

# Name lists connected with the birdman cult of Easter Island in the field notes of Katherine Routledge

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*This paper presents previously unpublished name lists of birdmen (tangata manu), their proxies (hopu) and priests (ivi atua) collected by Katherine Routledge in 1914-1915. Six name lists that survived in Routledge's field notes are analyzed, identifying possible parallels and suggesting tentative reconstructions of their original forms together with translation/interpretation when possible. Statistical analysis is performed, revealing interesting trends in winning tribes. Two name lists of houses in 'Orongo village are also studied, resulting in a schematic map of the village with names/tribal affiliation mentioned. It is hoped that this paper will facilitate further discussions on the birdman cult of Easter Island, as well as on the form and structure of Rapanui names.*

*Este artículo presenta las listas de nombres de los hombres-pájaro (tangata manu), sus representantes (hopu) y sacerdotes (ivi atua) colectadas por Katherine Routledge en 1914-1915 y nunca publicadas. Seis listas de nombres que sobrevivieron en los apuntes de Routledge son analizadas, identificando posibles paralelos y sugiriendo las reconstrucciones tentativas de sus formas originales, acompañadas con traducción/interpretación cuando es posible. El análisis estadístico revela las tendencias interesantes de las tribus vencedoras. Dos listas de nombres de las casas en la aldea de 'Orongo también son estudiadas, resultando en un mapa esquemático de la aldea con los nombres/afiliaciones de las tribus mencionadas. Se espera que el presente artículo pueda facilitar las discusiones futuras sobre el culto de hombre-pájaro de la Isla de Pascua, tal como sobre la forma y estructura de los nombres en el idioma Rapanui.*

## Introduction

The famous birdman cult marked the late stage of Easter Island culture, when the power of the hereditary king, the *ariki mau*, was in decline. The cult ascribed high political power to the sacred birdman, or *tangata manu*, who was elected for a year as a victor of the competition aimed to procure the first egg of the *manutara* (*Onychoprion fuscatus*, former Latin name *Sterna fuscata*), when the birds came to nest on the off-shore islet of Motu Nui in the Austral spring. The egg was special because it contained magical power, or *mana*. Upon obtaining it, the birdman became a sacred person who was considered an incarnation of the superior Rapanui god Makemake:

"Probably, according to the Polynesian way of thinking, he was the receptacle of the god. The race would thus have no other purpose than to give Makemake an opportunity to designate the man into whose body he wished to enter" (Métraux 1940:341).

The preparation for the ceremony started in the Mataverí area, south of Hangaroa, where the dominant *matato* 'a clans gathered approximately in July (Métraux

1940:340). After many festivities, they followed the "road of the *ao*", climbing Rano Kau and arriving at the ceremonial village of 'Orongo. The village is composed of about 50 elliptical-shaped dry-laid stone houses, perched on the majestic cliffs some 300m above the roaring surf of the Pacific. Routledge (1919:257) briefly says that "The groups of dwellings have various names, and are associated with the particular clans, who, it is said, built them." The southern group of houses, forming a sacred precinct of Mata Ngarau (also spelled Mata Ngarahu), was occupied by priests and *rongorongo* men. Here, every boulder is profusely carved with birdman images, proving the immense importance of the *tangata manu* cult.

It is believed that in the early stages, the would-be birdmen entered the competition by themselves (Métraux 1940:334), but during the later stages, they usually sent a servant called a *hopu* for the quest of finding the first egg. The *hopu* swam to the islet of Motu Nui in August (Métraux 1940:340) and lived there in caves for days or even weeks until the birds landed for nesting. As soon as nesting began, the *hopu* rushed in search of the first egg. The whole competition was very influenced, if not pre-determined, by the gods;

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if the participant was not destined to be a birdman, his *hopu* would not see the egg, even if he was about to step over it. As soon as the first egg was finally found, the *hopu* “cried from Motu Nui about it. The winner [birdman] shaved his head and painted it red, and losers cut themselves with *mataa* in grief” (Routledge 1919:262). As the egg ‘defined’ the birdman of the year, the winning *hopu* did not need to rush in his departure towards Easter Island (Métraux 1940:336):

“The man with the sacred egg was always the last to leave the island [of Motu Nui]. Being blessed by the gods and having with him an object of overflowing *mana*, he had little to fear from sharks, and his supernatural power gave protection to his fellow contestants. The magical properties of the egg, together with protection of the gods, made the winning *hopu*’s swimming not only safe but extremely fast.”

Climbing the cliffs of Rano Kao, the *hopu* presented the egg to his patron, who had already shaved his head, eyebrows and eyelashes (Métraux 1940:336) and painted his head red or white (Lee 1992:15-16). The newly elected birdman:

“was ordered to take a new name, which formed the part of the revelation, and this bird-name was given to the year in which victory was achieved, thus forming an easily remembered system of chronology” (Routledge 1919:260).

The victorious birdman descended the slopes of Rano Kau holding the sacred egg in his raised hand, surrounded by dancing people. The tune of the song sung by the birdman was still remembered in the 1930s, “but unfortunately ... not the words. It sounded as tremulous weeping, and my informant said that the bird-man cried and ‘behaved like a god’” (Métraux 1940:336).

Depending on the tribal group to which the winner belonged, he went to Rano Raraku (Hotu Iti) or to ‘Anakena (Ko Tu‘u) to live there for a year in seclusion, being the subject of a strong *tapu*; the people brought food for him, which was cooked by specially appointed *ivi atua* who lived in a section of the same house (Routledge 1919:264). The birdman’s wife was allowed to live close to his secluded residence, but was forbidden to enter the house of the *tangata manu* for the first five months. The birdman “did not wash, and spent his time ‘sleeping all day only coming out to sit in the shade’” (Routledge 1919:263). The tribe of the birdman became dominant on the island and was entitled to gather a tribute in the form of food from other tribes (Van Tilburg 2006:21). After a year of seclusion, the birdman returned to his normal life, and the newly-elected *tangata manu* took his residence at

Rano Raraku or ‘Anakena. However, the birdman kept sanctity until the end of his days and was buried with honors (Métraux 1940:339).

Despite usually being portrayed as a test of strength and agility, the birdman competition had a strong political side: participation was restricted to ruling clan(s), who decided about sharing this privilege with the others:

“... sometimes one group would keep it in their hands for years, or they might pass it to the friendly clan ... One year the Marama were inspired with jealousy because the Miru had chosen the Ngaure as their successors, and burnt down the house of Ngaara. This was, perhaps, the beginning of the fray when the old Arika was carried off captive” (Routledge 1919:258).

The rules of the competition were changing with time. In the final years, the rules become less restrictive, so that:

“... the finders of further eggs in the hunt beside the absolute first one were allowed to count as bird-men ... [making that year] ... known by the name of the first finder, all the eggs being finally deposited of in a gourd ... the fourth year before the final end seems to have been very much ‘go as you please’, for four clans took part and there were ten winners; two *hopu* had two employees each, and three bird-men took their own eggs, one also acting for another man” (Routledge 1917:350).

The cult survived in this mutilated form until the arrival of the missionaries, with the last birdman year, *Rokunga*, taking place in 1866 or 1867 (Routledge 1919:265). According to father Gulstan Ropert, who visited the island in February 1868, the last “Mataveri event” (i.e., the *tangata manu* competition) was in 1867 (Moreno Pakarati pers. comm. 2012). A futile attempt to revive the competition was made in September 1878, but “all earlier significance and purpose [of it] had long been lost” (Fischer 2005:123).

### Birdman Name Lists

Rokunga is the most famous birdman name – it even appeared as the name of the last king in *ariki* genealogy dictated to Métraux by the daughter of Ure Va’e Iko (Métraux 1940:inset between pp. 90 & 91). Another name was given to Alfred Métraux by Juan Tepano, who “was born during the year Utupiro, thus named by a birdman called Pua-araoa, who chose the name Utupiro for himself and for the year” (Métraux 1940:339). Routledge (1917:352) supplies the following passage about the chronology of birdman years:

“The request to be given the names of as many bird years as could be remembered met with almost embarrassing response, eighty-six being quoted straight away; some of these may be the official names of bird-men and not represent a year, but they probably do so in most cases. Chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to Rokunga, and in each case, in addition to the bird-name, the winners own name was obtained as well as his clan and his family or sub-division; the *hopu*’s name was also ascertained and his clan and subdivision. This list, though it doubtless is not complete, stood reasonably well the test of re-examination and extraneous evidence. Further back, though there is every reason to suppose that the year names given are authentic, the clans and other data supplied were not so reliable. The names of *iviatua* who prophesied the event have not survived in the same manner.”

And further on (Routledge 1917:352, footnote 1), she states:

“This folk-memory for bird chronicles is in curious contrast with the impossibility experienced in obtaining any satisfactory list of the ‘*ariki*’ or chiefs, though they are said to have been only thirty in number.”

Routledge was in a unique position to harvest this valuable information that was still fresh in the folk memory (Routledge 1917:338-339):

“With regard to the evidence in our disposal, information was obtained from some twelve different authorities, of whom four had been bird-men, three had served as ‘*hopu*’, and one had acted in both capacities.”

It may be a fortunate coincidence that the informants of Routledge were so deeply involved with *tangata manu* competitions; on the other hand, it also may call for reasonable skepticism. It goes without saying that the cultural and scientific value of birdman year chronicles is immense, yet they were never published by Routledge. Luckily, these lists survive in her field notes deposited in the Royal Geographical Society’s archives. Fischer (1992) performed a preliminary study of two such chronicles – a large list of assorted names and a short chronology including *Rokunga* from Reel 2 of the field notes. These lists are mentioned in Fischer’s monumental monograph (Fischer 1997:630, Note 29): “All attempts to match the only extensive list of *tangata manu* names that has survived (Routledge 1914-15:Reel 2, notebook, pp. 76, 78, 80) to similar series of glyphs in preserved *rongo rongo* inscriptions have hitherto failed.”

A study of the microfilmed field notes of Katherine Routledge (kindly provided by the Pacific Manuscript Bureau under the license of the Royal Geographical Society) yielded a surprising result, revealing no less than six lists of birdman year names. To simplify further discussion, these lists will be referenced with letters A-F. List A (Reel 2, part 2, pp. 367-370) and List B (Reel 1, pp. 545-548) contain 84 and 45 names, respectively (Figure 1 & Figure 2). The remaining lists are far shorter: List C (Reel 2, part 2, p. 371) contains 11 names (Figure 3), most likely corresponding to the “chronological sequence ... for eleven years prior to Rokunga” (Routledge 1917:352). Fischer’s studies (1992) were focused on lists A and C. Lists D-F are very similar, suggesting that List D (Reel 1, p. 550), composed of 15 names (Figure 5), is a clean copy based on quick notes written on loose pages – lists E and F (Reel 1, p. 551). To reflect this fact, these lists will be referred together as List D (E, F).

The handwriting and transcription rules of List E (Figure 4) differ from other lists written by Routledge. List E uses letter ‘c’ to denote the sound ‘k’ (with the only exception being *Rokunga*) and always renders the nasal as ‘g’. In contrast, Routledge writes it as ‘ng’ or ‘gn’, sometimes putting ‘C’ in place of ‘G’ in quick writing. List E has good transcription – for example, giving the full tribe name ‘*Ure o Hei*’ (Figure 4, first line), while Routledge spells it merely as ‘*Hé*’ (Figure 5). This evidence suggests that List E was possibly written by a Rapanui and thus is important for the reconstruction of proper spelling forms.

The collation of names from all six lists is presented in Table 1. As will be shown in the section analyzing the order of names, the largest List A is shuffled, while lists B and C seem to have a certain similar pattern. To reflect this, Table 1 gives the names in the order in which they appear in lists B, C, D (E, F) and finally A. Each name is accompanied by a reference – e.g., B10 means the 10<sup>th</sup> name in List B. Lists C and D (E, F) do not share any names except for *Rokunga*, allowing us to put them into a single column for the sake of compactness. A very tentative spelling reconstruction of the original names is given in the final column, obtained by checking the misspellings against similar-sounding words from Rapanui dictionaries (Englert 1948:420-513; Fedorova 1988:105-190) in hopes of obtaining meaningful words, and also verifying the names with those from legends, toponyms, *akuaku* names, etc. These reconstructed forms are by no means certain and require much improvement; yet, they will be used throughout the paper to unify the discussion.

Analysis of the lists shows that several names in one list could correspond to a single entry in the other lists, such as *Ko Puhe ko te Manu* (B23) and *Ko Toru Henua* (B33) appearing in List A as *Ko Pue ko te Manu ko Totoro*



Table 1. Collation of ‘bird year’ names from Routledge’s field notes. Prefix denotes the list and name position (e.g. D15 is 15th name from in the list D). The tribe affiliation is given in square brackets using the following nomenclature: MI – Miru, HA – Hamea, RA – Raa, TH – Tupahotu, UH – Ure o Hei, MA – Marama, HM – Haumoana, NT – Ngatimo, NU – Ngaure, KO – Koro Orongo, HU – Hitiuira. ‘Conflicting’ tribal affiliations in several lists are given with slash, e.g. MI/UH. Names are sorted according to their appearance in lists B, C, D (E, F) and A. The boldface font marks the ‘confirmed set’ of names appearing at least in two different lists.

#	List A	List B	Lists C and D (E, F)	Tentative reconstruction
1	A01 [UH] ROKUNCA	B01 [UH] ROKUNCA	C01 Rokunga D15 RoKunga E12 Rokuga	[UH] <i>Rokunga</i> or <i>Rukunga</i>
2	A46 [MI] KOTE PU RE PAKEKI	B02 [MI] KOTEPURÉ PAKE KI	C02 [MI] KOTE PURE PARE KI	[MI] <i>Ko te Pure Pakeke</i>
3	A47 [HA] KOTE TOA A MA KUKOHAU	B03 [HM] KOTE TOA A MARUKU HAU	C03 [HM] KOTE TOA. A MARUKU HAU	[HM/HA] <i>Ko te Toa ‘a Maruku Hau</i>
4	A48 [MI] URE TANCITANGI AVAI AMOA	B04 [MI] KO URE TANCITANGI A VAI A MOA	C04 [MI] KOURE TANGI TANGI AVAI AMOA	[MI] <i>Ko Ure Tangitangi ‘a Vai ‘a Moa</i>
5	A18 [TH] OHO VIE ÁURÉ MORÓKI	B05 [TH] KO HI VIE AURÉ MAROKI	C05 [TH] KOHO VIE AURÉ MAROKI	[TH] <i>Ko he Vi’e ‘a Ure Moroki</i>
6		B35 [TH] KOTEVAI HORN U MAITAKI ?		[TH] <i>Ko te Vai Honu Maitaki</i>
7	A84 [UH] KO TAHI OHIVA	B06 [UH] TAI OHIVA	C06 [UH] TAI OHIVA	[UH] <i>Ko Tahi ‘o Hiva</i>
8	A58 [MI] KO HU OTANGI	B07 [MI] KOHO KOTACNI B17 [MI] KOHUKO TAGNI	C07 [MI] KOHO KOTACNI	[MI] <i>Kohu ko Tangi</i>
9		B08 [KO] TAHI TAHI. A TOROKIO	C08 [KO] TAHI. TAHI ATOROKEO	[KO] <i>Tahitahi ‘a Torokio</i>
10	A50 [MI] KO PUAHAU	B09 [MI] KOPU HAHAU	C09 [MI] KOPU HA HAU	[MI] <i>Ko Pua Hau</i>
11	A59 [MI] KO HITI KA PURA	B10 [MI] HITI KA PA URA		[MI] <i>Ko Hiti Kapura</i>
12	A45 [NT] KOTE PO ORÉNCÁ	B11 [NT] KOTE POURENCA		[NT] <i>Ko te Pou Renga</i>
13	A60 [MI] KO HAKA TAKÉO	B12 [MI] KOHAKA TAKEO		[MI] <i>Ko Hakatakeo</i>
14	A52 [MI] KO URE HARA KEA	B13 [MI] URI HORA KEA		[MI] <i>Ko Ure Hara Kea</i>
15	A51 [MI] KO TE TARO KAUA	B14 [MI] KO TE TARA HAVA	D05 [NU] KOTE ARA HIVA E05 [NU] Co tearahiva F05 [NU] KOTE ARA. HIVA	[MI/NU] <i>Ko te Ara Hiva</i>
16	A61 [MI] KOTE VARI OTE PUREVA	B15 [MI] TE VARE OTE PUREVA		[MI] <i>Ko te Vare ‘o te Pureva</i>
17	A25 [MI] TUU HOTU ROA	B16 [MI] TURO TE ROA		[MI] <i>Tu’u Hotu Roa</i>
18	A13 [TH] U TE PIRO	B18 [TH] OTUPIRO	C10 OTUPIRU	[TH] <i>Utupiro</i>
19	A16 [TH] KO TA URU NUKUNUKU	B19 [TH] KO NUKU NUKU		[TH] <i>Ko te Ure Nukunuku</i>
20	A70 [UH] KOTA HINGA	B20 [UH] KOTA HINCA		[UH] <i>Ko Tahinga</i>
21	A68 [MA] A VAVA OKIA	B21 [MA+KO?] AVA AVA OKIO		[MA/KO] <i>Avaava ‘o Kio</i>

#	List A	List B	Lists C and D (E, F)	Tentative reconstruction
22	A12 [TH] MATA RÓRÉ RORÉ	B22 [TH:MM] MATARORE RORE		[TH] <i>Mata Rorirori</i>
23	A10 [KO] KOPÚE KOTE MANU TOTORO HINUA	B23 [NT] KOPUHE KOTEMANU B24 [KO] KO TORU HENUA		[KO/NT] <i>Ko Pue ko te Manu ko Totoro Henua</i>
24		B25 [HM] KORIKI A TAUWAKI		[HM] <i>Ko Riki ‘a Tavake</i>
25		B26 [HM] KOHINA AVAIVAI TEA		[HM] <i>Ko Hina ‘a Vaivai Tea</i>
26		B27 [HM] KO TE PIKO KAHO		[HM] <i>Ko te Piko Kahu</i>
27		B28 KOTE VAHA KAHO		[?] <i>Ko te Vaha Kahu</i>
28	A08 [HM] VAI PURÉORÉHU	B29 [HM] VAI PUREHU. REHU		[HM] <i>Vai Pure ‘o Rehu</i>
29	A69 [UH] KO HITI KOTEVAI KINO	B30 [NU] KOHITE KOTE VAI KINO		[UH/NU] <i>Ko Hiti ko te Vai Kino</i>
30		B31 [TH] KOHEPO KO RANOKAO		[TH] <i>Ko Hepo ko Rano Kao</i>
31		B32 [HM] KOURE KOTEREPA		[HM] <i>Ko Ure ko te Repa</i>
32	A42 [TH] HENCA HENCA MATAKA (MATA RARA?)	B33 [TH] HENCA HENCA A MATAKA	D08 [TH] Hengamataka E07 [TH] hegahega mataCa F07 [TH] KoHenga MataRa	[TH] <i>Hengahenga Mataka</i>
33	A43 KOMOA PARIA	B34 [TH] KOMOA PARIA	D07 [TH] MOAPAKIA	[TH] <i>Ko Moa Pakia</i>
34	A28 [MI] KO TE MIRO ONCE ONCE	B36 [UH+MI?] KI TE MIRU (ong)		[MI/UH] <i>Ko te Miro Oone (?)</i>
35	A27 [UH] TAHI AMARUA	B37 [UH] TAHI AMARUA		[UH] <i>Tahi ‘a Marua</i>
36		B38 HIVA A MATANUI		[?] <i>Hiva a Mata Nui</i>
37		B39 TAKU RIKO		[?] <i>Taku Riko (?)</i>
38	A22 [MI] Poi PAKA	B40 POI PAKA		[MI] <i>Poi Paka</i>
39	A23 [MI] PAPA HA KARAA	B41 PAPAHAHARAA		[MI] <i>Papa Hakara ‘a or Papa Hakatara</i>
40		B42 KOPAOA KOTE MANU. KARA ETAHI		[?] <i>Ko Paoa ko te Manutara Etahi</i>
41	A20 [RA] KO TE PU- PUHI APÉRÉ ROKI ROR	B43 KOTE PUHI A PERO ROKI ROKI		[RA] <i>Ko te Puhi ‘a Pere Rokiroki</i>
42	A11 [TH] KO VAI. HEHERO ATA	B44 VAI AHEROATA		[TH] <i>Ko Vai Herohero Ata</i>
43		B45 KORAKO HATA TUKI HIVA		[?] <i>Ko Raku Hata Tuki Hiva</i>
44	A36 [MA] KOKE HUNGA		D14 [MA] KOKEHUNCA	[MA] <i>Ko te Hunga</i>
45	A75 [NU] KOHE TUNGA		D09 [NU] Kohe Tunga E08 [NU] Co hetuga F08 [NU] KO HE (folded)	[NU] <i>Ko Hetunga</i>
46	A17 [MA] KO HO KÉRO		D13 [MA] KOKOKERO E11 Co ho Ce ro	[MA] <i>Kohu Kero</i>

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#	List A	List B	Lists C and D (E, F)	Tentative reconstruction
47	A38 [TH] TAPA KE RORENCA		D12 [NT] TAPA KERO RENGA E10 tapaCerorega	[TH/NT] <i>Tapa Kero Renga</i>
48	A44 [HA] KOTE ROKI OHÉU HÉU		D11 [HA] KotePoKi Ooheu Heu	[HA] <i>Ko te Poki 'o Heuheu</i>
49	A19 [RA] PÚA AUA		D10 [RA] PUA UA E09 Puaua	[RA] <i>Pua Ūa</i>
50	A74 [UH] KO RAUAPÉRE		D06 [UH] KORAUUA KERE E06 [UH] Co ra uaCere F06 [UH] KO RAUWA- KERI	[UH] <i>Ko Raua Kere</i>
51	A34 [MI] MANU API		D04 [MI] MANU API E04 [MI] manu api F04 [MI] MANU A PI	[MI] <i>Manu Api</i>
52	A32 [MA] MANUMEA MEA		D03 [HM+MA] MANU MEA E03 [HM] manu mea mea F03 [HM+MA] MANU MEA MEA	[MA/HM] <i>Manu Meamea</i>
53	A41 [TH] MOTU ORU		D02 [TH] MOTU O RU E02 [TH] motu o ru F02 [TH] MOTU O RU	[TH] <i>Motu 'o Ru</i>
54	A73 [UH] KO POPOVÍNCOR		D01 [UH] KO POVINGO E01 [UH] Copoigo F01 [UH] KO PO INGO	[UH] <i>Ko Poingo</i>
55			C11 KOTE KAIA VOHI	[?] <i>Ko te Kai 'a Vohi</i>
56	A02 [UH] HOTO NO NOI		C12 Hotu Mohoi?	[UH] <i>Hotu Nono'i</i>
57	A03 [MA] KO TE MAU TAKATAK			[MA] <i>Ko te Manu Takataka</i>
58	A04 [UH] KO HIHI			[UH] <i>Ko Hihi</i>
59	A05 KO PÉKA			[?] <i>Ko Peka or Ko Pekapeka</i>
60	A06 [UH] KO NIU KAKAVERA			[UH] <i>Ko Niu Hakavera</i>
61	A07 [UH] KOTUA KAKAMIKA			[UH] <i>Ko Ūa Hakamito</i>
62	A09 [UH] VÉKE VÉKE ÚRE MÉA			[UH] <i>Vekeveke Ure Mea</i>
63	A14 [TH] TAHI A ORIA			[TH] <i>Tahi 'a Oria (?)</i>
64	A15 [TH] KO TA URU EHU			[TH] <i>Ko te Ure Ehu</i>
65	A21 [UH] KOTE KÉHO KÉHO			[UH] <i>Ko te Kehokeho</i>
66	A24 [MI] CNATA HORA			[MI] <i>Nga Tahura(?)</i>
67	A26 [MI] MAHIHA ARO MÉA			[MI] <i>Mahina Aro Mea</i>
68	A29 [MA] MATA POPORA			[MA] <i>Mata Poporo(?)</i>
69	A30 [MI] KU PIPIREHU			[MI] <i>Ko Pipi Rehu (?)</i>

#	List A	List B	Lists C and D (E, F)	Tentative reconstruction
70	A31 [MI] MORIUU			[MI] <i>Mori U'u</i>
71	A33 [MA] KO VI HANCA			[MA] <i>Ko Vihanga</i>
72	A35 [NT] TAIROHIÉ			[NT] <i>Tai Rohie (?)</i>
73	A37 [UH] MOTU RAU URI			[UH] <i>Motu Rau Uri</i>
74	A39 [TH] TÁ KÉRO			[TH] <i>Takere or Takeo</i>
75	A40 [TH] OTUNCA HÁU			[TH] <i>Otunga Hau (?)</i>
76	A49 [TH] KONUKU HORO. PAPA			[TH] <i>Ko Nuku Horo Papa</i>
77	A53 [HM] KO RIA MAUNCA			[HM] <i>Ko Ri 'a Maunga (?)</i>
78	A54 [RA] TAMA TINCI TINCI			[RA] <i>Tama Tangitangi</i>
79	A55 [RA] PU OHIRO			[RA] <i>Pū 'o Hiro</i>
80	A56 [MI] KO HA URU HAI			[MI] <i>Ko Hauru Hai</i>
81	A57 [MI] TINCI NONCORO			[MI] <i>Tangi Nongoro</i>
82	A62 [UH] KO VAI VERA VERA			[UH] <i>Ko Vai Veravera</i>
83	A63 [UH] KO TEPAI URE A TOIO			[UH] <i>Ko te Vai Ure 'a Toio</i>
84	A64 [UH] HANCA ITI A PUMA ORI			[UH] <i>Hanga Iti 'a Pū Maori</i>
85	A65 [TH] KO HEU KOMÓRÉ MÉA			[TH] <i>Ko Heu ko More Mea</i>
86	A66 KOTE IPU RANCA RANCA VAI A VARA			[?] <i>Ko te Ipu Rangaranga Vai 'a Vara</i>
87	A67 [UH] HI HIA PUA MOKU			[UH] <i>Hihia Pua Moko</i>
88	A71 [UH] KOTE MANURENCA			[UH] <i>Ko te Manu Renga</i>
89	A72 [UH] KOHINA MANGOR			[UH] <i>Ko Hina Mango</i>
90	A76 [MA] KORO HENCA			[MA] <i>Koro Henga</i>
91	A77 [UH] KOPARITÉA			[UH] <i>Ko Pare Tea</i>
92	A78 [UH] KO TA HA OI			[UH] <i>Ko Tahaoi</i>
93	A79 [NU] KO TITI REPA			[NU] <i>Ko Titi Repa</i>
94	A80 [HM] MANU KAKÉ AVERO			[HM] <i>Manu Kake 'a Vero</i>
95	A81 [NU/NT?] HOPU ÉRO ÉRO			[NU/NT?] <i>Hopu Ereere</i>
96	A82 [HM] MANU KAKENCA ARICO			[HM] <i>Manu Kakenga 'a Riki</i>
97	A83 [TH] KOHAKÉ			[TH] <i>Ko Hake</i>



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Year -

13 ROMANIZA Last year with ORANGO -

14 KOTEBURE PAKKI

15 KOTETORA A MARUKU HAU

16 KOURE TANUTANG  
A PAID MA

17 KAHIVIE AURE NAROKI

18 KAL OTHIVA

19 KOTHO KOTANI

20 PANI PANI ATORANGA

21 KOTEN HAHAN  
(wind whistling)  
2 HIRIWA PAWAKA  
3 KOTO PAWAKA  
4 KOTAKA TALEO  
5 KURI KATA KATA  
6 KAT TAPA HANA  
7 KAT VARE OTORANGA  
8 KURO TE ROTO  
9 KOTIKO TANI

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Figure 2. First pages of *Manu Tau* List B. Routledge field notes, Reel 1, p. 545 (notebook pages 39, 40). Digital image courtesy of Pacific Manuscripts Bureau from originals held at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).

[illegible]

Figure 3. List C, chronology of 'bird year' names. Routledge field notes, Reel 2, part 2, p. 371. Digital image courtesy of Pacific Manuscripts Bureau from originals held at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).



*Henua* (A10). In some cases, the appearance of several particles of *ko* in a single name suggests that it may actually be a collation of several names, like *Ko Pue ko te Manu ko Totoro Henua* (A10, B23+B33), *Ko Hiti ko te Vai Kino* (A69, B30), *Ko Hepo(?) ko Rano Kao* (B31), *Ko Ure ko te Repa* (B32), *Ko Paoa ko te Manutara Etahi* (B42). The majority of these names come from List B. However, the median '*ko te*' can be actually a misspell of '*o te*', which does not require name splitting.

*Copioigo ure ofei Rura*  
*motu oru - tupe ro tu-mo-ri*  
*ma-mu ma-me-a-pa-mo-a-ma-ta*  
*ma-mu api-miru catu ma-mu-ta*  
*Co-ta-ro-pa-ta - ga-u-re - Co-te-le-fu*  
*Co-ra-ma-le-ri - ure-ofei - Paoa-a-ta-fu*  
*he-ga-ofei-ga-ma-ta-la-tu-pa-ro-tu*  
*Co-he-tu-ya - Co-te-ga-gi - ga-u-re*  
*Pu-ana*  
*tu-pa-ro-ro-ga*  
*Co-fa-le-ro*  
*Rokunga*

Figure 4. List E, 'bird year' names written by Rapa Nui hand. Routledge field notes, Reel 1, p. 551. Digital images courtesy of Pacific Manuscripts Bureau from originals held at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG)

Year	Clan	Tgara MANU	Beginning of season (Pecunia)	End of season (Pecunia)
24	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
23	Moia Oru	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
22	Manu Moa	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
21	Manu Api	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
20	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
19	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
18	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
17	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
16	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
15	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
14	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo
13	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo	Ko Poinoo	He Paboo

Figure 5. List D, chronology of 'bird year' names. Routledge field notes, Reel 1, p. 550. Digital image courtesy of Pacific Manuscripts Bureau from originals held at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).

Some distinct names appearing in the same list have a suspiciously similar structure, as if suggesting that corrupted forms became 'independent' names, such as: *Ko he Vie 'a Ure Moroki* (A18, B05, C05) and *Ko te Vai Honu(?) Maitaki* (B35); *Ko Hetunga* (A75, D09, E-F08), *Ko te Hunga* (A36, D14) and *Ko Tahinga* (A70, B20); *Mata Poporo* (A29) and *Mata Rorirori* (A12, B22).

# Tentative Translations of Birdmen Names

Which topics are addressed in bird year names? Naturally, many of them are related to the birds:

- (A03) *Ko te Manu Takataka* – 'birds flocking together' (literally, 'forming circles');
- (A32, D-F03) *Manu Meamea* – 'red bird'; the name reminiscent to *Manu Mea*, an *akuaku* residing in Angoteo (Métraux 1940:318);
- (A34, D-F04) *Manu Api* – 'new bird' (*api* 'young' is a Tahitian borrowing);
- (A43, B34, D07) *Ko Moa Pakia* – 'seal chicken';
- (A71) *Ko te Manu Renga* – 'beautiful bird';
- (A80) *Manu Kake 'a Vero* and (A82) *Manu Kakenga 'a Riki* – 'climbing bird' of Vero and Riki, respectively;

- (B25) *Ko Riki 'a Tavake* – 'the little of Tavake', where *Tavake* is a marine bird (phaeton);
- (B42) *Ko Paoa ko te Manutara Etahi* – with '*o te*' in place of '*ko te*', this name would translate as 'the guardian of a *manutara*'.

Some names refer to the birdman competition, including possible descriptions of the islets and the sea:

- (A01, B01, C01, D15, E12) The word *Rokunga* is spelled with an '*o*' (even in List E, presumably written by a Rapanui) and is absent from the dictionaries. However, it appears in Métraux's genealogy of kings as *Rukunga* (1940:inset between pp. 90 & 91; also in Englert 1948:77), which is a translatable word. With *ruku* meaning 'to dive', *Rukunga* would be 'diving' (du Feu 1996:176-177);
- (A05) *Ko Peka* may mean either 'cross-shaped' or be a misspelled form of *Ko Pekapeka* – 'starfish';
- (A11, B44) *Ko Vai Herohero Ata* – 'the crimson water at dawn';
- (A23, B41) *Papa Ha Karaa* and *Papahaharaa*, which may be *Papa Hakara 'a* (desecrated lava panel). Alternatively, it can be *Papa Hakatara* – the name of a fish (Fedorova 1988:160);
- (A37) *Motu Rau Uri* can mean 'island of black leaves'; a small islet with this name exists in a cove behind Ahu Hanga Kio'e.
- (A62) *Ko Vai Veravera* can be tentatively translated as 'hot (burning) water';
- (A77) *Ko Pari Tea* means 'white-crested waves';
- (A81) *Hopu Ereere* – 'turquoise hopu' (or 'black hopu' if the Tahitian loan word is considered).

A group of names refer to weather conditions or celestial phenomena that might have distinguished the year of a particular birdman competition:

- (B38) *Kotua Kakamika*, a possible misspelling of *Ko Ūa Hakamito* – 'the persistent rain';
- (A17, D13, E11) *Kohu Kero* – 'the end of the shadow' – a reference to a solar or lunar eclipse (?);
- (A19, D10, E09) *Pua Ūa* – 'the rain flower';
- (A21) *Ko te Kehokeho* – 'arid, dry' (Fedorova 1988:138); the place with this name is located to the east of Hanga Maihiku.
- (A26) *Mahina Aro Mea* – 'Moon with red front side', a possible reference to a lunar eclipse;
- (A39) *Ta Kero* may be a misspelling of either *Takere* (hill) or *Takeo* (cold);
- (A42, B33, D08, E-F07) *Hengahenga Mataka* – 'reddish, scarlet';
- (A60, B12) *Ko Hakatakeo* – 'cooling'.

Other names allowing possible translations are:

- (A04) *Ko Hihi* – 'eyebrows';
- (A09) *Vekeveke Ure Mea* is a curious name. *Ure mea* means 'red penis'; *vekeveke* can be translated as 'eyelash' and 'banana flower' (Fedorova 1988:189), making little sense in combination. However, *veke* means 'dragonfly', which can possibly yield 'dragonfly with a red penis'. The structurally similar name appears in the legend about a girl called Uho (Métraux 1940:373), who swam from Easter Island following a turtle, whom she called *honu ure mea*, 'the turtle with a red penis';
- (A10, B23+B24) *Ko Pue ko te Manu ko Totoro Henua* (if not being three separate names) can be translated as a newborn child (*puepue*; Fedorova 1988:166), a bird (*manu*) crawling (*totoro*) over the land (*henua*). This name is reminiscent of *ko 'ura tere henua* (a small insect running on the land) – a figurative reference to a human being (Englert 1948:464);
- (A18, B05, C05) *Ko he Vi'e 'a Ure Moroki* translates as 'a wife (woman) of Ure Moroki'. However, in birdman ceremonies "women were never nominated, but the *ivi atua* might be male or female" (Routledge 1919:260), making it suspicious to have a bird name associated with a woman. Yet, there is a name (B35) *Ko te Vai Honu Maitaki* of a similar structure, suggesting that (A18, B05, C05) may be actually *Ko he Vai 'a Ure Moroki*.
- (A24) *Ngata Hora* may be a misspelling of *Nga Tahura* – 'the servants of the king';
- (A28, B36) *Ko te Miro Onge Onge* offers several possibilities. First, *Miru Honga* (*Ongo*) is a family group within the Miru tribe (Métraux 1940:126). It could be also *Miro Onge*, 'the scarcity of wood'. Another option is *Ko te Miro Oneone* or, with partial duplication, *Ko te Miro Oone*, the earth ship. Such boat-shaped formations made of earth were used for re-enacting the arrival of the first visiting ships (Englert 1948:472; Routledge 1919:239);
- (A38) *Tapa Kero Renga* – 'wrinkled beautiful *tapa* cloth';
- The spelling *Motu Oru* (A41) with *oru* 'pig' is extremely dubious. The better option is *Motu 'o Ru* (D-F02) – the island of Ru. This place name is recorded to the east of Hanga Te'e (Vaihu).
- (A45) *Ko te Pou Renga* – 'the beautiful post';
- (A48, B04, C04) *Ko Ure tangitangi 'a Vai 'a Moa* – 'the weeping son of Vai 'a Moa';
- (A50, B09, C09) *Ko Pua Hau* – 'hibiscus flower';
- (A55) *Pû 'o Hiro*, 'the trumpet of Hiro'. This is a phallic-shaped stone that was believed to



- have magical powers to call fish to the shores. Once located at Hangaroa, it was transported to the north shore in the past (Lee 1992:196);
- (A59) *Ko Hiti Kapura* – the name of the spirit who transformed a child into a red *nanue* fish (Métraux 1940:372);
  - (C11) *Ko te Kai ‘a Vohi* – ‘the food of Vohi’.

Name Sequence in the Lists

It is important to address the question concerning the chronological order of bird years. The main suggestion here is to take Routledge’s lists with caution, because her informants might have been dictating the year names in a random order. The evidence proving this can be deduced from the supplementary notes accompanying the lists, summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Notes accompanying birdman years in different lists.

Year	Note (with List source)
A01, B01, C01, D15 <i>Rokunga</i>	<b>A:</b> Rué’s act... Kah..a made the kitchen to set the food <b>B:</b> Haha... (t)his? ... made the <i>umu</i> + set the food. Juan grandfather went to Orohie Ruahamea(?). Pulytao(?) came <b>C:</b> Egg taken by Juan’s grandfather (for?) Rué who took (?) this name and gave it ... This year Puo... came.
A46, B02, C02 <i>Ko Pure Pakeke</i>	<b>B:</b> All men came to Hangaroa. English took image. Ko Maté took 2 years <b>C:</b> Take <i>moai</i> . Komate drop it two years.
A47, B03, C03 <i>Ko te Toa ‘a Maruku Hau</i>	<b>B:</b> English took image. Piropito(?) came <b>C:</b> came.
A18, B05, C05 <i>Ko he Vi’e ‘a Ure Moroki</i>	<b>B:</b> Eaten by <i>Niuhi</i>
A84, B06, C06 <i>Ko Tahi ‘o Hiva</i>	<b>A:</b> the year the Peruvians had been – Ko Kohi – (a Koro Orongo of Kaunga) was swimming for his <i>tangata manu</i> (?) below ‘Orongo on(?) Motu Nui [and] was killed by being dashed against the rock. His body was extruded(?) on Motu Iti. Kapiera took his head and gave it to his brother at Hangaroa who hid it. <b>B:</b> P...tero went + People went to Tahiti with them
A50, B09, C09 <i>Ko Pua Hau</i>	<b>B:</b> 4 clans event ... 10 <i>tangata manu</i> . Bad <i>ivi atua</i>
A51, B14, D05 <i>Ko te Ara Hiva</i>	<b>D:</b> Ngaara went to Akahanga
A13, B18, C10 <i>Utupiro</i>	<b>A:</b> Last one, in Salmon’s time finish[ed?]. Veriamo present, Tupahotu + Ure ‘o Hei present <b>B:</b> Mau[rata] was king. Atamu (cath.) alias Maurata afterwards. King was <i>hopu</i> . Juan Born. Veriamo present. <b>C:</b> Juan born
A70, B20 <i>Ko Tahinga</i>	<b>B:</b> year Pitopito died
A12, B22 <i>Mata Rorirori</i>	<b>B:</b> Last in Sa...tuu(?)
A10, B23+B24 <i>Ko Pue ko te Manu ko Totoro Henua</i>	<b>B23:</b> contemporary with Paomatao. See genealogy of Kapiera. Vai Atare <b>B24:</b> first on island(?)
A69, B30 <i>Ko Hiti ko te Vai Kino</i>	<b>B:</b> contemporary Paoa Karanga Roa
B31 <i>Ko Hepo ko Rano Kao</i>	<b>B:</b> contemporary Pao[a] Karanga Roa
B32 <i>Ko Ure ko te Repa</i>	<b>B:</b> Maro ‘a Taki saw
A42, B33, D08 <i>Hengahenga Mataka</i>	<b>B:</b> Ure ‘a Kio saw
B38 <i>Hiva a Mata Nui</i>	<b>B:</b> contemporary Koreaku. Eggs taken from cave with 2 heads
A20, B43 <i>Ko te Puhi ‘a Pere Rokiroki</i>	<b>A:</b> see counts(?) against(?) Rock = name of plea
A22, B40 <i>Poi Paka</i>	<b>A:</b> confirmed Veriamo <b>B:</b> went to Anakena

Year	Note (with List source)
A19, D10 <i>Pua Ūa</i>	<b>A:</b> confirmed Veriamo <b>D:</b> Ngaara died. ... Kapiera. Went to Anakena. Veriamo confirmed Pua Ua Raa.
A75, D09 <i>Ko Hetunga</i>	<b>D:</b> Ngaara came to Tahai
A74, D-F06 <i>Ko Raua Kere</i>	<b>A:</b> Kapiera born
A34, D-F04 <i>Manu Api</i>	<b>F:</b> [Ko Kahu Manutara] took 5 eggs
A32, D03 <i>Manu Meamea</i>	<b>A:</b> Te Haha present <b>D:</b> Te Haha present. S <sup>d</sup> MAR. Tahai + Haumoana
A41, D02 <i>Motu ‘o Ru</i>	<b>D:</b> Men ... Raku. Went to Orohie ...
A73, D01 <i>Ko Poingo</i>	<b>D:</b> Kapiera born. [Román] He[i attended as?] a child. Went to Orohie
A02, C12 <i>Hotu Nono ‘i</i>	<b>C:</b> Kapiera born
A03 <i>Ko te Manu Takataka</i>	<b>A:</b> Hamea was a famous swimmer(?) often ...ged
A65 <i>Ko Heu ko More Mea</i>	<b>A:</b> Gruds(?) swimming in water
A72 <i>Ko Hina Mango</i>	<b>A:</b> Kapiera went to ‘Orongo [and] slept at Takinga Rera(?)
A78 <i>Ko Tahaoi</i>	<b>A:</b> Veriamo present

The year *Rokunga* (A01, B01, C01, D15) marks the last competition at ‘Orongo. In List B, it is preceded by *Ko te Pure Pakeke* (A46, B02, C02) and *Ko te Toa ‘a Maruku Hau* (A47, B03, C03), both accompanied by a note about the removal by Englishmen of the *moai* Hoa Hakananai’a by the crew of HMS *Topaze* in November 1868 (Van Tilburg 2006:28-37). If this indeed happened during birdman years (B02) or (B03), the last year, *Rokunga*, should be either 1869 or 1870. However, Routledge places *Rokunga* at 1866-1867 (1919:265), i.e., before the visit of *Topaze*. Such dating seems correct, because the Christianization of Easter Island was accomplished in 1868 (Métraux 1940:44), making it impossible to expect that the last birdman ceremony was carried out one year after the conversion. Moreover, it is also doubtful that the competition was held at ‘Orongo after it became devoid of *moai* Hoa Hakananai’a, which played an important role in the ceremonies judging from its richly adorned back displaying *tangata manu* and ‘ao carvings.

Juan Tepano was born in 1872 (Fischer 1997:133), in the year of *Utupiro* (A13, B18, C10). His mother, Veri ‘Amo, witnessed/remembered several *tangata manu* competitions: *Utupiro* (A13, B18, C10), *Pua Ūa* (A19, D10), *Poi Paka* (A22, B40), and *Ko Tahaoi* (A78). These years are more or less clustered in List A, except for *Ko Tahaoi*. Kapiera Reva Hiva is said to be born in the year *Hotu Nono ‘i* (A02, C12) or *Ko Poingo* (A73, D01) or *Ko Raua Kere* (A74, D-F06) – the two latter names are consequent in List A, but differ by several years in List D. In the 1916 census taken by José Ignacio Vives Solar,

Kapiera is mentioned as being 65 years old, which places his date of birth in 1851 (Moreno Pakarati pers. comm. 2012). Te Haha attended the ceremony in the year *Manu Meamea* (A32, D03); Román Hei witnessed it as a child in year *Ko Poingo* (A73, D01).

The comment ‘eaten by *niuhi*’ for the year *Ko he Vi’e ‘a Ure Moroki* (A18, B05, C05) refers to the following event:

“In one instance, the *ivi atua*, at the same time that he gave the nomination, prophesied that the year that it was taken up a man should be eaten by a large fish; the original recipient never availed himself of it, but on his deathbed told his son of the prophesy. The son, Kilimuti, undeterred by it, entered for the race and sent two men to the islet; one of them started to swim there with his *pora* but was never heard of again, and it was naturally said that the prophecy had been fulfilled. Kilimuti wasted no regret over the eventuality, obtained another servant and secured the egg” (Routledge 1917:344).

The notes corresponding to the name lists say that a person called Pitopito came in the year *Ko te Toa ‘a Maruku Hau* (A47, B03, C03) and died in the year *Ko Tahinga* (A70, B20). This is a reference to Jean-Baptiste Onésime Dutrou-Bornier: “impressed by Dutrou-Bornier’s flashy captain’s jacket, the Rapanui dubbed him ‘Te Pitopito’ (Mangarevan for ‘The Buttons’)” (Fischer 2005:102). With this identification, *Ko te Toa ‘a Maruku Hau* corresponds to 1866 (his first visit)



or 1868 (his settlement) and *Ko Tahinga* – to 1876. Returning to lists A and B one will see that neither of them presents a correct chronology. The lists start with *Rokunga* and count the years backwards, suggesting that the year of Pitopito's arrival should occur prior to his death, yet lists A and B give that in reverse order. Also, with *Rokunga* marking the competition of 1867, it is not clear how Dutrou-Bornier's arrival in 1868 can appear two years *before* *Rokunga*. Perhaps the informants were trying to recall the first brief visit of Dutrou Bornier as a pilot of a ship that brought Father Gaspard Zumböhm and Lay Brother Théodule Escolan to the island (Moreno Pakarati pers. comm. 2012). As one can see, List A is clearly not in chronological order, because the *Ko te Toa 'a Maruku Hau*, when Dutrou-Bornier arrived, has a number of 47.

The year of the Peruvian slave raids bears the name *Ko Tahi 'o Hiva* (A84, B06, C06) that translates as 'the other of Hiva', perhaps referring to 'yet another' contact with the outside world. It is important to stress that the raids occurred in December 1862 and March 1863 (Fischer 1997:9), which, using Rapanui time reckoning, was within the *same* year starting with the Austral spring in September 1862. Thus, *Ko Tahi 'o Hiva* should have occurred at most five years before *Rokunga* (A-C01) – which means that List A definitely has it wrong (A84), while lists B and C show it in a more or less correct position (B-C06).

The notes supplied for the List D narrate the story of the king, Ngaara – he was captured and brought to Akahanga in the year *Ko te Ara Hiva* (A51, B14, D05), returned from captivity and settled at Tahai in the year *Ko Hetunga* (A75, D09), died and was buried at Tahai in *Pua Ūa* (A19, D10). Once again, List A has these year names shuffled. List D may have it right, as it *ends* with *Rokunga*, so that the captivity of the king occurred several years before his rescue and death (to estimate time intervals between these events, it is important to note that Routledge joins several bird names into a single year, Figure 5). Thus, taking List D at face value, one can conclude that King Ngaara might have managed to *survive* the Peruvian slave raids, as he died three years before *Rokunga*, which would be 1863-1864. However, if Fischer's (1997:329) estimation of Ngaara's death in 1859 is correct, the chronology given in List D should be considered with more caution.

Another detail questioning the chronological nature of lists A and B concerns the year of the 'ten-birdmen competition' *Ko Pua Hau* (A50, B09, C09). Despite the fact that this is accompanied with a note '10 *tangata manu*', there are only *nine* names in List B (Figure 2), one of which – *Kohu ko Tangi* (B17) – also appears 'outside' of the event as a name (B07). Routledge (1917:350) states that the 'ten-birdmen competition' occurred four years before *Rokunga*.

However, lists B and C put it *eight* years before the last competition, as if suggesting that in the handwritten draft of her 1917 paper, Routledge marked this year as the '9<sup>th</sup> before *Rokunga*', which was misread as the '4<sup>th</sup>' on further stages of production/typesetting. It is worth mentioning that birdmen names B09-B17 appear in List A, but they are shuffled and mostly occur in the second half of the list (A50, A59, A45, A60, A52, A51, A61, A25 and A58). Surprisingly, *Ko Pua Hau* is absent from List D (E, F), which, however, has the similarly-sounding year *Pua Ūa* (D10, E09, A19) located *three* years before *Rokunga*, assuming that the curved brackets in Figure 5 count the name pairs *Kohu Kero*, *Ko te Hunga* and *Pua Ūa*, *Ko te Poki 'o Heuheu* as single years.

A cross-reference of lists A-E makes it clear that the sequence of names varies from list to list. Lists B and C are strongly related to each other. The largest List A, despite being shuffled, also features several notable collocations of names:

- *Ko Pue ko te Manu ko Totoro Henua* (A10, B23+B24) and *Mata Rorirori* (A12, B22);
- *Poi Paka* (A22, B40) and *Papa Hakatara* (A23, B41);
- *Tahi 'a Marua* (A27, B37) and *Ko te Miro Oone* (A28, B36);
- *Manu Meamea* (A32, D-F03) and *Manu Api* (A34, D-F04);
- *Hengahenga Mataka* (A42, B33, D08, E-F07) and *Ko Moa Pakia* (A43, B34, D07);
- *Ko te Pure Pakeke* (A46, B02, C02), *Ko te Toa 'a Maruku Hau* (A47, B03, C03) and *Ko te Ure Tangitangi 'a Vai a Moa* (A48, B04, C04);
- *Ko te Ara Hiva* (A51, B14, D-F05) and *Ko Ure Hora Kea* (A52, B13).

It is clear that a full analysis and definition of a proper sequence of birdman year names will require a huge effort that goes far beyond the scope of the current paper. However, if this task could be accomplished, one would be rewarded with unique ethnological data – a reconstructed chronology of *tangata manu* competitions.

### Tribal Affiliation and Winner Statistics

Table 1 presents 97 names with spelling variations making a 'total' name set. 44 of these (45%) appear in two or more lists, forming a 'confirmed' name set. The tribal affiliations of the winners (given in square brackets in Table 1) withstand cross-comparison in 36 out of 44 cases (82%), suggesting general accuracy of tribe name data. This information is important, as the birdman competition was carried out namely to determine the tribe that would rule the island and have

access to the valuable food resources for a year. At first glance, one may think that *every* tribe had its chance to win. However, Routledge (1919:258) explicitly says that only dominant *matato'a* tribes were allowed to participate, significantly narrowing the number of the tribes that could potentially win.

The statistics of birdmen number per tribe is given in Table 3 for total and confirmed birdmen name sets. The total name set contains 80 tribal affiliations, clearly showing that Ure o Hei, Miru and Tupahotu dominated the scene with 21, 18 and 17 winners, respectively. The 'contribution percentage' for each tribe in the 'total' list is quite close to the actual number, as the number of names is almost 100. The 'confirmed' name list features a slightly different 'balance of power': Miru leads with 12 winners, followed by Tupahotu and Ure o Hei with 8 and 7 winners, respectively. What is important is that these *three* tribes make the major contribution to both lists – 56 entries (58%) for the 'total' list and 27 (61%) for the 'confirmed' list. This analysis shows that the chances to win the birdman competition for other tribes were actually quite slim.

The data presented in Table 3 give a straightforward explanation to the existence of two dominant residences of *tangata manu* – at 'Anakena (the land of the Miru) and Rano Raraku (the territory of Tupahotu and Ure o Hei). It would be less probable to expect, for example, a large birdman residence on the lands of the Marama, who had (according to Routledge's data) only six winners.

The lore of Easter Island narrates about a considerable amount of warfare between two dominant tribal groups, Ko Tuu and Hotu Iti, which could have been 'fueled' to a certain extent by the outcome of the birdman competition:

Abbreviated tribe name	Tribe name	Number of <i>tangata manu</i>	
		Total	Confirmed
MI	Miru	18	12 (27.3%)
HA	Hamea	1	1 (2.3%)
RA	Raa	4	2 (4.5%)
TH	Tupahotu	17	8 (18.2%)
UH	Ure o Hei	21	7 (15.9%)
MA	Marama	6	2 (4.5%)
HM	Haumoana	9	1 (2.3%)
NT	Ngatimo	1	1 (2.3%)
NU	Ngaure	2	1 (2.3%)
KO	Koro Orongo	1	1 (2.3%)
HU	Hitiuira	0	0 (0%)
?	Undefined	17	8 (18.2%)
	Total	97	44

Table 3. Number of birdmen per tribe.

"Selection [of the next dominant clan by ruling *ao*] gave rise, as might be expected, to burnings of hearts; the matter might be, and probably often was, settled by war" (Routledge 1919:258).

The statistics of birdmen distribution over tribal group is given in Table 4. It is interesting that the 'general score' of *tangata manu* competitions for both 'total' and 'confirmed' sets is almost perfectly even.

### Names of *Tangata Manu*, *Hopu* and *Ivi Atua*

The birdman lists recorded by Routledge, in addition to providing the chronology of birdman years, feature a considerable amount of other names: those of the winners prior to adoption of a new birdman name, as well as the names of proxies in the form of *hopu* and *ivi atua* priests. The latter are very few in number. For the year of *Rokunga*, the priest was *Ko Vike a Tuku Hiva* (List A) or *Kovike a Tuke Hiva* (List B). There are three more names of *ivi atua* in List A: *Ko Koké a Rati e Koro* for the year *Hotu Nono'i* (A02), *Korenga Roiroi 'a Tuki Hiva* (a woman of Haumoana clan) for the year *Manu Takataka* (A03) and *Ko Koiké 'a Ratú* (a Koro Orongo from Hangaroa) for the year *Motu 'o Ru* (A41). Routledge writes (1917:343) that two *ivi atua* "called themselves after Hawa [Haua] and Make-maké respectively, but this seems to be exceptional." This information does not appear in lists A-F, requiring additional study of Routledge's field notes in the hope of finding the required supporting evidence.

The common names of the victorious birdmen and their proxies are given in Table 5 following the name order of Table 1. In many cases, the tribal affili-

Abbreviated tribe names	Tribal group	Number of <i>tangata manu</i>	
		Total	Confirmed
MI + HA + RA + MA + HM + NT	<b>Ko Tuu:</b> Miru, Hamea, Raa, Marama, Haumoana, Ngatimo	39 (40%)	19 (43.2%)
TH + HU + UH + KO + NU	<b>Hotu Iti:</b> Tupahotu, Hitiuira, Ure o Hei, Koro Orongo, Ngaure	41 (42%)	17 (38.6%)
?	Undefined	17 (18%)	8 (18.2%)
	Total	97	44

Table 4. Birdmen per tribal group (Routledge 1919:222).



ations of *hopu* are also supplied. As one can see, in the majority of cases, the proxies were from a different tribe. Sometimes, the would-be birdman went himself to procure the egg; this happened for *Kohu Kero* (A17, D13, E11), *Ko Ure Hara Kea* (A52, B13), *Ko Hakatakeo* (A60, B12) and *Ko te Vare o te Pureva* (A61, B15).

Several names from Table 5 are well-known. Maurata – whose name is listed in royal genealogies of Easter Island – served as *hopu* for Pua Ara Hoa ‘a Rapu in the year *Utupiro* (A13, B18, C10), which is reflected in Routledge’s comment that “King was *hopu*” (Table 2, List B). However, she adds that he was “Atamu (cath.) *alias* Maurata afterwards”, which points to a different person – Te Kena a ‘Ao Tahi, known by the baptismal name Atamu (Adam) Te Kena (Moreno Pakarati 2011:59), who signed the agreement with Policarpo Toro in 1888. Te Kena later took the name of King Maurata, perhaps to gain more legitimacy as a leader, becoming Atamu Maurata Te Kena (Moreno Pakarati 2011:60). Torometi – the ‘host’ of the first missionary Eugene Eyraud – was a victorious birdman in the year *Ko Ure Tangitangi ‘a*

*Vai ‘a Moa* (A48, B04, C04). Porotu – mentioned and portrayed by Routledge (1919:266, Figure 113) – was a *hopu* in the year *Ko Tahinga* (A70, B20). Tomenika – who in his later days lived in leprosarium and was interviewed by Routledge about *rongorongo* and *tau* scripts – was a proxy in the year *Tahitahi ‘a Torokio* (B08, C08). On another occasion, he served as a *hopu* for two masters in the ‘ten-birdmen competition’, working for *Tuu Hotu Roa* (A25, B16) and *Ko te Ara Hiva* (A51, B14, D-F05). Surprisingly, lists D-F associate the latter birdman with two winners and three *hopu*. Another considerable discrepancy in the number of winners and proxies is recorded for the year *Manu Meamea* (A32, D03): List A mentions a single birdman, but List D gives four *tangata manu* and four *hopu*.

### ‘Orongo House Names

The ceremonial village of ‘Orongo is composed of about fifty houses of dry-laid stone masonry. This type of architecture was dictated by harsh weather conditions

– the common boat-shaped house covered with grass would not withstand the constant gusty winds. Many buildings overlap each other (to save the effort in construction of the walls), thus forming distinct house groups. This rich construction history of ‘Orongo may reflect the political side of the birdman cult:

“Like many image *ahu*, nearly all of the buildings [at ‘Orongo] were refurbished, altered and expanded multiple times ... these structural changes are thought to relate to the number of lineages that participated in birdman ritual; apparently, that number increased over the time until the entire island was involved. The buildings were assigned to clans according to the east/west division of the island” (Van Tilburg 2006:20).

The only data published by Routledge regarding tribal affiliation of the houses relate to Mata Ngarau:

“The group of houses at the end [of the village] among the carved rocks was taboo during the festival, for they were inhabited by the *rongorongo* men, the western half being apportioned to the experts from Hotu Iti, the eastern to those from Kotuu” (Routledge 1919:260).

Routledge’s field notes present far more detailed data. First, there is a sketch of the ‘Orongo village made after the information contributed by Román Hei (Figure 6). To simplify further discussion, we will address individual houses using a numbering system that is similar to that proposed by Routledge (1920: Figure 2), but amended by the removal of the letters from building names (e.g., the cluster of houses R3, R3a, R4 become #3, #4, #5). The house count at Mata Ngarau area is also improved based on survey and restoration work by Mulloy (1997:figures 2-4). The collation of house numbers and current numbering can be found in Horley and Lee (2009:118-119). To simplify the discussion, I will present house numbers both in Routledge’s and current nomenclature (prefixed

with ‘R’ and ‘#’, respectively) when discussed house numbers are different.

As one can see from Figure 6, the isolated group of houses standing at the entrance of the village (buildings #1 and #2 left in a ruined state to show how the site looked before Mulloy’s restoration work) is located by *Puku Ngau Ngau* (Naunau) – the sandalwood cliff. The same group of rocks is also called *Vi’e Kena Tea* (Lee 1986:98, Figure 25), a female deity related to the birdman cult (Routledge 1919:260). The buildings at the northwest end of the upper house row are called *Hiku Orongo* (‘the tail of ‘Orongo’) and are said to belong to Raa. The name of the house of *moai* Hoa Hakananai’a, *Taura Renga* (‘beautiful belt’ according to Englert 1948:501), is given in the form *Tau Rengerenge*. The buildings completing the upper house group are called [illegible]-*kumi* (‘long’) and belonged to Hamea. The building #22, starting the lower house row is called *Vi-hanga* (perhaps derived from *vihaviha*, ‘abandoned’, see Englert 1948:513) and belonged to Raa. The dwellings closing the lower house group are ascribed to Marama, together with two houses with barrow pits at their backs (#33 & #34). Finally, the Mata Ngarau cluster is labeled *Poké*, which may be the shortened *pokopoko ke* (‘bottomless’, Fedorova 1988:164) referring to the cliffs dropping down to the ocean in front of the sacred precinct. It is important to note that, according to Román Hei, the houses of ‘Orongo belonged to only three tribes – Raa, Hamea and Marama, with the first two representing the powerful Miru. As Román Hei belonged to the Marama tribe, one can find here a reasonable explanation as to why this is the only tribe that is mentioned in addition to the Miru (at the same time suggesting that the data could be biased by the informant).

The second list of house names was recorded from Kapiera Reva Hiva (Figure 7). It is far more detailed and features the names for dwellings, groups thereof, and even for individual entrances of double-door houses. To simplify the analysis, the corresponding house names are displayed on the map of ‘Orongo (Figure 8). As one can see, *Hare ko te Hiku*, the tail houses, addresses two

Table 5. The names of winning birdmen and their proxies *hopu* with reference to name lists. The asterisks \* mark the names belonging to ‘ten-birdmen’ year *Ko Pua Hau*.

Year name	Tangata manu	Hopu
A01, B01, C01, D15 <i>Rokunga</i>	A, B: [UH] Rué	A: Ko Mine, B: Kominé
A46, B02, C02 <i>Ko te Pure Pakeke</i>	A: [MI] Kumati ( <i>ariki?</i> ) B: Ko maté, C: Komate	B: [TH] Manu Iri Tai
A47, B03, C03 <i>Ko te Toa ‘a Maruku Hau</i>	B: [HA] Matitaunga, C: Matitauva	B, C: [HA] Koraiahoau
A48, B04, C04 <i>Ko Ure Tangitangi ‘a Vai ‘a Moa</i>	B: [MI] Toromati, C: Torometi	B: [TH] Vai Hero, C: Vaiheri
A18, B05, C05 <i>Ko he Vi’e ‘a Ure Moroki</i>	B: [TH] Mamaora, C: Manuaora	B, C: [MI] Tupa
B35 <i>Ko te Vai ‘a Ure Maitaki</i>	B: [TH] Kohou a Take	
A84, B06, C06 <i>Ko Tahi ‘o Hiva</i>	B, C: [TH] Kopupa	B, C: [MI] Aroi
*A58, B07, B17, C07 <i>Kohu ko Tangi</i>	B, C: [MI] Kotaki, B17: Ko Take	B: [MI] Atami, B17, C: Atamu
B08, C08 <i>Tahitahi ‘a Torokio</i>	B: [KO] Atep(?)ona, C: Atetona	B, C: Tomenika leper
*A50, B09, C09 <i>Ko Pua Hau</i>	B: [MI] Ko Hati	B: [UH] Mata Poepoe
*A59, B10 <i>Ko Hiti Kapura</i>	B: [MI] Vai a Ure	B: [UH] Mata Poepoe
*A45, B11 <i>Ko te Pou Renga</i>	B: [NT] Ko Vehi	B: Ika Hiva
*A60, B12 <i>Ko Hakatakeo</i>	B: [MI] Matiheo?	B: Matiheo (took his own egg)
*A52, B13 <i>Ko Ure Hara Kea</i>	B: [MI] Ika Hiva	B: Ika Hiva
*A51, B14, D-F05 <i>Ko te Ara Hiva</i>	B: [MI] Tuu Vae Ao D: [NU] Hanga Vaiero F: [NU] Hango Vaiero F, E: [NU] Kote Kehu	B: [TH] Tomenika (also B16) D: [HM] Ko Ure Rorohi F: [HM] Hanu te Roa, [UH] Atairi
*A61, B15 <i>Ko te Vare o te Pureva</i>	B: [MI] Rapahanga	B: Rapahanga (took his own)
*A25, B16 <i>Tuu Hotu Roa</i>	B: [MI] Kaitavi	B: [TH] Tomenika (also B14)
A13, B18, C10 <i>Utupiro</i>	B: [TH] Gwaiahoa (Pua Ara Hoa ‘a Rapu)	B: [MI] Aramu <i>alias</i> Maurata
A16, B19 <i>Ko te Ure Nukumuku</i>	B: [TH] Ko Ika Papa Vai	B: [TH] Vaneri
A70, B20 <i>Ko Tahinga</i>	B: [UH] Korenga Manu	B: [UH] Porotu

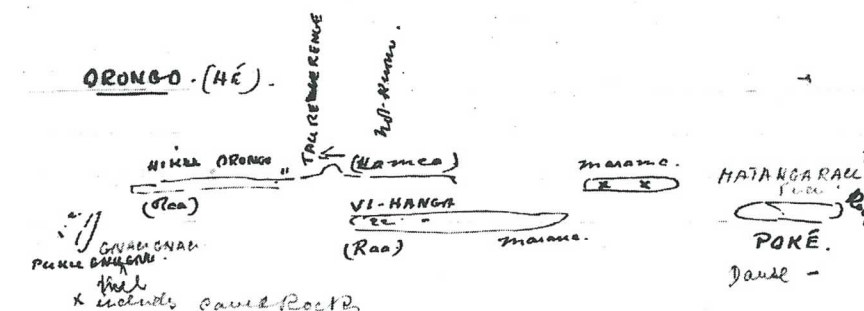


Figure 6. Sketch of ‘Orongo village showing tribal affiliation of houses. Routledge field notes, Reel 2, part 2, p. 239. Digital image courtesy of Pacific Manuscripts Bureau from originals held at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).



unrestored buildings, #1 and #2. This name is descriptive, fitting well with the houses standing on the outskirts of the village. The list also mentions the stones below these houses as *Vi'e Kena Tea*. The building #3 (R3) is called *Ko te Hungaru Tai*, which can be tentatively translated as 'salt cover [deposited] by the sea'. The next house name mentions Haua, the companion of Makemake. Building #6 (R5) is called '*Ko te Hetu*'; *hetu* means either 'to make sound' or 'famous'. This name can be tentatively explained by two pits in front of the house documented by Routledge (1920:433) that may have served as percussion plates (Métraux 1940:355). House #9 is called *Ko Ké*, 'the other', which is probably unrelated to the house at all, representing an answer to a question: 'and that house?' – 'that is the other one'.

The central chamber of the large house (#13, R11) once sheltering a *moai* is called *Taura Renga*, this time spelled as *Ko Tau Roreno* (Figure 7). The chamber to the right (#14, R15) is recorded as *Hohaka Nanai*, sounding so similar to the statue's name *Hoa Hakananai* 'a that one becomes inclined to think that it should be connected to *Taura Renga*. The houses' openings to the courtyard nearby are called *Ko Uka*, 'the girl' (#16), *Ko Vero*, 'the spear' (#17) and *Ko Tuki* (#18). The verb *tuki* means 'to copulate' (Englert 1948:506), making one curious about the type of ceremonies that might have been held in this part of the village. The neighboring building #19 is called *Kote Kauki* – perhaps misspelled *Ko te Kauha*, 'the back side of inanimate objects' (Englert 1948:459) – a possible name of a house located at the back of the court area.

No.	House Name	Clan
1, 2	HARE KO TE HUKU	HAUANA
3	KOTE HUNGARU TAI	HAUANA
4	KA HAUWA A HUKA	MARAMA
5	KOTE HETU	UREHE
6		
7	Jagüü	Urehe
8		
9	KOTE	Urehe
10		
11	KOTE TAU RORENO	OTIRA
12	HOHAKA NANAI	
13	KOTE HAKANANAI	HAUANA
14		
15	KOTE TUKI	HAUANA
16	KOTE KAUKI	HAUANA
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22	W. OTIRO	UREHE
23	E. RAUWAKERE	UREHE
24	KOTE HAKANANAI	HAUANA
25	W. HEMO NUI	MARAMA
26	HEHU URI	OTIRA

The lower row of houses starts with a large building (#22) featuring two entrances, the left of which is called *Poingo* and the right – *Raua Kere*. Both names are birdman names that appear together in List A (A73 and A74) and are considerably close in all three versions of List D (D-F01 and D-F06). At the same time, *rauakerekere* could be translated as 'both are dark', which appears to be quite a natural name for two entrances leading into a dark house interior. House #24 is called *Ko Vihanga*, which is again a birdman name (A33). The same name was given to house #22 in the sketch drawn after the information provided by Román Hei (Figure 6). The next two-entrance house #25 sports individual names for every door: *He mo Nui* and *He mo Iri* – 'for a big one' and 'for a small one', respectively. Houses #26 and #27 are called *Heru Uri* and *He(r)u Tea*, 'black' and 'white calf (of the leg)' (Englert 1948:438). The next three houses are called *Ngariko* (#28), *Ngarahea Nui* (#29) and *Ngarahea Iri* (#30); two latter names may be *nga rauhiva*, 'the twins'. The remaining houses of the lower row are called *Ko Paoa*, 'the guardian' (#31) and *Ko te hare ki te tini*, 'the house in the middle' (#32).

The dwellings #33 and #34 are called *Hami Tapa Ura*, 'red tapa loincloth'. The next house group starts with *Nga Tupa Nui*, 'big tupa' (#35) and *Nga Tupa Iri*, 'small tupa' (#36). Two neighboring houses are called *Mata Kutakuta*, 'foam (framed) eyes' – perhaps a descriptive name for the entrances covered with lichen. The house #39 by the carved rocks is called *Aringa 'o Tupa*, 'the face of Tupa'. This name was recorded for a

No.	House Name	Clan
27	HEUTEA	
28	CHARRIA	HAUANA
29	CHARRIA NUI	OTIRA
30	CHARRIA IRI	"
31	KOTE PUA	OTIRA
32	KOTE HARA	OTIRA
33	HAMI TAPA URA	HAUANA
34		
35	CHARRIA NUI	OTIRA
36		OTIRA
37	MATA KUTAKUTA	OTIRA
38		
39	ARINGA 'O TUPA	OTIRA
40		
41		
42		
43		
44		
45		

Figure 7. 'Orongo house names. Routledge field notes, Reel 3, pp. 571, 572. Digital images courtesy of Pacific Manuscripts Bureau from originals held at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).

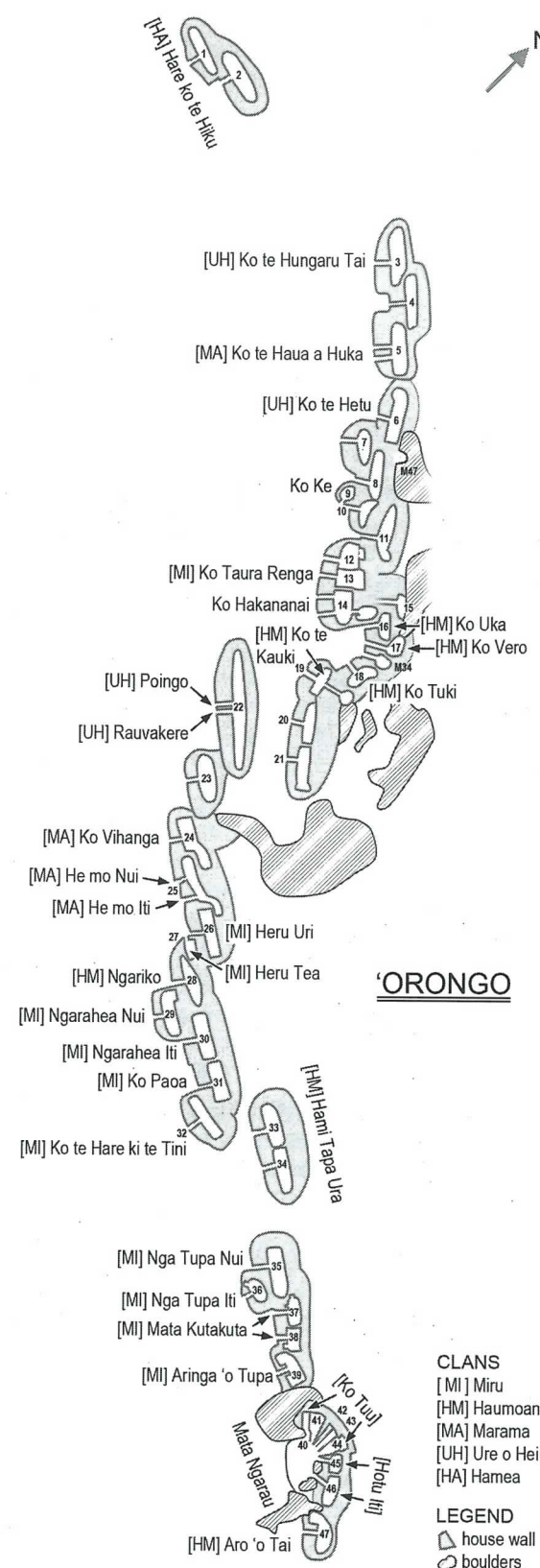


Figure 8. Map of 'Orongo village (after Ferdon 1961:Figure 137) with house names and tribal affiliation according to Routledge notes shown in Figure 7.

petroglyph: "the face ... was reported to be known as '*Ari-nga-o-Tupa*' ... to represent 'a man who slept in [house] No.39'" (Routledge 1920:449-450). This carving may be located on locus 18 (Lee 1992:148) or on locus 26 that overlooks the house (Figure 9). No names are supplied for the Mata Ngarau houses (Figure 7). The last dwelling in the village (#47, R45) is called *Aroeta*; the same name is written in pencil between the names of the houses R11 and R15 (Figure 7, left column), this time spelled *Aro etai*. One may guess that the name could be *Aro o 'Tai*, 'with façade towards the sea'.

The tribal affiliations of 'Orongo houses given in figures 7 and 8 feature only five tribal names – Miru, Haumoana, Marama, Ure o Hei and Hamea. This set is wider than that presented in Figure 6, which mentions only the Miru (by its sub-tribes Raa and Hamea) and the Marama. In any case, the small number of tribes associated with the houses seemingly proves the strong political side of the birdman competition (or alternatively, reflects a personal bias of the informant).

Routledge supplies tribal affiliations for 28 out of 49 houses (including house M34 and habitation cave M47, Figure 8). The houses featuring double entrances with

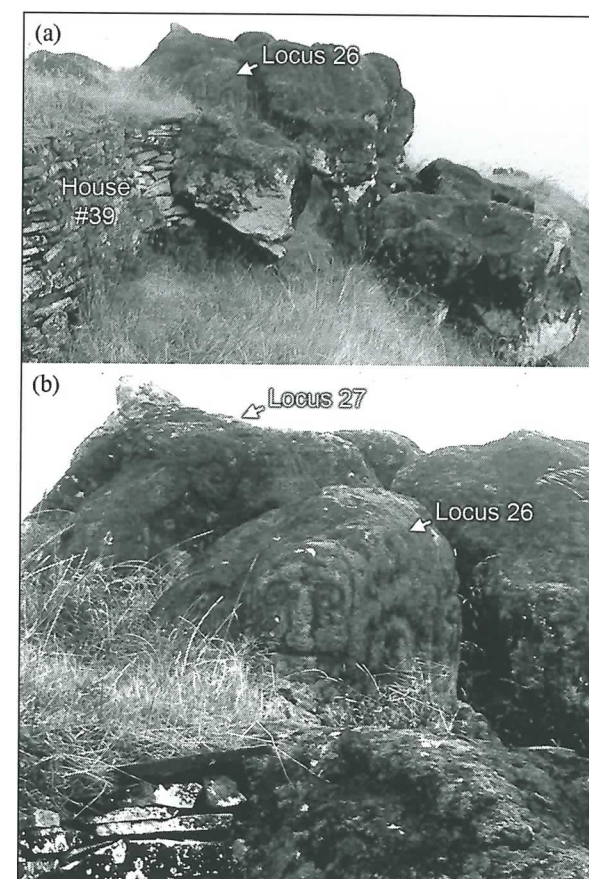


Figure 9. Locus 26 by house #39 (a) and close-up (b) to a face that may be Aringa 'o Tupa (photographs by P. Horley, 2002).



Tribe	Number of houses	Percentage	
		Partial	Total
Miru	12	42.9%	24.5%
Haumoana	8	28.6%	16.3%
Marama	3	10.7%	6.1%
Ure o Hei	3	10.7%	6.1%
Hamea	2	7.1%	4.1%
Total	28	100%	57.1%

Table 6. Distribution of 'Orongo houses per tribe.

different names (#22 and #25) were counted only once. The single name used for two houses (#1 and #2, #33 and #34, #37 and #38) was counted twice. The resulting statistics are shown in Table 6. The percentage is given for a partial subset of 28 houses provided with tribal affiliations, as well as for the total set of 49 houses. The Miru had the largest number of houses, including the building with the statue, *Taura Renga*. This is to be expected, as, according to Table 3, the Miru (including Hamea and Raa) had no less than 23 birdmen. Surprisingly, the second tribe with a large number of houses is Haumoana, who had only nine *tangata manu*. The Marama and Ure o Hei had three houses each (based on the data of Figure 7), which is also uncorrelated with their number of birdmen – 6 and 21, respectively (Table 3).

The distribution of the houses belonging to each tribe is also peculiar. The Miru had *Taura Renga* (#13) in the upper row of houses, and two large groups of buildings – #26 to #27, #29 to #32 and #35 to #39. The dwellings of the Haumoana included the court in the upper house row (#16 to #19), the small house group (#33, #34), and single houses in the lower house row (#28) and behind Mata Ngarau (#47). The Marama had one dwelling in the upper row (#5) and two in the lower row (#24, #25). The houses of the Ure o Hei were located in the upper row at the beginning of the village (#3, #6) and included the largest building of the lower row (#22). The Hamea had two buildings at the entrance of the village (#1, #2). These house tribal affiliations are different from those presented in Figure 6.

## Acknowledgements

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## Reports and Commentaries

### Rano Raraku: A brief overview of six seasons of excavations, three seasons of conservation interventions, and a heritage management program, 2010-2012

Jo Anne Van Tilburg and Cristián Arévalo Pakarati

## Introduction

The Easter Island Statue Project (EISP), of which the authors are co-directors, has invested more than three decades in archaeological survey and excavation on Easter Island. This paper summarizes our excavation program in Quarry 2, Rano Raraku Interior, of statues RR-001-156 (Figure 1) and RR-001-157 (Figure 2). From the inception of our project in 1982, our goal has been to create an island-wide monolithic and portable statue (*moai*) inventory and to compile an historical image record comprising a biography of each statue. This inventory is a bedrock of archaeological research but is also indispensable to heritage management (Letellier 2007). To date, we have accounted for 1,300 *moai* including complete (as opposed to intact) statues, heads, torsos, fragments, and shaped blocks (Table 1). The latter are considered to be evidence of human activity in the form of incomplete or abandoned projects elucidating energy investment. The most recent object entered into our collaborative online database (DATASHARE) is a red stone torso submitted by Enrique Tucki M. of the Oficina Provincial, Corporación Nacional Forestal (CONAF).

The EISP excavations summarized here follow completion of our extensive mapping (Van Tilburg et al. 2008a) and are the first legally permitted (CMN ORD 5467-09) and controlled, scientific excavations in Rano Raraku since 1954. Our project is also the first stone conservation and preservation pilot program ever conducted anywhere in Rano Raraku. Previously, all but one of the 22 standing statues in Rano Raraku interior, including those described here, were disturbed or exposed through unscientific and undocumented digging. Furthermore, over 90 statues throughout Rano Raraku interior and exterior were disturbed from 1868 to 1989. While this vandalism is deplorable, our database mitigates at least some of this regrettable damage.

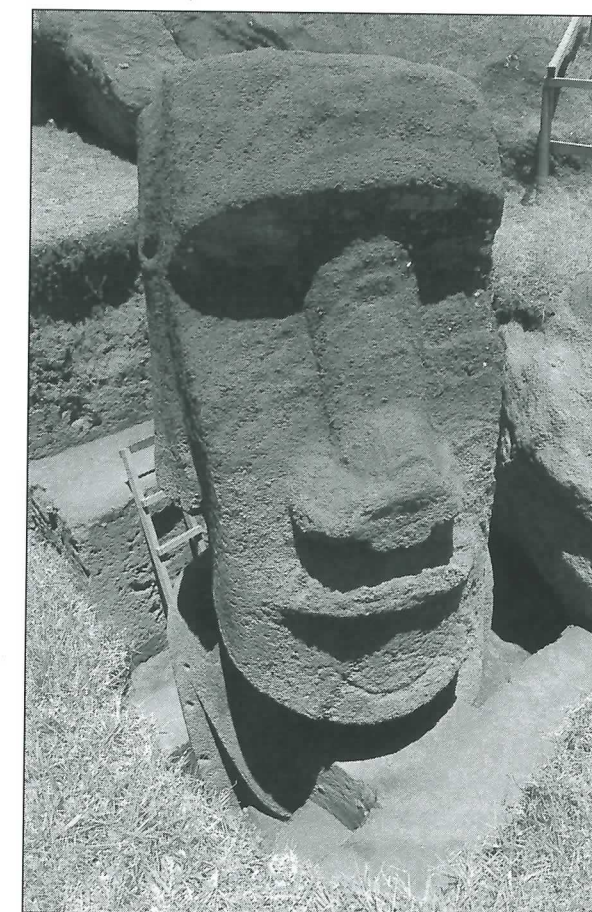


Figure 1. RR-001-156, ventral view. EISP Archives.

### Research Perspective: The Rapa Nui "Paracosm"

Our research considers ancient aesthetics from the point of view of cognitive archaeology set within a holistic/contextual framework (Van Tilburg *in press*). We ask two basic questions:

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