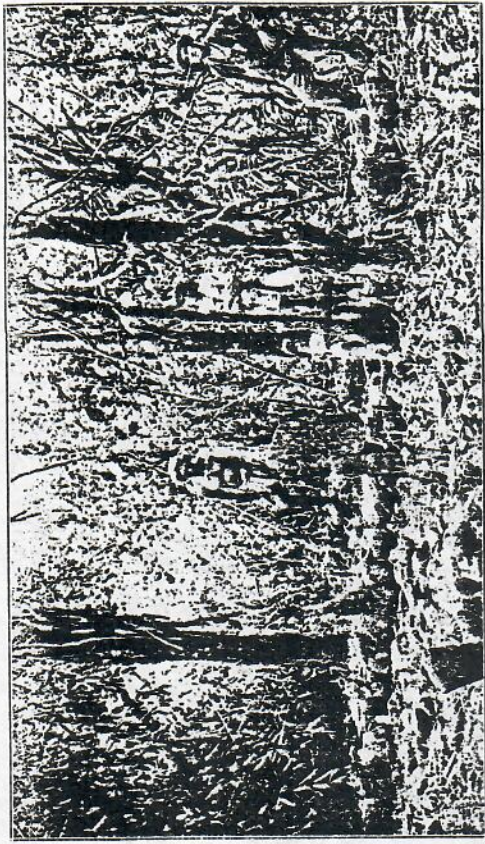
The New Zealand canoe figures are ornamented with spirals, and isolated spirals appear among them. Elsewhere in Polynesia there have been found no spiral petroglyphs from which to derive the New Zealand ones, but of course such a motive can be carried as a tattoo or wood carving design and be converted into a petroglyph at any time. Nevertheless, if the spiral was a common decorative motive as it was in New Zealand we should expect to find it somewhere among the numerous circle and concentric circle petroglyphs of Tahiti, the Marquesas, and Hawaii. The spiral petroglyph appears in the New Hebrides (41).



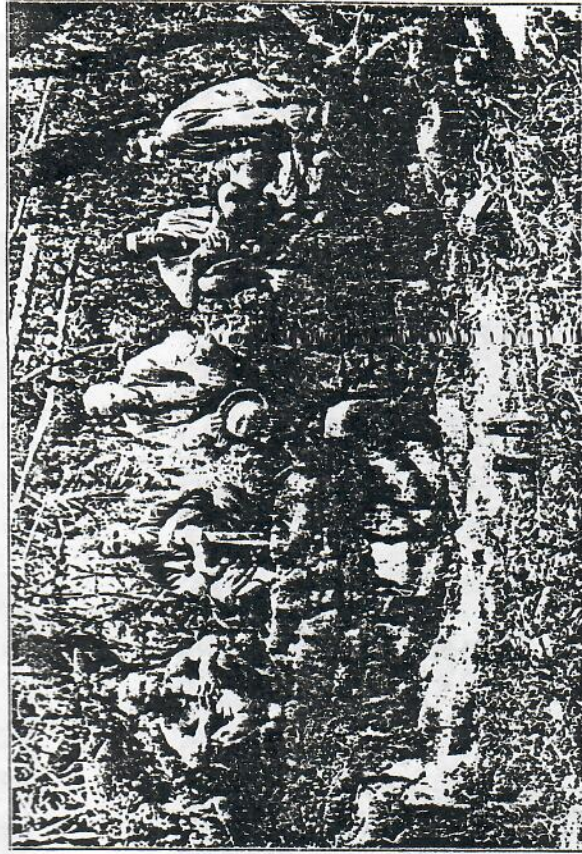
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A

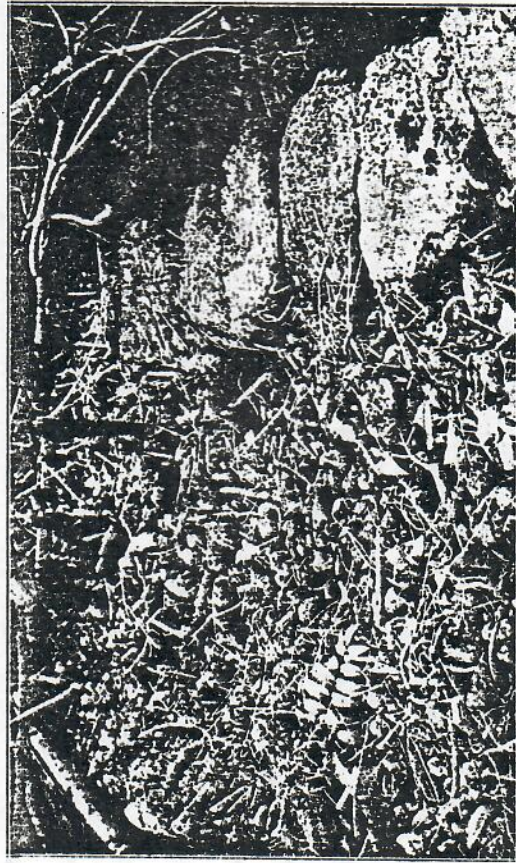


B

INLAND MARAES OF PAPENOO VALLEY, TAHITI: A, PLATFORM (AHU) AT ONE END OF PAVED COURT OF MARAE AT IERIFAAT-AUTAU (SITE 76); B, SHRINE AT PUTOURA (SITE 75).

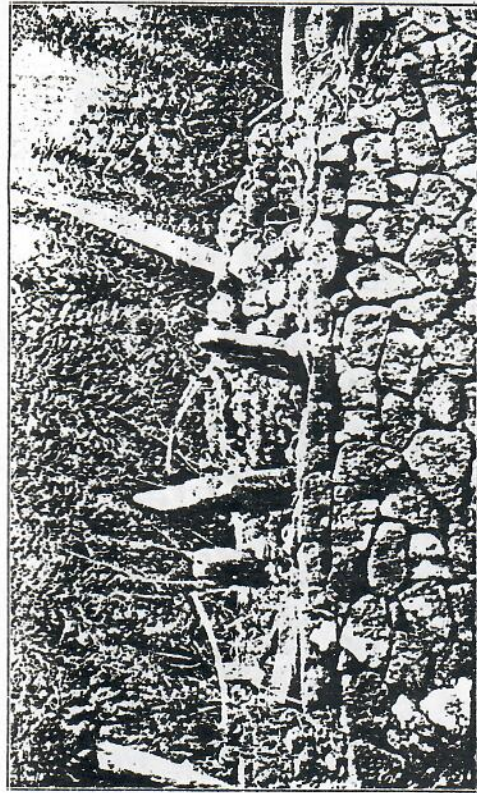


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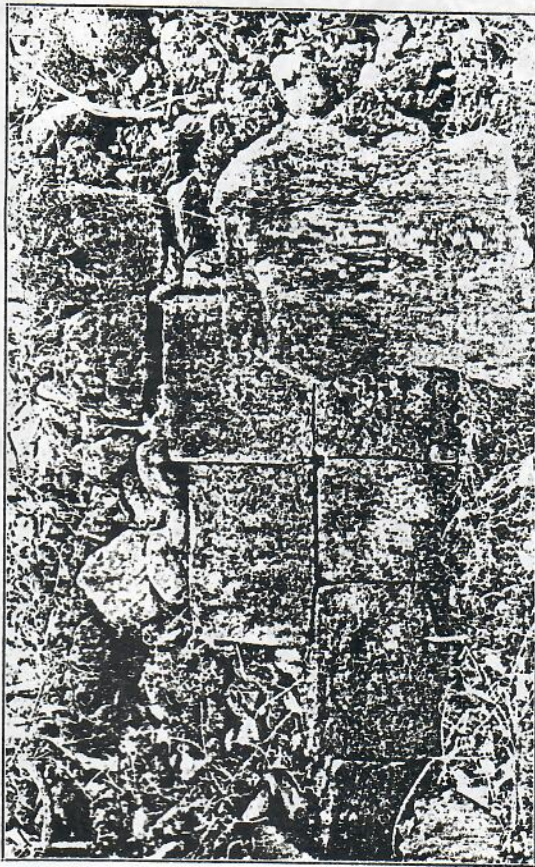


B

STONWORK OF INLAND MARAES, TAHITI: A, CORNER OF ENCLOSURE AT MARAF TEUA, OROPERE VALLEY (SITE 25), PHOTO BY E. S. C. HANDY; B, TOP OF WALL OF ENCLOSURE ADJOINING A MARAE AT DRUFARO, TETAMANU PLATEAU (SITE 18).

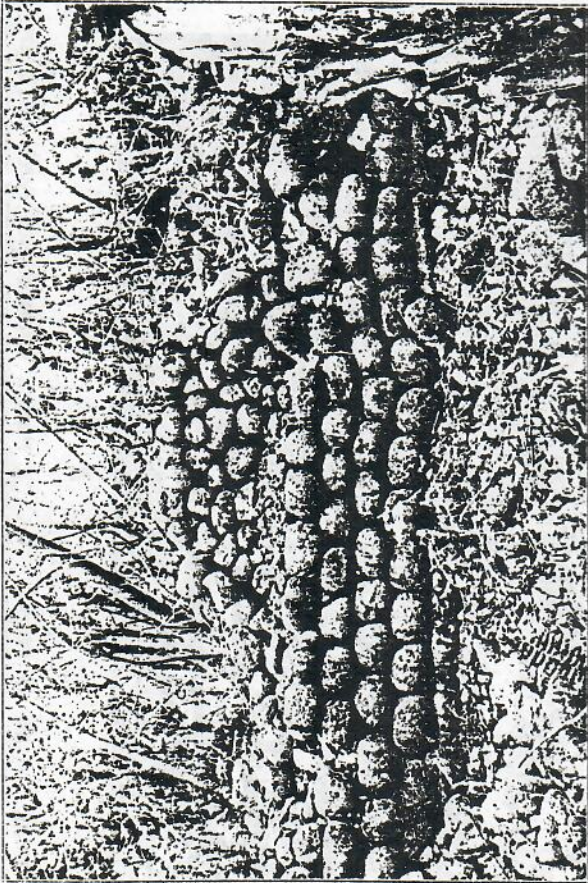


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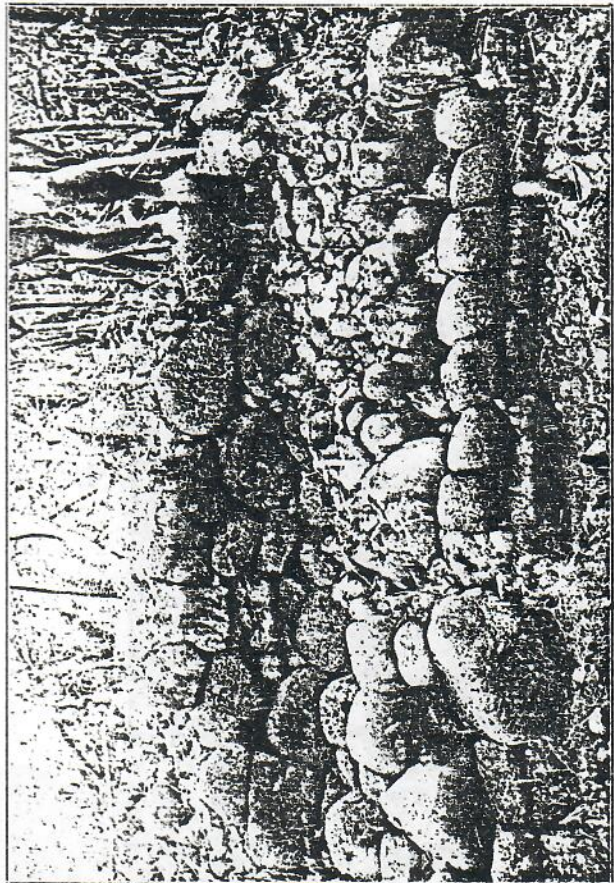


B

MOOREA MARAES INTERMEDIATE IN TYPE BETWEEN THE COASTAL AND INLAND MARAES: A, MARAE TERORO, APAREAITU (SITE 95), VIEW FROM EAST; B, MARAE TEPO, HAAPIITI (SITE 90), CENTRAL UPRIGHT (HEIGHT, 37 INCHES) AGAINST FACE OF *AHU*.

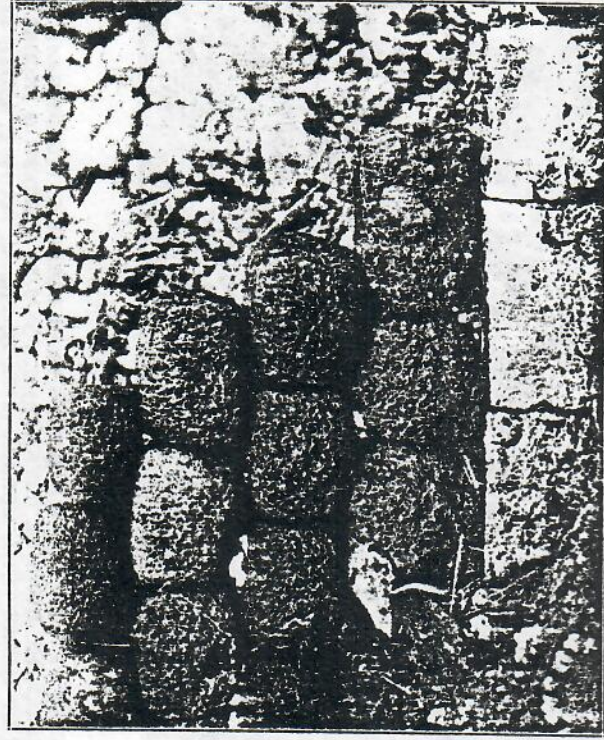


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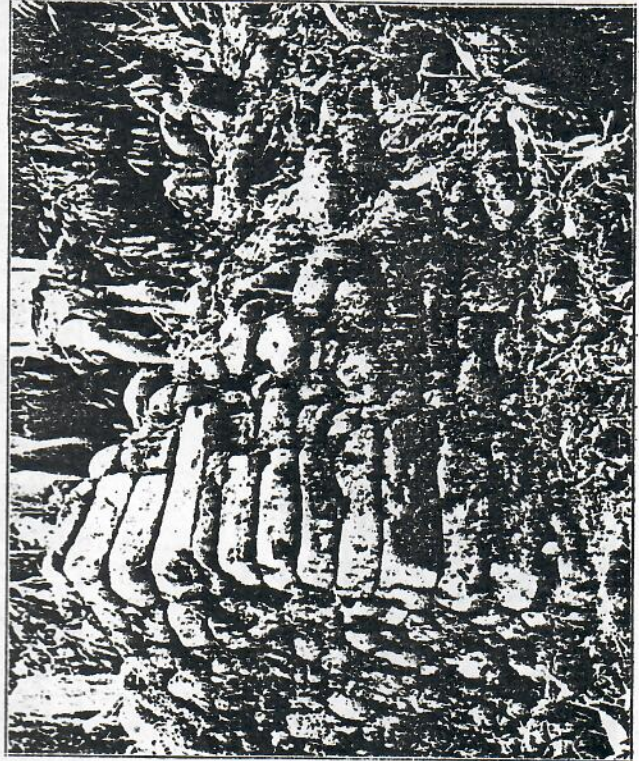


B

STONEWORK OF TAHITIAN MARAES, MARAF-TAATA (SITE 20): A, OUTER FACING OF COURT WALL, IN WHICH THE UPPER COURSES HAVE FALLEN AWAY REVEALING THE ROUGH INNER FACING, WEST WALL OF CENTRAL MARAE; B, WALL OF MARAE OF COASTAL TYPE OVERLAPPING CORNER OF COURT WALL OF MARAE OF INLAND TYPE.

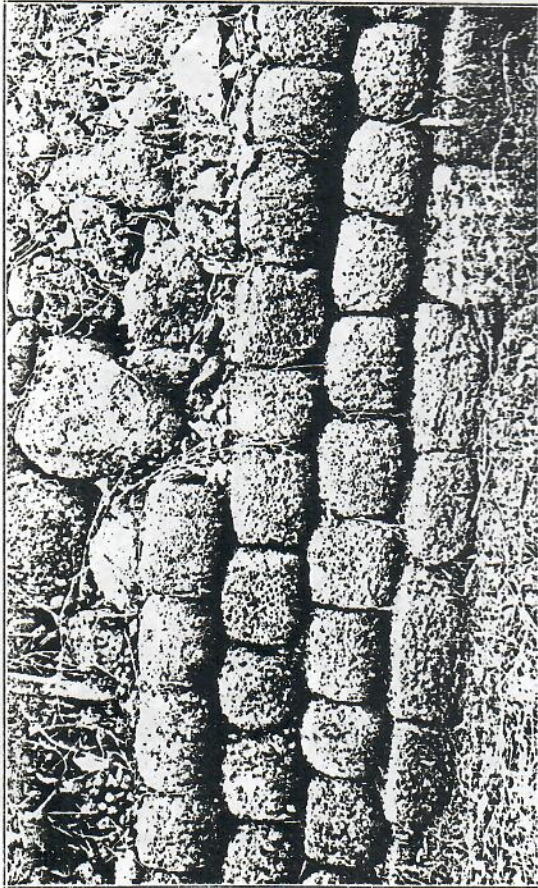


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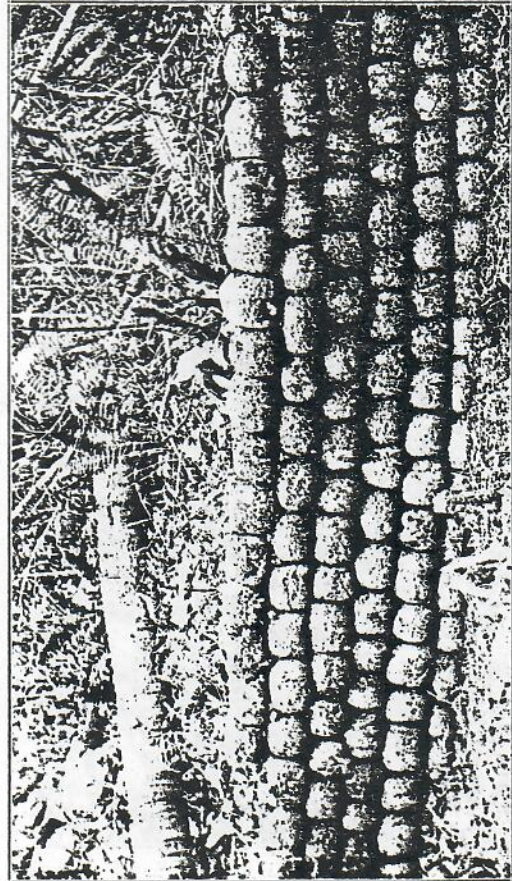


B

MARAE FACINGS, TAHITI: A, FIRST COURSE OF AHU FACING OF MARAE MAHAIA TEA (SITE 31); B, CORNER OF INLAND MARAE BUILT ON A TERRACE, MARAE AT TEFAL, PAPENOO, NORTHEAST CORNER (SITE 69).



A

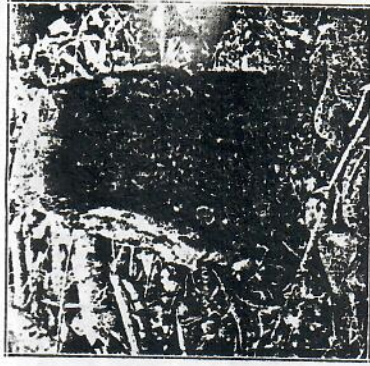


B

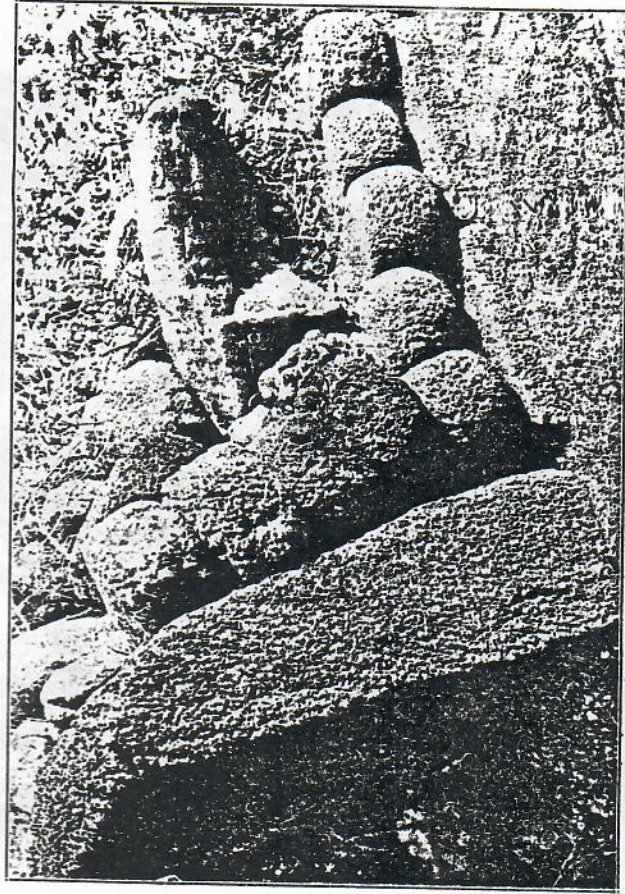
OUTER FACING OF COURT WALL OF MARAE ARAHURU, PAEA (SITE 29):
A, FIRST COURSE OF CURBS AND UPPER COURSES OF ROUND-FACED STONES,
NORTH WALL; B, UPPER COURSES OF SOUTH WALL (FIRST COURSE BURIED).



A



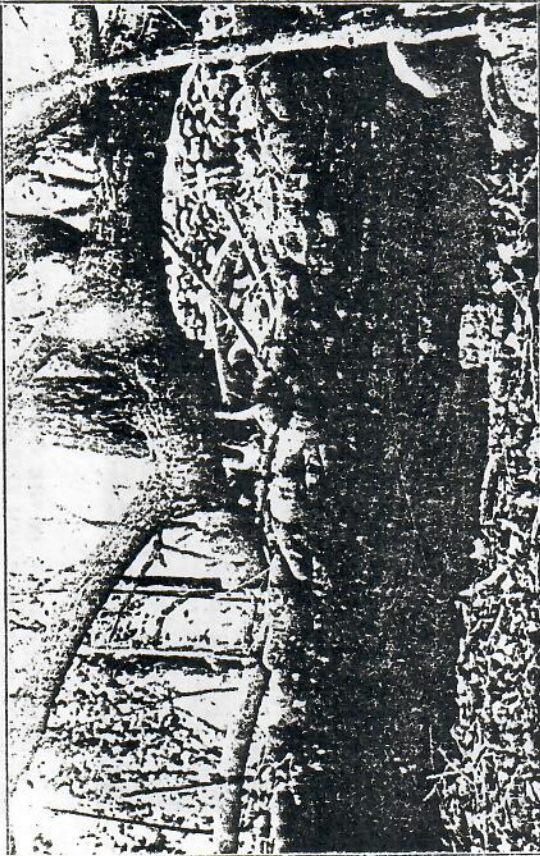
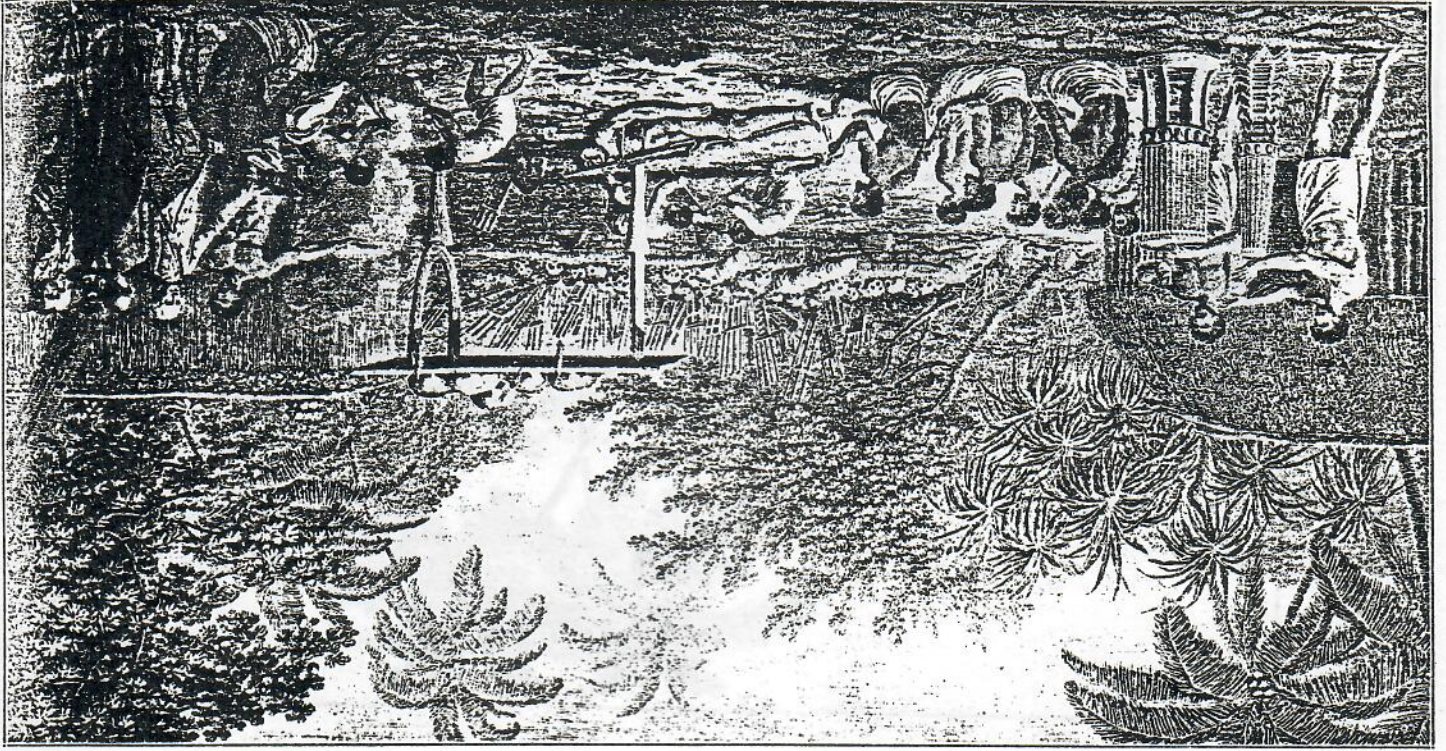
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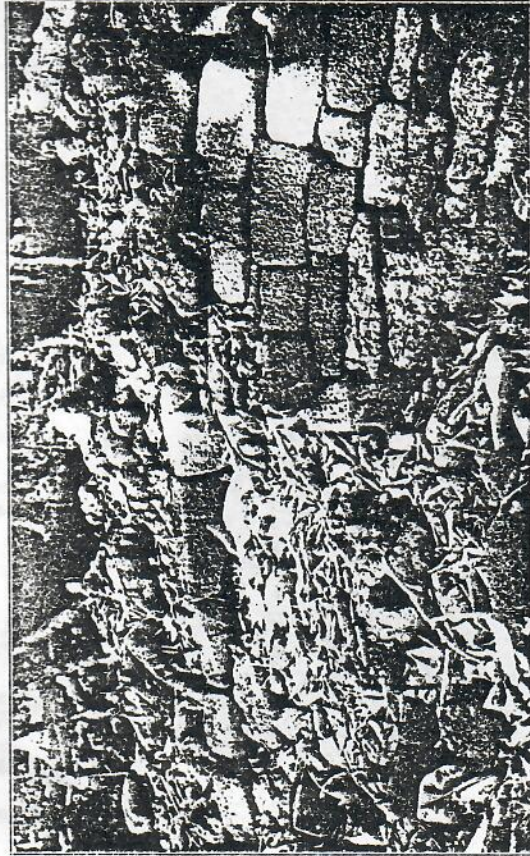
C

MARAE FEATURES: A, LIMESTONE SLAB BACKREST (TUTURIRAA) AT MARAE
MATAIREARAHU, HUAHINE (SITE 133); B, BASALT BACKREST, 19 INCHES HIGH, ON
COURT OF MARAE TETII, MOOREA (SITE 93; FIG. 66, NO. 7); C, SOUTH CORNER OF
COURT WALL OF MARAE AT FOAIROA, MOOREA (SITE 83).

CAPTAIN COOK AT MARAE OF POUARE I, IN 1777; PROBABLY THE PLATFORM IN FRONT OF MARAE KARAE-TAATA, PAEA (SITE 20). DRAWN BY WEHNER.

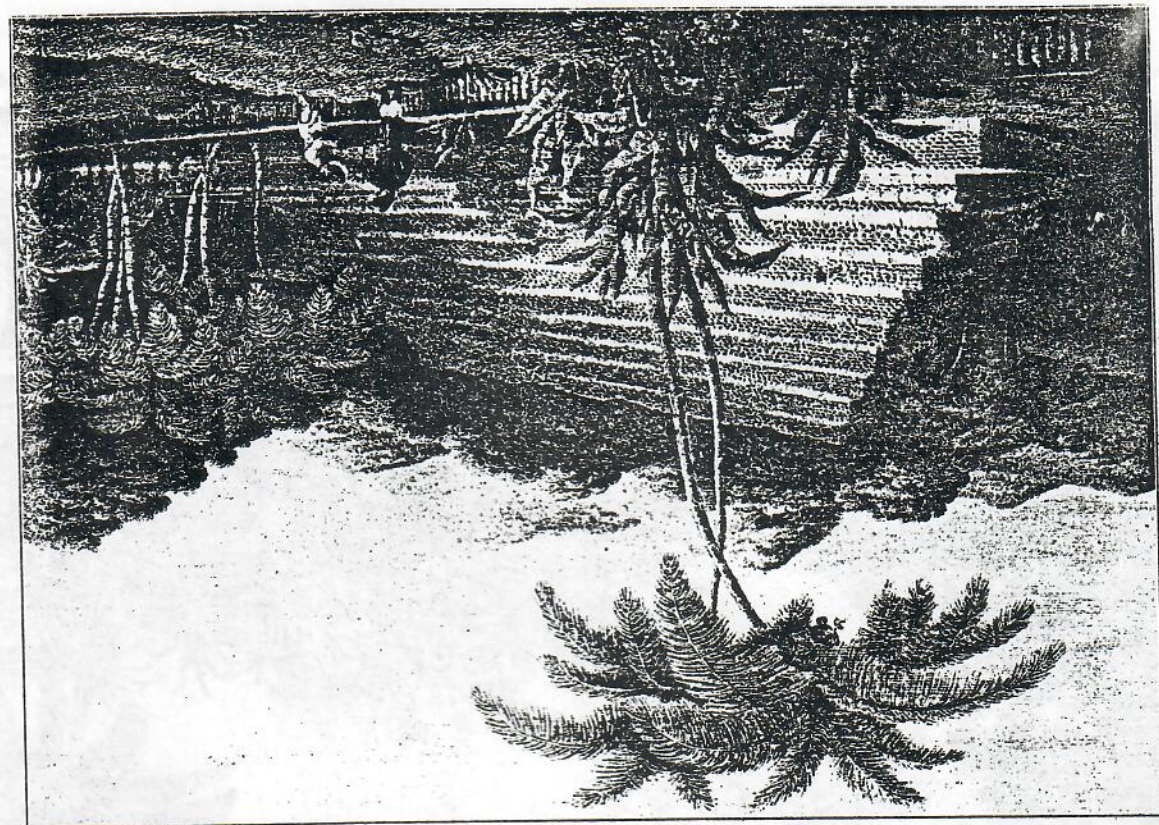


A



B

MARAE FACINGS, MEETIA: A, OUTER FACE OF EAST COURT WALL OF MARAE AT TEMATOMATO (SITE 105) SHOWING TOP COURSE OF SEA-WORN BouldERS; B, FACING OF SECOND STEP, AND FIRST COURSE OF UPPERMOST STEP OF AHU OF MARAE AT SITE 104.



MARAE MAHAITEA, PAPARA, TAHITI (SITE 31): WOODEN FENCE PUT IN BY THE ENGRAVER AND STONE WALL ENCLOSING THE COURT OMITTED. DRAWN BY CAPT. WILSON IN 1797.

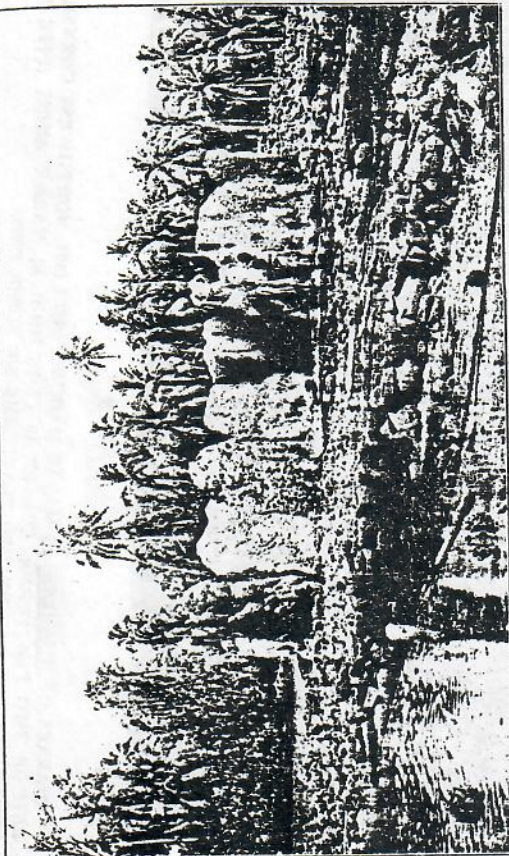


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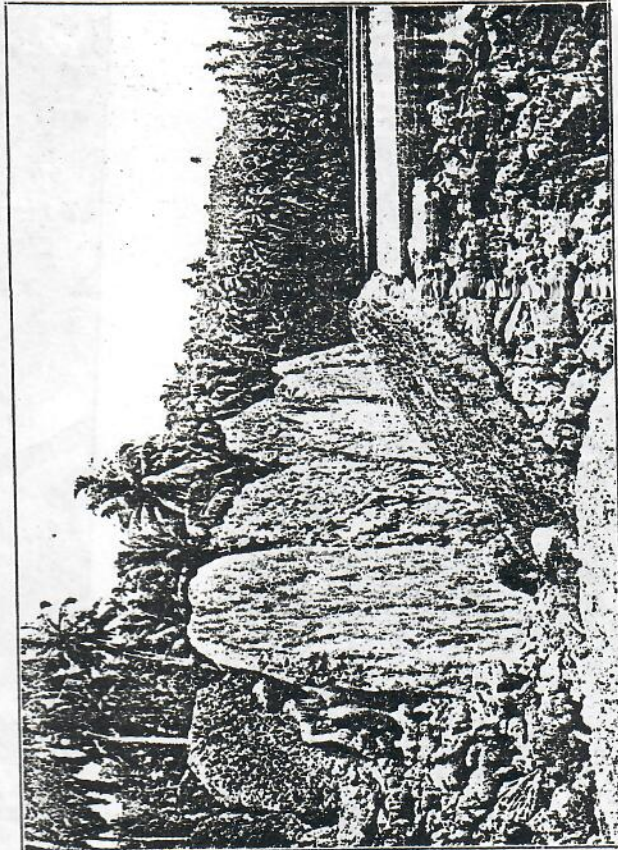


B

A, MARAE (TAHUEA?) IN THE VICINITY OF FARE, HUAHINE; PRIEST IS FACING AHU ALONG BACK OF WHICH RISE CARVED UNU BOARDS; RAISED HOUSE OF THE GOD ON LEFT. DRAWN BY WEBBER IN 1777. B, MARAE TAHITI, NORTH SIDE OF PUNARUU VALLEY, TAHITI (SITE 15); AHU (ITS ROUGHNESS EXAGGERATED) MARKED BY THE ROW OF CARVED UNU. DRAWN BY CAPT. WILSON IN 1797.

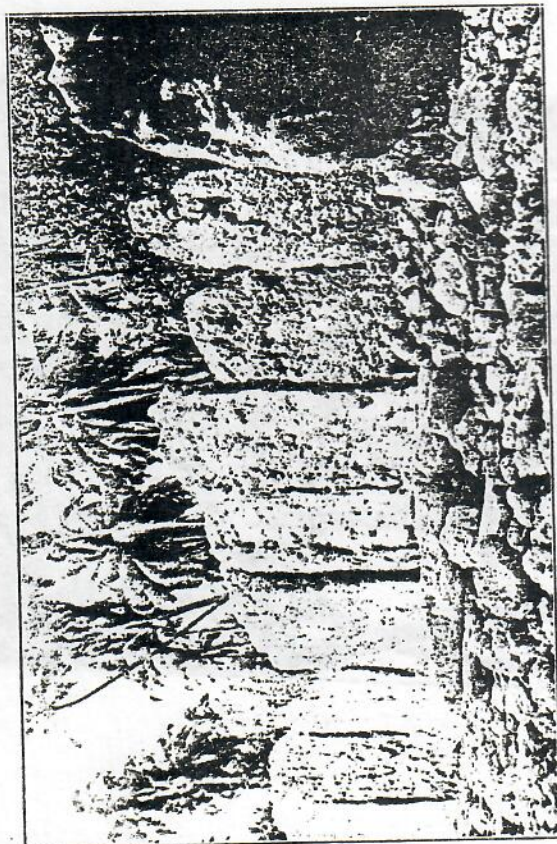


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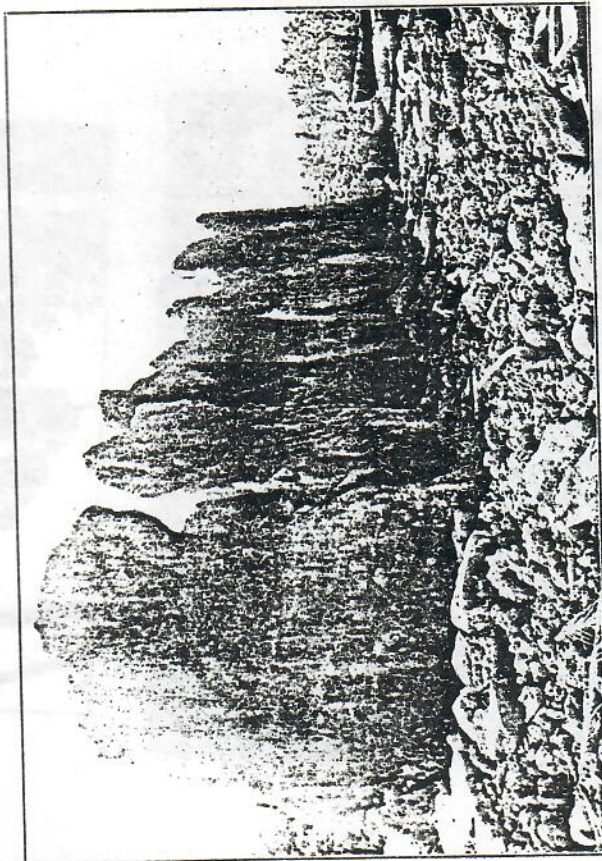


B

MARAE FARE MIRO, AT TIIPOTO, HUAHINE (SITE L 57): A, AHU ON PAVED FLAT-FORM PROJECTING ONTO ARM OF THE LAGOON, VIEWED FROM NORTHWEST; B, SOUTH END OF EAST FACE OF AHU, SHOWING FILL OF CORAL RUBBLE.

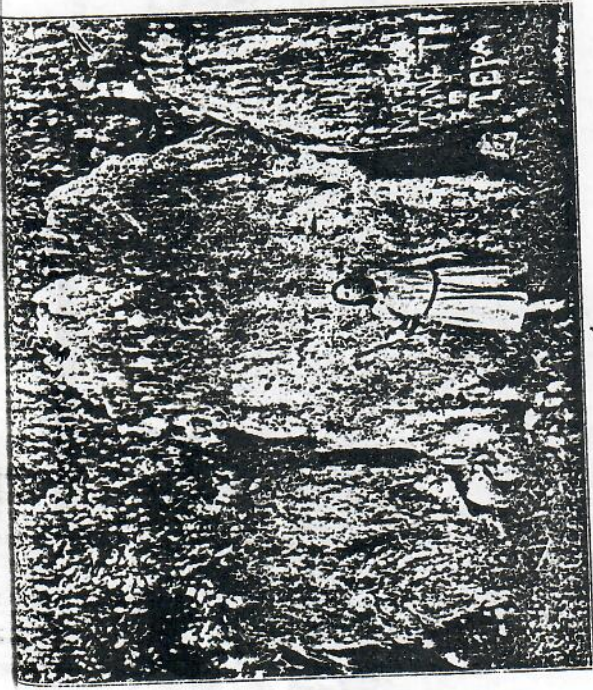


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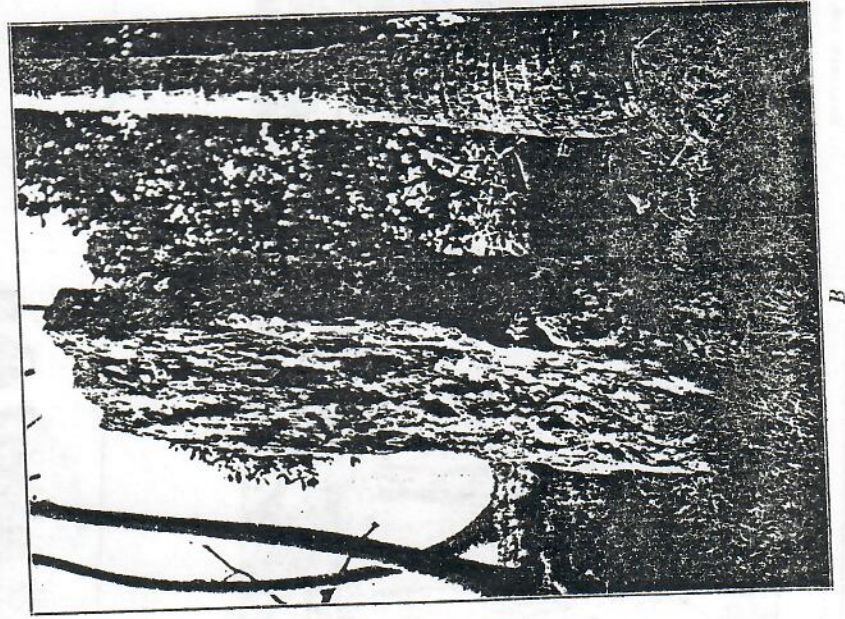


B

MARAE FARE MIRO, AT TIIPOTO, HUAHINE (SITE 157): A, NORTH END OF EAST FACE OF AHU; B, NORTH END AND WEST FACE OF AHU.

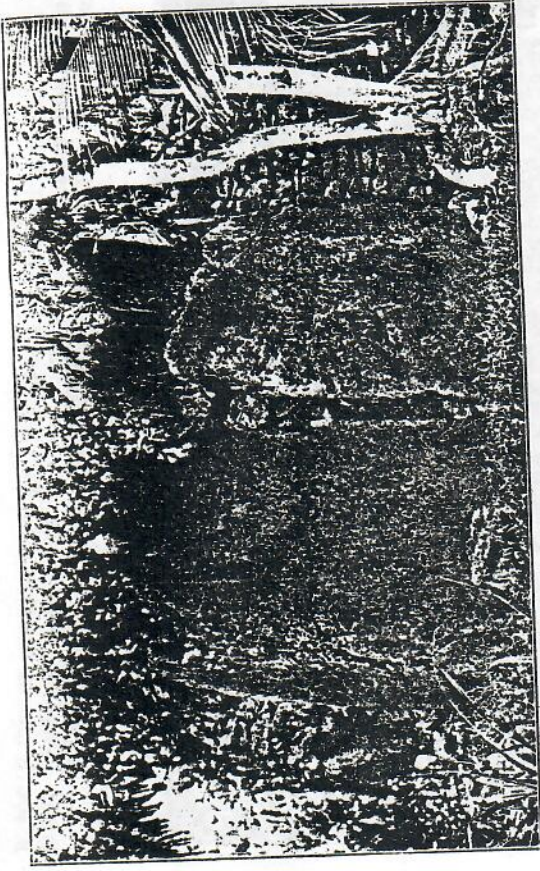


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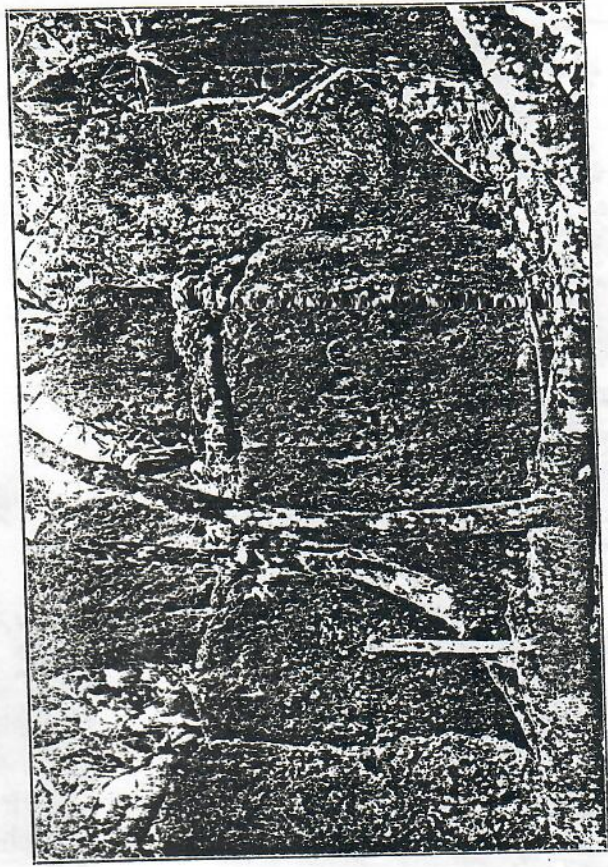


B

MARAE FEATURES: A, FACING SLABS OF COURT FACE OF MARAE TAINUU, TEVA-TTOA RAIATEA (SITE 200), GIRL STANDS BESIDE A LIMESTONE SLAB 13 FEET HIGH;

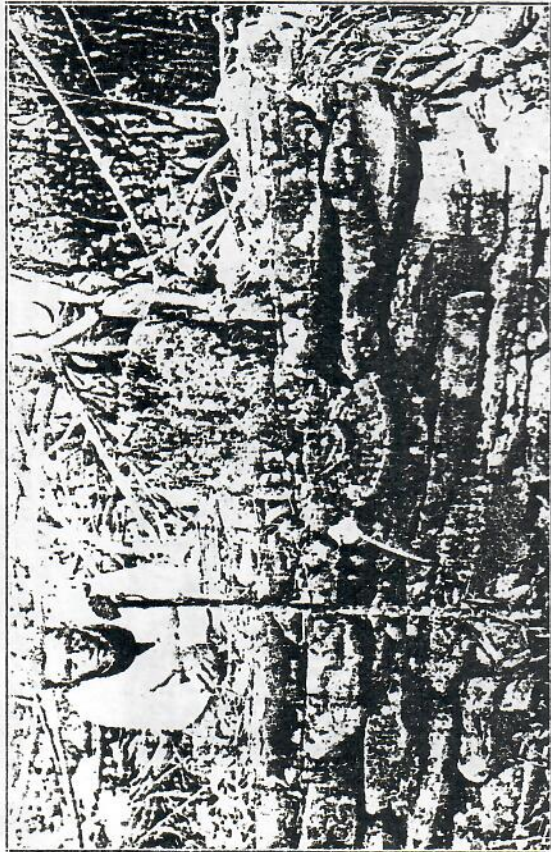


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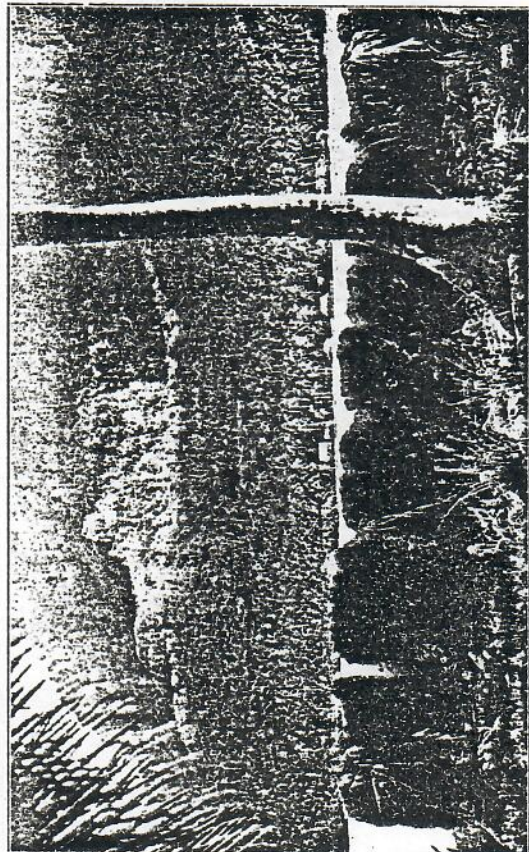


B

MARAE OF HUAHINE: A, MARAE MANUNU (SITE 132), NORTHWEST CORNER OF AHU OF TWO PLATFORMS, CORNER 10 FEET HIGH; B, MARAE ANINI (SITE 182), COURT FACE OF AHU OF TWO PLATFORMS AT NORTH END.

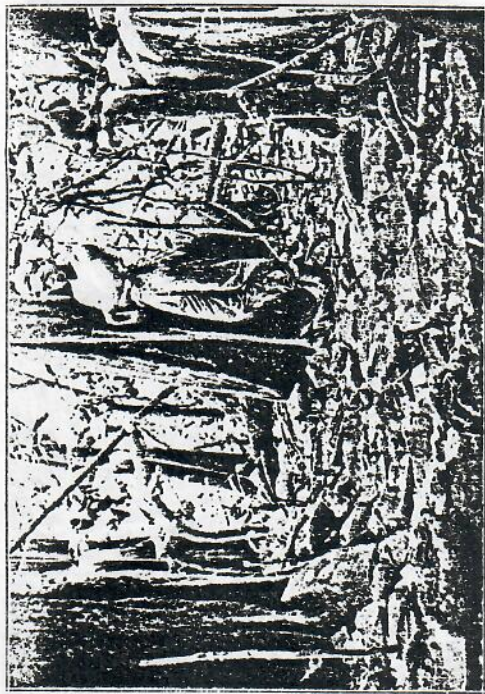


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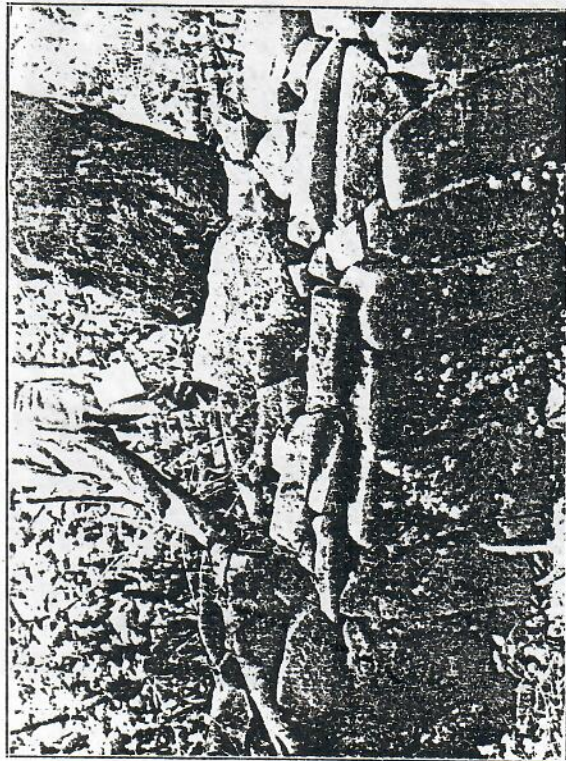


B

MARAE FEATURES: A, CORNER OF COURT ENCLOSING WALL OF MARAE MAFA-
RAHII AT MARVA, HUAHINE, SHOWING BACKREST SET ON WALL (SITE 133),
VIEW FROM WEST; B, AHU OF MARAE TEMARUTEAOA, ANAU, BORABORA (SITE
234), VIEW FROM NORTHWEST.

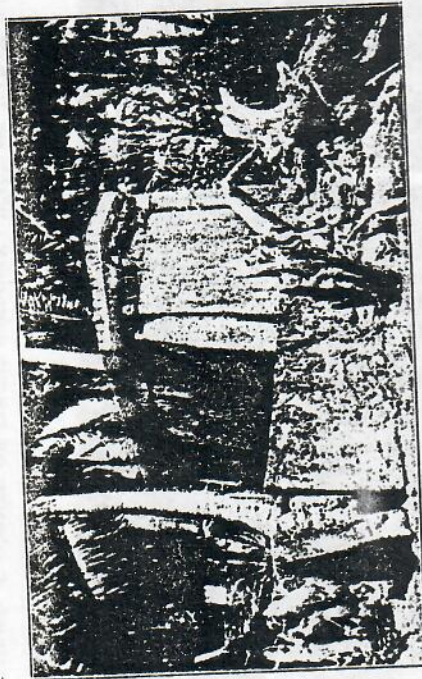


A



B

MARAE TAUMARIARI, AT HIRIVARI, OPOA (SITE 189): A, SOUTH END OF PAVE-
MENT OF FLAGS; B, FACING OF EAST SIDE OF PLATFORM NEAR THE LARGEST
UPRIGHT, WHICH STANDS IN BACKGROUND.



A



B

STONE STRUCTURES: A, POST-EUROPEAN TOMB OF A CHIEF, CONSTRUCTED WITH SLABS FROM A MARAE CALLED FARE-UPAUPA, AT PAHO POINT, TAHAA; B, STONE SEATS ALONG NORTHEAST SIDE OF COUNCIL PLATFORM AT MARAVA, HUAHINE (SITE 128, SLABS 1 AND 2, FIG. 86).

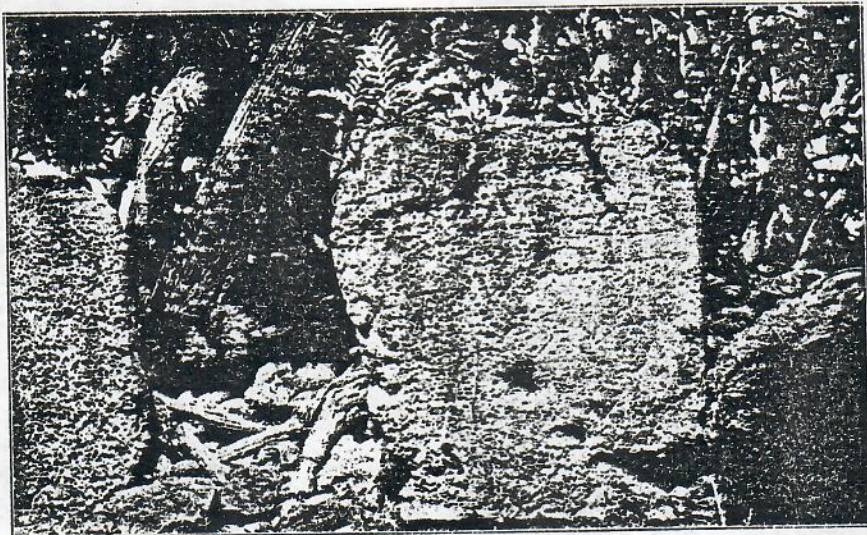


A



B

PETROGLYPHS: A, ROCK IN STREAM BED, TIA'ERU, FAHITI; B, REPRESENTATION OF MOURNER'S COSTUME, CARVING 25 INCHES HIGH, THIS TOMB IN A STREAM BED, HUAHINE, TAHAA, SOCIETY ISLANDS, FRENCH POLYNESIA.



A



B

BORABORA PETROGLYPHS: A, TURTLE PETROGLYPHS (FIG. 130, D) ON COURT FACE OF THE AHU OF MARAE FAREOPU (SITE 223); B, OFAI HONU (TURTLE STONE).



A



B

BORABORA PETROGLYPHS: A, TURTLE PETROGLYPHS (FIG. 130, D) ON COURT
FACE OF THE AHU OF MARAE FAREOPU (SITE 223); B, OFAI HONU (TURTLE STONE).