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Warren D. Sharp is a Geochronologist and Associate Director at the Berkeley Geochronology Center in Berkeley, California. He directs the Center's uranium-series dating laboratory, which is dedicated to providing a temporal framework for significant events and processes within the past 500,000 years in a variety of contexts including archaeology, paleo-anthropology, paleo-climatology and neotectonics. He has previously collaborated with Professor Kirch and others to refine the chronology of pre-contact Polynesian monumental architecture in the Hawaiian and Society Islands.

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Lakalaka: A Tongan Masterpiece of Performing Arts

The Tongan *lakalaka*, in which sung poetry is performed by massed dancers, was recognised by UNESCO in 2003 as a "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity". This book is an elegant product of UNESCO's recognition.

It was created and produced by Adrienne L. Kaeppler and the Vava‘u Press in large landscape format with an abundance of striking images and an accessible, informative text (see Publications Received for details). Available from Vava‘u Press: email mfonua@matangitonga.to

Bequest

The Officers and Council of the Polynesian Society gratefully acknowledge a legacy of £1000 received from the estate of Andrew John White, a longstanding member of the Society.

Jenifer Curnow—1931-2013

The Polynesian Society’s officers and council wish to acknowledge their debt to Jenifer Curnow. Jeny as a mature student became a scholar of Māori language and culture under the guidance of the late Bruce Biggs, Patu Hohepa and other scholars of Māori Studies at the University of Auckland. Her MA research on Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke produced not only a thesis translating much of his work but also several articles (among them in *JPS* 94:97-147, 99: 7-54, 128-77). In recent years Jeny took a major role in Polynesian Society publishing initiatives. She managed and also co-edited, in collaboration with Jane McRae, the new edition of the four volumes of Sir Apirana Ngata’s great collection of songs, *Nga Moteatea* (2003-2007, Auckland University Press in collaboration with the Polynesian Society). With that done, she took on the preparation of a new edition of Pei Te Hurinui Jones’ *King Potatau* (2009, Huia Press in collaboration with the Polynesian Society). Neither of these projects could have been accomplished without Jeny’s expertise and meticulous management.

PUAKA AND MATARIKI: THE MĀORI NEW YEAR

JIM WILLIAMS (*Ngāi Tahu*)
University of Otago

Although New Year is often thought to be a purely European concept—celebrated in the Northern Hemisphere winter, New Zealand Maori had a similar concept of New Year occurring likewise in the Southern Hemisphere winter or in the middle of the Northern Hemisphere year. In fact, most of the world's peoples have a concept of a New Year, usually in winter, since it is from the shortest day onwards that the rebirth of the year is seen to begin. In recent years there has been increasing focus in New Zealand on the "Māori New Year", usually referred to as "Matariki".

The peoples of East Polynesia, in the main, have traditions based on the heliacal (pre-dawn) rising of the Matariki constellation. However, for many peoples of West Polynesia, as well as some New Zealand Māori, it is the star Puaka[1] (Rigel in Orion) that heralds the New Year (Beattie 1994). Unsurprisingly, Māori were no more homogeneous in their traditional approach to the New Year than they were in other matters and, indeed, throughout Polynesia even within the two main traditions there are various local variations. More specifically, a few Māori groups in the North Island, most of Te Wāipounamu (South Island) and Rekohu (Chatham Islands) have New Year traditions based on Puaka. Elsdon Best wrote: "In the far North, however, also in the South Island and the Chatham Isles, the new year was marked by the cosmic rising of Rigel in Orion" (1986: 11-12). This is Puaka and, while it was the *tohu* 'sign' of the approaching New Year, the New Year proper commenced at the next new moon.

"Why the two different traditions among Māori?" I recently asked myself, "Does it mean that the groups came from a different homeland?"

After some considered thought, two possibilities occurred to me: either they came from a different homeland or at a different time. In this article I will be exploring the idea that these different annual reckoning systems might be associated with colonists from different time periods, roughly divided into two for the purposes of this essay: an early group who share deep *whakapapa* and a later group who typically have shorter *whakapapa*. What I shall refer to as the "Puaka *iwi*", generally, have a deeper *whakapapa*, at least in the cases of the people of the Hokianga (Simmons 1976), South Taranaki (Broughton 1979) and Te Wāipounamu (Beattie 1941, Mitchell and Mitchell 2006), where an additional 12 generations, at least, is required to get to the migrating ancestors and, significantly, in each case they have oral traditions concerning the arrival

of the *kūmera* (*Ipomoea batatas*) with a subsequent migrants, who I shall refer to as the "Matariki *iwi*".[2] Can a case be made tying these points together? Initially, the different geographic origin (West versus East Polynesia) also seemed possible but since this flies in the face of all that is known about Māori origins, I have pursued the hypothesis that a different *time* seems more likely. Secondly, I wished to examine whether *mātauranga* Māori 'Māori knowledge' is in accord with academic sources. The evidence that I have gathered from these and other sources is not totally convincing. However, by producing a "work in progress" at this time, I am hoping that others will take the matter further. Perhaps other fields of knowledge will provide more clarity.

PUAKA

According to traditional Ngāi Tahu thought, Ngā Kapa are the two lines, each of three stars, that in European lore comprise Orion's belt and sword, and Puaka (Rigel) is a single, bright star, a little below and to the right of Ngā Kapa. Puaka changes colour from time to time and twinkles vigorously (Tikao 1990). The old people considered that the stars moved, "setting a little higher each morning" (Tikao 1990: 48).

> *Puaka*… rises about June 6, and is the principal star of the Canterbury Maori.… If it comes up on the south side, it is a sign of bad weather, but if it rises on the north side it is a good *tohu* (omen). *Matariki*, a group of stars, rises two or three weeks earlier than *Puaka*, while *Ngakapa*, a group of stars in a straight line, show the near approach of *Puaka*, as they rise two or three days before. (Tikao 1990: 49)

If Puaka's rays seem directed to the south that is a sign of bad weather. Beattie elaborated on this, based on information from an elder at Arowhenua, by saying that a stick was placed upright in the ground and watched for several nights. If the star rose to the south it was a sign of good weather, but if it rose to the north it meant bad weather He added that the colour of the star was also important but does not give details (Beattie 1994: 363).[3]

MATARIKI

Matariki (European Pleiades) is a group of stars that disappears below the horizon in the eastern sky for a few weeks in late April and May each year. Tradition says that the large centre star is an old woman, Matariki, and that the lesser stars of the constellation are her six daughters. Colenso wrote: "I found that the Maori could see more stars in the Pleiades with the unaided eye than I could, for, while I could only see clearly six stars, they could see seven, and sometimes eight" (cited in Best 1972: 52).

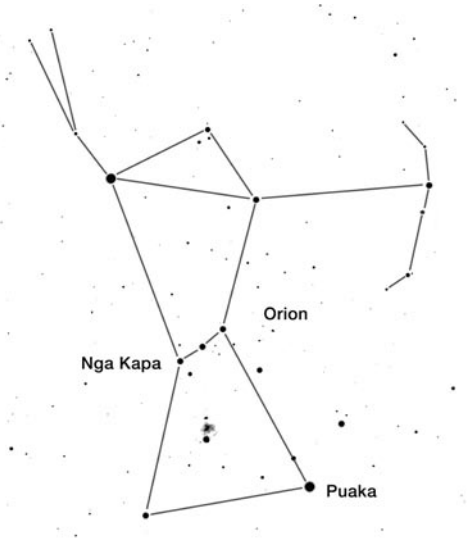

Figure 1. Orion with Nga Kapa and Puaka.

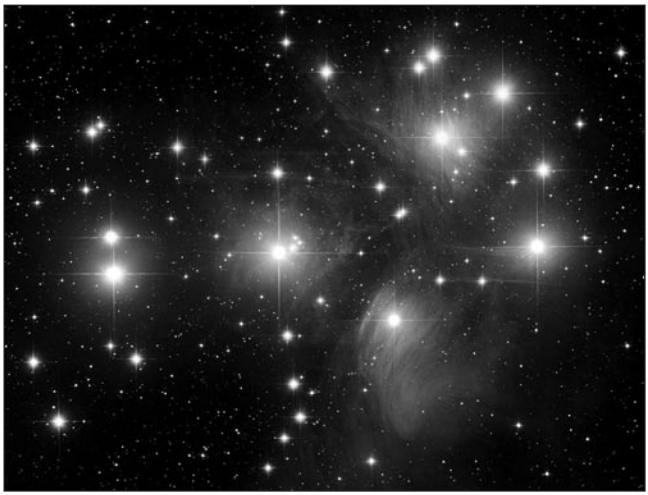

Figure 2. Te Huihuinga a Matariki. (http://antwrp.gsfc.nasa.gov/apod/ap060109.html)

Astronomers are able to expand on this aspect: Leather and Hall (2004: 63, fn. 2) wrote: "A large telescope reveals about 400 stars", but Eichhorn *et al.* (1970), using more sophisticated equipment, have identified 502, commenting that "nowhere else in the sky is there a region [with] such a star density" (p. 125). David Jaquiery, of the Beverly Begg Observatory (Dunedin), has advised that the latest estimate is in excess of two thousand stars.

The days between the appearance of Matariki and the new moon a few days later are the Māori equivalent of "April Fool's". People misbehave and even marriage contracts were considered "null and void.… Acts that would normally be unacceptable could not be punished" (Leather and Hall 2004: 63). Best mentions a similar "festival" in "the far north of our North Island" (1986: 15).

The Matariki constellation seems to have captured the imagination worldwide: the Bible, Koran and Talmud all mention the constellation and indeed Matariki features in traditions right round the world, even featuring in the Lascaux Cave paintings in southern France (Andrews 2004). A few abbreviated examples follow; Andrews provides these stories in full, along with a number of others.

- The Pleiades, in Greek myth, were the seven daughters of Pleione and Atlas.
- Australian aborigines refer to the stars as "The Seven Sisters".
- In North America some tribes refer to Matariki as "The Celestial Horse", but most have quite localised stories involving the constellation and various local ancestors, often set during the early years of humankind.
- To the Hindu they were the seven wives of the seven Rishis, or saints.
- In Japan, Matariki is known as "Subaru"; thus the stars as the logo for Subaru Motors.

The reason for Matariki being so important globally, even when not associated with important economic drivers such as the cultivation of vital crops, may be as one Native American elder said: "No, we don't have an important story associated with those stars, though they do come into some of our children's stories, it's just that we can feel their forces" (Anon, pers. comm. September 2007). This is very similar to the idea expressed in *The Huarochiri Manuscript* (Saloman and Urioste 1991: 37): "They [Pleiades] are the most powerful stars we can feel." It seems not unlikely that these "forces" have been felt worldwide by folk who are close to nature.

SEASONS

Tikao noted (1990: 45) that in pre-European times, the Ngāi Tahu year had only three seasons, each denoted by the star that was regarded as being prominent at that time, as follows:

> The winter star was Takurua (Sirius) and in many areas it gave its name to the season, which was known as Makariri in the far south;
> Summer was the season of Rehua (Antares), as pointed out in the proverb: *Ngā kai i taona ai e Rehua*. (The foods cooked by Rehua) referring to the fruits that ripen in summer;
> The star of autumn was Whānui (Vega).

Takurua incorporated spring, and lasted for six lunar months (Tikao 1990: 45); Raumati or Rehua (Summer) filled three lunar months and Kāhuru or Whanui (Autumn) approximately four (Tikao used the two names for these seasons interchangeably, one referring to the star and the other to the season), the year ending when Puaka re-appeared. Best (1986: 12), cites a Dr Thomson, who said: "The New Zealand year was an imperfect mode of reckoning time, as there could never have been always 13 moons between the appearance of the Puanga star [Rigel] of one year and that of another." In fact, the Lunar months allowed for up to 30 named days but the full 30 were not used in any single month; it was a self-adjusting system with built-in flexibility (Tomoana 1920). This was also the case with the year, which commenced at the new moon following the appearance of Puaka. John White (1887 [3]: 81) explains this with a *whakataukī* 'proverb': *e rua ngā tūmā o te humāeko* 'the tail of the *huia* has two odd feathers'. The *humāeko* is the tail of the *huia* and was said to have 12 feathers: ten bunched in the centre and two (the *tūmā*) offset, one at each side—a natural phenomenon that indicated some variability on the fringes.

STARS AND WEATHER

As with Puaka, Matariki is also said to foretell the weather: when nine stars of Matariki stand apart, clearly, a good year will follow; when only six or seven stars seem to be showing and the stars are somewhat fuzzy, the following year will be poor. This portent of weather to come later in the year may well be the reason that Matariki is so closely associated with the planting of *kūmera*[4] (*Ipomoea batatas*, sweet potato) (see, for example, Best 1976: 107), as optimum conditions were required in New Zealand for a successful crop. The importance of Matariki is as an indicator of the season to come, thereby determining optimal planting seasons and which years not to plant at all. It must not be thought that Matariki was the actual planting time—this occurred

when the *kowhai* (*Sophora* sp.) bloomed as referred to in the *whakataukū*: *i hea koe i te ao o te kowhai?* 'where were you at the time of the *kowhai*?' (Mead and Grove 2001: 144). By using a natural event to mark planting time, they avoided the arbitrariness of the modern, analogue calendar, which does not adjust for early/late seasons.

Recent research has solidly established the long posited (but often disputed) human interaction between Polynesian voyagers and peoples on the western coast of South America, from whence the *kūmera* was transported into the Pacific by the voyagers (see below). So it is striking that Matariki is used by contemporary Andean potato farmers to predict the agricultural suitability of the coming season with regard to summer rains.

Immediately after the winter solstice, throughout the Andes, hundreds of groups of villagers assemble on high ridges and even the peaks of mountains (Orlove, Chaing and Cane 2002). They wait for the dawn rising of the Pleiades. "The farmers believe that they can use the particular appearance of the Pleiades to forecast the timing and quantity of precipitation that will fall in the rainy season, months later" (p. 428). In fact, Orlove and his colleagues claim to have "uncovered its scientific basis" (p. 428).

Orlove (anthropologist), Chaing (climatologist) and Cane (climatologist) visited the Andes to observe the Pleiades, record precipitation in the following season and to document the associated potato yield. Villagers in the Peruvian and Bolivian Highlands live under constant pressure from altitude and climate, which limit the growing season to rainy months between October and March. However, if soil moisture is too low, seed potatoes will not produce strong shoots, and if the ground freezes the plants will suffer damage. So, at planting time, the farmers need an indication of adequate soil moisture and air temperature during the growing season, in order that their valuable seed not be wasted. The researchers "had a strong hunch that their scheme could be connected with a well-known phenomenon of tropical climate: El Niño" (Orlove *et al.* 2002: 429), which can affect precipitation during the wet months, but they asked how could it alter the apparent brightness of the Pleiades in June?

> [The villagers] look to see whether the cluster is bright or dim,… whether the Pleiades are visible before June 24th… [and] they evaluate the size of the cluster… all closely connected to the relative clarity of the atmosphere.… In years when the Pleiades are bright, large, numerous or otherwise favorable, they plant potatoes at the usual time. However, when the Pleiades are dim, small, scanty or otherwise unfavorable, they anticipate that the rains will arrive late and be sparse, so they postpone planting by several weeks. (Orlove *et al.* 2002: 430)

Some of the villagers said that in extreme years they would not plant at all, as they would lose their seed. The similarities to Māori planting of *kūmera* raises the question of whether there could be a common origin for the two sets of traditional practice.

Orlove *et al.* went on to state that their "earliest firm date for this form of forecasting is the late 16th century" and, accordingly, they "hypothesise that these forecasts do date to pre-Columbian times and represent a survival of ancient Andean traditions" (p. 432).

MATARIKI AND *KŪMERA*

On initial consideration, the Puaka and Matariki traditions may seem to suggest a cultural difference and perhaps, therefore, even different origins for the Māori groups that observe them. However, to answer this, it is necessary to first ask: as Puaka is the harbinger of the New Year in the South Island, for Moriori in the Chathams, some folk in South Taranaki and others around the Hokianga and Far North, what do these groups have in common? The answer can perhaps be found in *whakapapa* 'genealogy' as all speak to an ancient origin, so maybe the when is more important than the whence? Might it be that these "Puaka *iwi*" could have arrived some generations before those tribes whose reckoning is based on Matariki?

Those tribes, which I call the "Mataliki *iwi*", arrived later and their *whakapapa* are of fewer generations.[5] Over the next few generations, these new arrivals imposed themselves on the earlier "Puaka tribes" throughout the country, as has been asserted by, for example, Ranginui Walker (1990: 45):

> Na Toi raua ko Potiki te whenua, na Tuhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga.
> The land belonged to Toi and Potiki, the mana and chieftainship belonged to Tuhoe.
> ….
> The acknowledgement of mana whenua as belonging to the tangata whenua and chieftainship as coming from canoe migrants also occurred in the interior.

The traditions associated with the later arrivals which were certainly many generations after the *waka*, such as the Uruao, which had brought the earlier arrivals, invariably mention that there were existing inhabitants (which have become widely known as "the tāngata whenua tribes" [Walker 1990]). Taonui (2006) and Mitchell and Mitchell (2006) mention the antiquity of Uruao and even Simmons (1976) attests to the two different depths of *whakapapa*. Interestingly, there are strong *whakapapa* links between all the groups mentioned as having a Puaka tradition: the ancestral canoe of Waitaha, Uruao, called in at the Hokianga on its way to Te Wāipounamu, some 45

generations before 1900. Traditions say that some of the migrants remained there (Beattie 1918: 144, quoting Taare Te Maihāroa), and this is supported by *whakapapa* from the Hokianga, as well as linguistic evidence (Rameka Cope, pers. comm. 1987). *Whakapapa* from Te Wāipounamu and the Far North are mutually supportive, both in generation depth and mutual ancestors (see Beattie 1941; also Mohi Tawhai as cited in Beattie 1941). Broughton (1979) contains several South Taranaki *whakapapa* of similar depth. (I am not suggesting here that *whakapapa* is a reliable absolute dating system—just that it provides useful relativity between canoe arrivals.)

The Moriori of Rēkohu have a tradition that some of their ancestors were blown from Te Wāipounamu to the Chatham Islands (Tikao 1990: 102). The people known as Rapuwai left Pātea in South Taranaki shortly after the arrival of the Aotea canoe and crossed to Te Wāipounamu to merge with Waitaha.

> Turi, captain of the Aotea canoe, and his crew settled among them, in Taranaki. A dispute arose, and some of those involved took seven kos [digging sticks] and stuck them in a point of land jutting out from the coast. This caused the point to become detached from the coast and it floated out to sea carrying six kos with it, leaving the other ko behind on the mainland. The drifting land with the people on it landed at Taumatatini, near Motueka. The six ko turned into a clump of bush which can still be seen at Taumatatini. The leader of these unique voyagers was Raumano and his followers were known as Raumano after him. One of their first settlements was near Te Hoiere (Pelorus Sound) at a place called Raumano, now often called Te Mano-o-te-Rapuwai. They were a prolific people and soon spread inland. They liked nothing better than to settle round lakes as they were fond of eeling, canoeing and swimming, so that the lakes down Westland way soon harboured a large colony of them. When years later the Rapuwai and Kati Mamoe intermarried the name "Patea" reverted to and was used to describe the amalgamated hapus. (Anon. 1930, see also Smith,1910: 127)

Broughton (1979), drawing on *whakapapa*, suggested that the Aotea arrived 24 generations before 1900, that is, some 20 generations after the arrival of the Uruao. He also argued persistently that the Aotea arrivals had little impact on Ngā Rauru *whakapapa* or culture and that Ngā Rauru predated the arrival of the Aotea by seven generations (see p. 10, Genealogy 9 and 10, p. 55).

Traditions from a number of tribal areas attest that the earliest migrants did not bring *kūmera* with them; it was introduced by later arrivals (Best 1976: 24-25, 106-111; for Bay of Plenty, see Pio 1967: 104; for East Coast, North Island, see Tikao 1990: 62; for South Island, see Tikao 1990: 64; for Taranaki, see Smith 1910: 19). Tikao also mentions (p. 62) that at the time of its introduction to New Zealand, *kūmera* was not universally available

in Hawaiiki, but only grown by a certain group. Such a tradition is quite consistent with the sources above, attesting to *kūmera* being unknown to the earliest migrants. This, and the lack of ubiquity suggested by Tikao, may reflect that *kūmera* was then relatively new, even in East Polynesia. Green (2005) suggested its introduction in the 11th to 12th centuries, a range that sits comfortably between the dates of the very earliest Polynesian migration to New Zealand and the later arrivals of some centuries later. By the time of these later canoes, *kūmera* had become an important commensal and is mentioned in conjunction with many of these canoes (Smith 1910: 87, also see Davidson 1984: 24, and importantly Evans 1997 for Aotea, Horouta, Mataatua, Tainui, Te Arawa and Tokomaru).

Kirch and Green noted (2001: 268-69): "[T]he Ancestral Polynesian lunar calendar was primarily a *horticultural* calendar, closely linked with the main phases of the yam crop, and with the wet-dry seasonality of the Polynesian homeland region." Strictly, they are correct, given the antiquity and ubiquity of the yam throughout Polynesia. However, in some of East Polynesia, the *kūmera* supplanted the yam as the premier crop and it was the *kūmera* that became of supreme importance to Māori once they had adapted its horticulture to New Zealand conditions and it was cultivation of the *kūmera* that was most closely associated with Matariki.

There now seems to be no doubt that the *kūmera* originated in South America[6] and was carried westward into the Pacific by human agency (Davidson 1984: 24, Green 2005, Yen 1974: 245). In other words, following initial East Polynesian settlement and perhaps quite early in the East Polynesian settlement period, some Polynesians made contact with South America, secured the sweet potato, and carried it westward, and eventually to New Zealand.

As early as 1938, Te Rangi Hiroa [Peter Buck] posited a South American origin for *kūmera*. He suggests Polynesian agency and a north Peruvian origin, as in the Kechua dialect, of that region, the name *kumar* is given to the plant (Buck 1938: 314). More recently, Doug Yen, in his seminal study of *kūmera*, established that South America (probably Peru) is the original home of *kūmera* (1974: 248) and that it spread westward from there. Initially, he proposed, the transfer was to Tahiti, the Marquesas and the Cook Islands, and later to the extremities of Polynesia. He suggested that this is likely to have originally occurred early in the second millennium AD (1974: 260). Introduction to New Zealand, he wrote (1974: 269), seems to have been around the middle of the 14th century (p. 291) and that this coincides with New Zealand's earliest "storage structures" (p. 269), which he dates AD 1350. Recent DNA testing on chickens in Chile has proven beyond reasonable doubt that Polynesians did in fact reach South America (Storey *et al.* 2007). Both these researchers and

Matthews (2006: 96) have pointed out that given "that the Polynesian name *kumara* is based on an American name for the plant is proof that Polynesian and American people had face to face contact" (Storey *et al.* 2007: 10335).

Davidson wrote (1984: 24): "The kumara became extremely important in New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter Island, although in historic times it was of little significance in other parts of East Polynesia and probably did not reach West Polynesia at all."

If the close association of Matariki and *kūmera* came from continental South America then that could explain why Matariki had not supplanted Puaka in many of the more western parts of Polynesia. Dates for this transfer of *kūmera* cohere around the 1100-1300 AD period posited by Green (2005: 46) and may be supported by the finding by Kirch and Green (2001: 125) that **Mata-liki* as a month name is absent from the Fijian and Tongic calendars, but present throughout East Polynesia (supported, for Samoa by Pavihi, pers. comm. 2007). Yams were certainly brought to New Zealand but were of limited importance compared with *kūmera*. Was the importance of Matariki to the cultivation of *kūmera* sufficient that it supplant Puaka as the sign of the New Year? Certainly, this was so on the west coast of Te Wāipounamu, where an aged informant said, "Puaka is our new year. Matariki is an agricultural star [sic]" (cited in Andersen n.d.: 105).

Elsdon Best commented that Māori… "surrounded his [sic] principal cultivated food product with a network of myths, superstitions, *tapu*, and ritual performances. His procedure in the matter of cultivation of the *kumara* resembles a religious function" (1976: [7]).

This was likely to be a reflection of the difficulty of growing it at higher latitudes, as there is no evidence of the same intensity of ritual in Island Polynesia.

So, while Matariki and its predictive ability were known in Te Wāipounamu, it did not replace Puaka as harbinger of the New Year—perhaps because *kūmera* did not become a reliable crop through most of the tribal area.

The suggestion that there may be a connection between *kūmera* and a Matariki New Year, and that this may have emanated from South America is not to deny a long Polynesian tradition of Matariki in its own right. Kirch and Green have attested to associations between Pleiades and the green sea turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) (2001: 260), and between Pleiades and yams (*Dioscorea alata, D. esculenta*), "a dominant crop in Western Polynesia" (Kirch and Green 2001: 265). In addition, I do not claim that all *matauranga* associated with *kūmera* is of South American origin. Clearly, much of it developed as the *kūmera* was adapted to New Zealand conditions. We can dismiss, however, Best's claims (1986) that the Pleiades New Year emanates from Asia, particularly since he did not offer any supporting evidence.

The origins of the traditions may be somewhat obscured by time but many remnants survive and the recent revival of the concept of a "Māori New Year" is certainly an encouragement to further study. It is my hope that this paper will encourage others to research further.

NOTES

1. North Island Puanga.
2. Most of the *whakapapa* used have been cross-referred to versions from more than one *iwi*.
3. The astute reader will note a contradiction between the above and the quote from Tikao in the previous paragraph. The inconsistency appears in Beattie 1994: on page 201 south is good and north bad, yet on page 363 the opposite is stated. The main point is that the variability predicts.
4. North Island *kūmara*.
5. What I am calling the "Mataliki *iwi*" corresponds more or less to the "Great Fleet" as posited by Percy Smith (1910). Smith's story was that the named ancestral *waka*, which became the names of the tribes, arrived around the middle of the 14th century, or some 24 generation before 1900. Smith's "Great Fleet" story has been largely discredited (see especially Simmons 1976) and for the most part rejected over the past quarter century.
6. Dunis (2005: 94), citing a personal communication from "[t]he Inca specialist Maria Rostworowski", advised that the very name "*kumara*" is of South American origin.

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Oral Informants

Afamasega Pavihi, Samoan Elder
Barney Jnr Old Coyote, Crow Elder and member Tribal Cultural Committee
David Jaquiery, astronomer, Beverly Begg Observatory, Dunedin
Haman Wise, Shoshone Elder and Tribal Cultural Representative
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ABSTRACT

Recent years have seen the emergence of regular activities, each June in New Zealand, to coincide with what is usually referred to as "The Māori New Year", generally known as "Matariki". However, within my tribal area, as well as in a number of others, the term "Puaka" was used instead. The article examines these differing tribal traditions and proposes a possible explanation for the two schools of thought.

Keywords: Matariki, Puaka, Māori New Year, *kūmera/kūmara*

PERSISTENT PRIMITIVISMS: POPULAR AND ACADEMIC DISCOURSES ABOUT PACIFIC & MĀORI CINEMA AND TELEVISION

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A triumvirate of films in the twenties and early thirties—Flaherty's *Moana* (1926), Murnau's *Tabu* (1931) and to a lesser extent Van Dyke's *White Shadows in the South Seas* (1928)—consolidated the prevailing and enduring cinematic trope for the Pacific. They established a cinematic archive upon which film and television throughout the 20th century and into the 21st has drawn (Pearson 2010). All three envisioned the Pacific as a region of isolated, sparsely populated tropical islands whose inhabitants were ideally untainted by commerce or industrialism. They advanced a powerfully persuasive "ethnographic" vision, asserting cultural authenticity predicated in large part on the strength of location shooting.[1] Their appeal lay in their capacity to provide audiences in Europe and North America not only with exotic imagery, the promise of escape and ethnographic spectacle, but with seductive projections of difference against which they could compare, interrogate and evaluate their own sense of modernity (Geiger 2007).

Critics have argued that American audiences watching these films upon their initial release would have recognised that these visions of paradise were highly contrived. Referring to *White Shadows in the South Seas*, Geiger wrote that "certainly, most audiences in 1928 would have known the unspoiled island at the heart of the film was an invention" (2002: 110). If audiences in the twenties were able to suspend relatively sophisticated knowledge about the scope of colonial intervention in the Pacific in order to indulge in the pleasures of primitivist cinematic spectacle, it is far from clear that contemporary audiences and critics are capable or perhaps willing to do the same. Pacific romanticism continues to exert palpable force in the popular and academic critical literature about motion pictures set in the Pacific. Its persistence is all the more remarkable given the spatial, temporal, socio-political, intellectual and creative milieu that global audiences inhabit and in the types of motion pictures that are currently being produced.

In the last decade a growing cohort of Pacific Islanders based primarily in New Zealand, and henceforth referred to as "Pasifika",[2] and Māori have been making feature films, dramatic shorts and television series for domestic and international release. Television series such as *bro'Town* (2004-2009) and

the film *No. 2* (2006) have impressed critics while *Sione's Wedding* (2006) and *Sione's 2: Unfinished Business* (2012) have achieved broad popular appeal. Taika Waititi's sophomore feature *BOY* (2010) accomplished both.[3] These productions have not only been shaped by conditions of modernity, particularly by the dictates of transnational capital, global audiences and the culture industries, but many of them foreground how Pacific subjectivities are now profoundly enmeshed in complex global repertoires of mediated images and narratives (Appadurai 1996, Hokowhitu 2012, Smith, 2012). The characters in *bro'Town*, *Sione's Wedding* and *BOY* are no longer ciphers onto which Western fantasies (erotic or otherwise) can be projected, nor are they consigned to authenticate isolated exotic tropical locations. Instead the boys on *bro'Town* are experts on *Little House on the Prairie* (1974-1983) trivia, the best mates in *Sione's Wedding* text away in dank urban singles bars, and the protagonists of *BOY* mash-up Michael Jackson's *Thriller* with *kapa haka*.[4]

Film critics and media scholars, faced with the escalating unfeasibility of maintaining the fictions that underlie historically pervasive primitivist tropes of timeless Pacific tradition and isolated innocence, might reasonably be expected to have engaged with these developments.[5] Yet, the criticism generated (and sometimes not generated) in academic studies and among film critics reveals that "romantic" ways of thinking about Pacific cinematic and televisual representation are not so easily discharged. Even politically progressive narratives find themselves subject to the gravity of romanticism. The sheer persistence of assumptions in the analytical literature that continue to cast Pacific subjects as timeless, innocent and primitive remind us of the resilience of what Trouillot calls "the Savage slot" (1991, 2003).

THE SAVAGE SLOT

Trouillot describes "the Savage slot" as a structural repository integral to organising the project of global legitimation referred to as "the West". He quips "ever since the West became the West, Robinson has been looking for Friday" (Trouillot 2003: 17). Historically the West's vision of order relied on the existence of two complementary spaces configured as "the here and the elsewhere". Both were "premised [upon] one another and were conceived as inseparable" (Trouillot 1991: 32). "Elsewhere" was figured as utopia and although theoretically it could be anywhere, in the context of the geo-political conquest incited by Columbus's rediscovery of the Americas, it effectively became a colonial space inhabited by "others". These others (who axiomatically originated from elsewhere) became "the Savage": a North Atlantic projection that enabled the West to consolidate and define its own sense of self.[6]

The Savage slot's content was never fixed and therefore capable of attributing widely divergent qualities to its occupants. Savages could "be noble, wise, barbaric, victim or aggressor, depending upon the debate and on the aims of the interlocutors" (Trouillot 2003: 23). They nevertheless captivated the Western imagination for more than 500 years, inspiring a wide range of literary and cinematic practices as well as academic pursuits.[7]

Trouillot delineates the Savage slot in his attempt to propose solutions to the disciplinary crisis anthropologists experienced in the 80s and 90s. He observes that charged with formally studying and producing knowledge about primitive others, anthropology progressively lost sight of its object of study over the course of the 20th century. Subjects of ethnographic inquiry were no longer neatly contained in remote and timeless locales. The tides of modernity progressively eroded the primitive's once unambiguous alterity and anthropologists whose *raison d'être* involved simultaneously chronicling the Savage's primordialism and his or her humanity now faced a potentially unhappy fate. In the field, the anthropologist

> camera and notebooks in hand,…[looks] for the Savage, but the Savage has vanished. The problem starts with the fated inheritance of the moderns themselves. The world that the anthropologist inherits has wiped out the empirical trace of the Savage-object: Coke bottles and cartridges now obscure the familiar tracks…. Lingering conditions of modernity make the notion a hard one to evoke in imagination, now that hordes of Savages have joined the slums of the Third World or touched the shores of the North Atlantic. (Trouillot 2003: 24)

According to Trouillot, the resolution to anthropology's crisis involves acknowledging and embracing the world that modernity has produced rather than persistently repudiating it. "With refugees at the gates, diasporas in the midst, and peasant kids dreaming of Nike shoes, most anthropologists cannot deny that the world has changed and that therefore the discipline that claims to cover the whole of humanity must also change" (Trouillot, 2003: 118). Anthropologists are advised to deconstruct the symbolic order upon which the discipline was founded; to destabilise the Savage slot by legitimising rather than marginalising indigenous discourse. This manoeuvre would produce dynamic and contested fields of knowledge, rather than reinforcing what the West knows about the rest. The ensuing fields of knowledge would be inherently plural and specific. "Once we pluralize the native, the category itself becomes untenable and the Savage slot becomes open to deconstruction" (Trouillot 2003: 136).

The Savage slot is already under this type of pressure from various creative quarters. In the contemporary Pacific, exhibitions such as *One Noble Savage*

and Two Dusky Maidens (Hastings-McFall *et al.* 2000) and works such as Shigeyuki Kihara's *Fa'afafine: In the Manner of a Woman* (2004-2005)[8] satirise colonial stereotypes. The multimedia collective Pacific Sisters attest to the collapse of the divide between the West's here and the Savage's elsewhere by producing work inspired by their urban contexts. Pacific Sister Rosanna Raymond has stated, "We get our inspiration from our immediate urban/media environment….We don't stare at coconut trees—we stare at motorways" (Raymond 1997).[9] These artists distance themselves from romantic assumptions about paradisiacal primitives, asserting the modern quotidian context in which they live and work.

Postcolonial developments in cinema, performance and fine art fortify Trouillot's optimism about anthropology's futures and its capacity to unthink the Savage slot (Trouillot 2003: 137-39). Indigenous scholars in New Zealand and in the Pacific are also making significant contributions (Hokowhitu 2012, Smith 2012). Perhaps these activities mean that the project stands a chance but it is also quite possible that the Savage slot's power and appeal as a structural category has been underestimated. The West may have irrevocably changed but its project continues to exert tremendous force. As a constitutive co-ordinate of that project, the Savage slot is not easily disestablished. Anthropology has not been the only literary practice susceptible to its force; film and media studies are implicated as well.

BRO'TOWN

In the spring of 2004, the prime time animated television series *bro'Town*, featuring five adolescent Polynesian boys, premiered on New Zealand television. Proclaiming itself "The Simpsons of the South Pacific" (Nippert 2004), the show satirised race relations in the local cultural-scape of Auckland, New Zealand's largest metropolitan centre. Jointly produced by television producer Elizabeth Mitchell and the Naked Samoans, an improvisational theatrical troupe, *bro'Town* was considered a critical and commercial success. The show's idioms rapidly entered the performative repertoire of the show's most avid and devoted demographic, five to twelve year olds who parroted its vernacular slogans "Morningside for Life", "not even ow" and the sexually suggestive "peow peow" so much so that some local schools finally banned them (Barry 2005).

As "easily the most successful TV show made by and centred to some degree on Polynesians", Bannister reckoned the show was "symptomatic of the cultural ascendancy of Pacific Island diaspora culture" (2008: 1). Although its New Zealand fan base and ratings diminished over the series' five season run (Barry 2009),[10] the show's overall success at attracting a mainstream audience nevertheless paved the way for subsequent projects made by Pasifika

key creatives about diasporic Polynesian subjects, including the feature film *Sione's Wedding* and its sequel *Sione's Wedding 2: Unfinished Business*.

Perhaps ultimately more *South Park* (1997-present) than *The Simpsons* (1989-present), particularly in its use of scatological and puerile adolescent masculine humour, *bro'Town* derived much of its comedy by exaggerating ethnic stereotypes. The antics of adolescent brothers Vale and Vale'a, their neighbour Sione, and mates Mack and Jeff da Māori in the semi-fictional, inner-city adjacent suburb of Morningside provided numerous opportunities to lampoon stereotypes that characterise Pasifika and Māori as underprivileged, poorly educated, State dependent and prone to domestic violence. The show combined rampant intertextuality with politically incorrect satire, producing critical social commentary. By gleefully attacking both ends of the political spectrum (assumed as middle-class Pākehā[11] liberals and Polynesian conservatives), the show appealed to a broad audience on the basis of its apparent anti-authoritarianism and irreverence. Subverting stereotype, however, was only one aspect of the show's attack on the Savage slot.

bro'Town rejected cinematic paradisiacal tropes such as those perpetuated by 20th century South Seas films by situating itself in multi-ethnic suburban settings populated by cosmopolitan characters, narratives and semiotics. The series refused to indulge its audiences' appetite for televisual paradise by ridiculing perceived audience expectations for tropical tropes and primitive sightings in its *mise-en-scène*.[12] Furthermore, by repudiating realism with its two dimensional animation the series offered audiences an "informational minimalism" that forced them to interpret the show using their own extratextual knowledge, which they did "by drawing on the vast visual chaos of signs, forms and types that postmodern media and living continually press upon us" (Bannister 2008: 10). *bro'Town* richly rewarded audiences for their popular media literacy. Its effects, however, arguably exceeded the smug satisfaction that comes from getting inside jokes about syndicated American television. The series potentially offered Pasifika new categories of global inclusion by rewarding rather than disparaging their popular cultural competencies, effectively asserting their place as Western subjects rather than Savage objects. *bro'Town*'s extensive use of intertextuality might place it squarely in the purview of Jameson's (1991) critique of postmodernism where productive parody is effectively dead, having been replaced by clever but superficial and ultimately meaningless pastiche. This approach, however, misses *bro'Town*'s socially and politically affective force. Intertextuality in this instance could been seen as enabling the show to "talk back to more authoritative texts and genres,… recontextualiz[ing] and pollut[ing] their meaning-construction processes, and to offer other, 'improper,' and yet more media literate and savvy interpretations" (Gray 2006: 4). The moral

pedagogy of the show, although admittedly uneven, nevertheless used prevalent discourses about ethnicity, gender and class to problematise those discourses and expose them as familiar and perhaps pleasurable, but not necessarily "true" (Bannister 2008: 9).

bro'Town was not universally celebrated. A number of prominent Māori and Samoan intellectuals deplored its exaggerated use of stereotype, condemning the series for perpetuating rather than undermining conditions that entrench racial inequity (Anae in Misa 2006, Spratt 2006). For example,

> Melanie Anae has argued that bro'Town promotes the stereotype of 'the happy-go-lucky' funny brown coconut that Pacific Islanders 'fought against in the 70s', and that Kightley is one of a number of Pacific artists, playwrights, and entertainers who 'pick the negatives of our cultures and get rich on it by entertaining people'. (Keown 2008: 53)

Wholly legitimate concerns about the show's political effects ironically reinforce the Savage slot. Anae's critique is premised on a conception of identity as essential rather than discursively produced. She criticises *bro'Town*'s failure or its unwillingness to correctly represent "real" adolescent Samoan boys and their community. The conception of a "real" essential (and therefore necessarily singular) Samoan identity, rather than a plurality of Samoan subjectivities and experiences, reproduces conditions under which Samoans are produced as primordial "savage objects" rather than legitimate modern subjects inherent in and in dialogue with the project of "the West".

Comparisons between *bro'Town* and *The Simpsons* or *South Park* are not merely incidental or the effect of "clever marketing" but rather reflect strategies to produce television that straddles both local and transnational values. These values are vital to commercial viability. Lustyik and Smith (2009) characterise *bro'Town* as a "hybrid media text" that exhibits culturally specific attributes while reflecting "the global synchronization of world markets" (Kraidy in Lustyik and Smith 2009: 335). For television producers, consumers and critics in commercially marginal markets such as New Zealand, hybridity can mean the proverbial glass is half empty or half full. The glass half empty perspective regards *bro'Town* as a fatal compromise capitulating to the dictates of a transnational television industry and a populist local audience both of which favour a progressively narrowing spectrum of formats that can be hybridised *ad infinitum* to suit the demands of commercial interests (Lustyik 2010). This approach tends to regard shows like *bro'Town* as hopelessly derivative and creatively beholden to a set of politically regressive constraints far beyond the producers' or the audience's control. The glass half full approach argues that producer Elizabeth Mitchell and the Naked Samoans acknowledged and engaged with the conditions under which they could

maximise their chances for commercial and creative success rather than be alienated by them. They faced risk because New Zealand television producers have struggled with comedy. Animation is notoriously expensive, labour intensive and, in the New Zealand context, relatively uncharted territory. However, the gamble Mitchell and the Naked Samoans took, if successful, capitalised upon animation's broad appeal. Animation reputedly transcends national cultural boundaries more easily thereby increasing its commercial viability.[13] It also has a longer shelf life and often enjoys a lucrative symbiotic relationship with merchandising. Both approaches, half empty and half full are potentially valid, but the choice to produce animated comedy could be seen in many respects as a bold manoeuvre that reflected hybridising trends in other indigenous Pacific-based productions such as the Māori science fiction series *Mataku* (2002-05).

TRANSNATIONAL TELEVISUAL HYBRIDITY

Television producers, journalists and academics have described *Mataku* (The Quivering) as a kind of Māori *X-Files* (Glynn and Tyson 2007) or an incarnation of the Māori *Twilight Zone* (Cardno and Prebble 2002: 74). The series aired on commercial New Zealand broadcaster TV3[14] and the public service oriented Māori Television Service (MTS) in primetime between 2002 and 2005. It combined characteristics from supernatural, magical realist television genres such as the *X-Files* (1993-2002) or *Tales from the Crypt* (1989-1996) with "treasured stories that often concern cosmic supernatural payback dealt to those who've broken tapu or transgressed against the spirit of the land" (Glynn and Tyson 2007: 214). *Mataku* has generally been celebrated as an example of hybrid television that facilitates the production of an indigenous public sphere because of its use of *te reo* Māori ,[15] its subject matter and its use of magical realism. Series co-creators, Bradford Haami and Carey Carter, began developing *Mataku* in the early 90s but progress on the project had effectively stalled until financial backers recognised the series' international potential.[16] Glynn and Tyson (2007) describe the cruel circularity that has doomed most indigenous projects because mainstream media and audiences are deterred by their anti-colonial critique. "Indigenous mediamakers' historical focus on the production of interventionist programming… reinforces television networks' perception that indigenous content alienates majority audiences" (Glynn and Tyson 2007: 208). By engaging with the parameters and values set in the transnational televisual marketplace, the makers of *Mataku* achieved twin objectives: to produce "indigenous narratives through the frameworks of globally familiar generic models, while… continually reassert(ing) and reestablish(ing) the distinctiveness of Māori connections to Aotearoa, to the land" (Glynn and

Tyson 2007: 216). The series' successful international sales record prompted observers to describe it as the most successful Māori television series to date. *Mataku's* success arguably paved the way for subsequent supernaturally inflected series such as the *Kaitangata Twitch* (2010), which also combined magical realism and drama. A more recent example of generic hybridity, however, was the reality television series *The G.C.* (2012), which represented Māori transmigration to Australia's Gold Coast using a premise and style that mimicked two of MTVs scripted reality series: *The Jersey Shore* (2009-2012) and *The Hills* (2006-2010),

Albeit narratively dissimilar, both *Mataku* and *bro'Town* instrumentally aligned themselves with transnationally established genres to demonstrate their viability to network gatekeepers. Audiences unfamiliar with these series' cultural contexts or marginally unsympathetic to their politics may nevertheless have watched the shows on the basis of their genre. In this respect transnationally ascendant genres "need not be an agent of Western cultural imperialism but rather can be used to assert local interests and priorities" (Parks in Glynn and Tyson 2007: 212). *bro'Town* and *Mataku* harnessed genre to expand their influence and registers of sentiment.

Despite strategically engaging with transnational commercial television to fulfil very similar objectives, these series engendered significantly different critical responses. Critics praised *Mataku* as a strategic intervention in the indigenous and Māori public sphere whereas *bro'Town*'s role in raising the profile of Pasifika and legitimating diasporic Pacific cultures was greeted with some suspicion. In part this may have been attributed to the fact that *Mataku*'s heavy emphasis upon spirituality largely conformed to domestic and international expectations of Māori subject matter.[17] *Kaitangata Twitch* similarly invokes Māori magical realism. As will become evident when discussing *BOY*, these expectations constitute yet more evidence of the forces exerted by the Savage slot. Critical and popular perceptions of *Mataku*'s funding, through national public service agencies such as Te Mangai Paho,[18] New Zealand on Air and the New Zealand Film Commission also conspired to produce a sense of ethical purity that similarly imbued the series with an aura of noble savagery. *bro'Town*, by contrast, was partially financed through commercial sponsorship. Its explicit engagement with advertising and marketing subsequently became sites of discursive tension for the series.

PRODUCT PLACEMENT AND ACCUSATIONS OF CORPORATE CORRUPTION

Still, *bro'Town* was largely financed by New Zealand on Air (NZOA), the quasi-governmental agency charged with funding local New Zealand television content. As one might expect with government funding, NZOA funds are also earmarked to support the local television production industry.

bro'Town's intensive 2D animation meant that each episode required a workforce of about 150 animators (Toonboom 2006). Faced with a small and inadequate local labour force, Mitchell set up a small studio in Auckland and outsourced significant amounts of the workflow, first to India and then subsequently to the Philippines (Mitchell 2009). The conditions under which NZOA funds were granted for *bro'Town* did not permit production expenditure overseas, therefore Mitchell was compelled to raise private finance. Granted NZ$1.45 million from NZOA for the first series, Mitchell had to fund the balance of the first season's two million-dollar budget through alternate means (Wakefield 2004). She raised the shortfall through product placement capitalising upon advertiser interest in Polynesian youth.

One of the most sustained analyses of *bro'Town* has been a critique of its relationship to commodification (Earl 2005, 2006). Earl argues that despite its irreverent and subversive posture, *bro'Town* failed to "pry open new discursive spaces for the development of youth identities" because its counter-hegemonic stance was fatally compromised by the show's reliance on corporate sponsorship" (Earl 2006: 58).

In a country where advertising executives once openly defended the fact that "there are more dogs shown on commercials than there are Māoris [sic] and Polynesians" (Harvey in Scott 1990: 84), and television executives routinely asserted that ethnic minorities fail to rate, the change in New Zealand's media-scape has been dramatic. Greater Pasifika visibility in marketing has been attributed to advertisers' increasing sensitivity to the ascendance of multiculturalism as a commodity discourse, particularly among young people (Earl 2005: 3). Actual on-the-ground ethnic diversification attributable to increasing immigration partially accounts for greater media diversity but ethnic difference is disproportionately signified as young and Polynesian. New immigrants, most of whom are East and South Asian, remain largely invisible in advertising and on prime time television, thereby supporting the contention that Pacific youth have been singled out as "it kids" by advertisers (Earl 2005).

Greater visibility, however, does not necessarily translate into greater Polynesian youth empowerment. Earl argues that Polynesian youth have been symbolically appropriated for a kind of soft or boutique multiculturalism that serves to localise and indigenise global products (Earl 2005: 8). Therefore, Pasifika functions to signify a pluralist and inclusive politic without fundamentally challenging "the social authority of male ethnocentrism in Aotearoa New Zealand" (Earl 2005: 3). This line of argumentation is premised upon the assertion that capitalism and its handmaiden commodification can be characterised as exclusively Euro New Zealand values (Earl 2006: 56). Earl cites a history of structural inequities that have disproportionately privileged

middle-class male New Zealanders of European descent as the basis for ethnically inflected notions of capitalism (Earl 2006: 56). Her argument is problematic, not only because it reduces the potentially complex ideological effects of commercial television to its economics (Bannister 2008: 3) but also because by characterising capitalism as a strictly Western institution, *bro'Town*'s makers and audiences are firmly relegated to the Savage slot, doomed to commercial victimisation and ideological deception, forever acting as unwitting agents in their own oppression. This framework denies *bro'Town*'s fans complex subjectivities and stakes in global modernity despite the series' assertions otherwise. Instead Pasifika are considered fatally distracted by expressing their identity through regimes of consumption.

Considerations of commerce and its effects on ideological discourse significantly temper utopian readings of popular culture's subversive potential. There is a difference, however, between tempering the hyperbolic claims of *bro'Town*'s producers and reconstructing Pasifika as latter day primitives. The danger in Earl's argument is not that *bro'Town* potentially perpetuates unequal relations despite its subversive rhetoric, but that it perceives commodification as strictly exploitative and Western. This approach, although sensitive to inequality, divests Pasifika not only of participation in modernity, which is significantly shaped by capital, but of the possibilities of prevailing in that context, thereby making inroads into Pākehā privilege.

Product placement is considered pernicious because of its tendency to blur the sacrosanct divide between advertising and editorial content. There is a deep-seated suspicion that, under the terms of product placement deals, marketers will ultimately wield undue creative control. Approximately 10 percent of *bro'Town*'s budget was ultimately derived from product placement (Mitchell in McKenzie-Minifie 2006). Sponsors included transnational corporations such as telecommunications provider Vodafone, apparel company Puma, Coca Cola and Mars, Australian financial institution ASB, New Zealand beverage manufacturer Frucor, and marketing firms such as Positively Wellington, as well as public service institutions such as SPARC (Sport and Recreation New Zealand).[19] Although Earl's analysis focuses on a number of corporations, she placed particular emphasis upon Vodafone and Coca Cola (2005, 2006), fortuitously foregrounding the prominent symbolic role that Coke plays both in Trouillot's work and as a key signifier of modernity at large (Foster 2008).

Every act of telecommunication in *bro'Town* was made on a clearly marked Vodafone phone and premium internet access services such as "Vodafone Live" were prominent. Earl argues that the show allowed "Vodafone to present cell-phones as an essential aspect of the contemporary youthscape in Aotearoa New Zealand irregardless [sic] of the cost of the product" (2006: 66). The

expensive models "placed" in *bro'Town* were an issue because this type of marketing encourages a predominantly Pasifika audience, which is twice as likely to be classified as low income, to aspire to and/or purchase goods they could ill afford. *bro'Town*'s hip Polynesian masculinity therefore hailed audiences who heretofore had not seen themselves as part of the local mediascape, but only insofar as they were able identify themselves by purchasing superfluous commodities.

The accusation that Vodafone preyed upon impressionable young minds (and wallets) was undoubtedly valid in a number of respects, but the symbolic capital of cell phones as an expression of and medium through which to perform modern Pacific youth subjectivity might have exceeded the branding strategies of a telecommunications service provider on *bro'Town*. While Vodafone could be seen to be capitalising upon the caché that cell-phones have among youth audiences, there are other complicating visual representations that demonstrate how cell phones represent modern subjectivities and mediate contemporary social relations.

The pan-Polynesian rhythm and blues group Nesian Mystik was a recurrent signifier for critical discourses about *bro'Town*, both directly as the composers for the show and indirectly through rhetorics of multiculturalism and commodification. The band did not just score *bro'Town*, but one of their Top Ten hits served as the basis for a Coca Cola television advertising campaign in 2004. The television spot featured an attractive group of multicultural youth at a beach party where individuals snowboarded down an ice ramp into an inviting ocean. Earl critiques this campaign as yet another example of the ascendance of multicultural discourse in consumption-based citizenship (2005). She argues that Coca Cola co-opted Nesian Mystik's single "For the People" because it coincided with the corporation's branding strategy to represent attractive, cool, multicultural groups engaged in commodified rebellion rather than genuine political engagement (Earl 2005). Her critique, however, is potentially complicated by earlier mediations of the song.

Before Coca Cola's co-optation of the single, Nesian Mystik made a music video for "For the People".[20] This video featured each of the members of Nesian Mystik as they went about their daily routine on a Friday afternoon before an evening party at one of their families' Grey Lynn homes.[21] Beginning at the home of Nesian Mystik Feleti Strickson-Pua the transitional element between each band member was a texted photo. The video placed a significant emphasis on the social and ethnic geography of Grey Lynn, emphasising the role of family and food in social life. The "party" to which the song's chorus referred was not Coca Cola's cool, contained beachside multicultural rebellion but rather the close knit, inter-generational, pan-Polynesian networks in Auckland's inner city suburbs. Cell phones in this context were not intrusive

agents of Western neocolonial capitalist hegemony but instead could be seen as technologies facilitating "traditional" values of affect, sociability, kinship and creative collaboration.

Earl's argument assumes that Pasifika cannot be included in discourses of consumption because these inevitably involve their unethical production as a market for unaffordable commodities and as symbols of "feel good" pluralist consumption for the hegemonic mainstream. These assumptions reveal key expectations and values associated with this particular incarnation of the Savage slot. Pasifika become latter day victims of consumption rather than participants in modernity. The taint of commodification is not limited to soft drinks and mobile phones. Taken to its logical conclusion, Earl's argument reveals an assumption that in order to be considered politically legitimate, Pasifika media practices should be publicly funded rather than privately. In the case of *Mataku*, where the series was funded publicly and its political pedigree explicitly anti-colonial, the series has been celebrated for its bold hybridity, whereas *bro'Town*'s politics have attracted suspicion because of its corporate connections.

CRITICAL SILENCE: *SIONE'S WEDDING*

In the midst of *bro'Town*'s initial success, two New Zealand based Pacific films were released in 2006: *Sione's Wedding* (released in the United States as *Samoan Wedding*) and *No. 2*. Both films engendered debates about authenticity. *Sione's Wedding* was co-written and directed by non-Samoans[22] and although *No. 2* tells the story of a Fijian matriarch and her children, no ethnic Fijians were cast. Both films were well covered in the local popular press. *No. 2* received more favourable critical attention in part because the film was based on Toa Fraser's award winning play of the same name. *Sione's Wedding* was considered commercially successful, ranking the fifth most profitable New Zealand film as of December 2012 (New Zealand Film Commission, 2013).[23] In different respects then, both films were landmark events (Tamaira 2007). In casual conversation filmmakers, audiences and critics alike had plenty to say about these films including a significant amount of criticism. It is curious then that neither produced much if any critical discourse.[24]

It is possible that the lack of critical dialogue about *Sione's Wedding* was attributable in part to a sense of decorum. If one had nothing nice to say, one should say nothing at all, particularly when films like this one marked a significant intervention in the otherwise relative invisibility of Pasifika in the national media-scape. The lack of critical engagement with *Sione's Wedding* however, may also have been attributable to its *bro'Town*-like relation to commodification. The film's protagonists drink Stella Artois, talk on Vodafone

Sony Ericssons and eat McDonald's takeaways but its populist pedigree was more likely to blame. The lack of predictable angst-laden, tension filled narratives of migrant displacement, loss and pathology in conjunction with the film's romantic comedy pedigree undoubtedly contributed to the silence surrounding *Sione's Wedding*. In one of the only academic reviews about the film, special mention is made of the film's "ebullience" and its un-conflicted portrayal of a group of New Zealand Samoan men.

> The young protagonists of Samoan Wedding are not riddled with the anxiety of trying to negotiate their way between tradition and modernity; instead their feet are firmly planted in both worlds…. These cultural chameleons are as comfortable attending church on a Sunday morning (barring a hangover from the evening before) as they are sipping cappuccino in a swanky inner city café. (Tamaira 2007: 655)

The film is about four 30-something lads who must demonstrate their maturity by proving that they can sustain romantic relationships. The premise is slightly frivolous and the resolution of their dilemma is similarly light. The film's protagonists are immature and self-conscious rather than disenfranchised and angry. They are middle-class and urban rather than impoverished and dispossessed. They may hold traditional values but they are not romantic primitives and they fail to perform according to well-established tropes. As a result, the film may not have been visible to critics anticipating "something else". It looked too much like entertainment, thereby collapsing the critical divide upon which the Savage slot is premised. The film's politics are not explicitly stated but rather implied in its emphasis upon middlebrow heteronormative romance and its urban first world *mise-en-scène*. In this instance the Savage wasn't sufficiently sighted for *Sione's Wedding* to be cited in critical discourses about popular culture and performance in the Pacific.

EXCESSIVE MODERNITY: *BOY*

If critics overlooked *Sione's Wedding* the same cannot be said for Taika Waititi's *BOY*. Following its premiere at the 2010 Sundance Film Festival, *Variety* reviewer Peter Debruge described the film as a "let-down second feature expanded from his Oscar nominated short, 'Two Cars, One Night'" (2010). Debruge's critique derived largely from *BOY*'s frequent references to American popular culture. Based on Waititi's childhood experiences in the rural settlement of Waihau Bay on the East Cape of New Zealand's North Island, *BOY* was a coming of age story about 12-year-old Boy and his younger brother Rocky's encounter with their ne'er-do-well father Alamein. In many respects the story was all too familiar for a Māori film. It featured child neglect, disenfranchisement, criminality and domestic dysfunction but

Waititi asserted that his film broke new ground by giving these depressingly well-established narrative themes a comedic twist.[25] Debruge nevertheless remained unimpressed, objecting to the many markers of modernity and globalisation present in the film. He lamented, "long since severed from their tribal past, these kids have names derived from pop culture—like Dynasty, Dallas and Falcon Crest" (Debruge 2010). Extended references to Michael Jackson, in the narrative itself but presumably also in the *Poi E-Thriller* mash-up that accompanied the credits simply fuelled Debruge's displeasure. He betrayed his desires to sight the Savage by decrying the film's lack of "spirituality", writing "only Boy's kid brother Rocky (Te Aho Eketone-Whitu), seems remotely spiritual" (Debruge 2010). Debruge concluded that without what he describes as "anthropological edge" the film would fail to attract independent film's all important international art house audience.

Debruge's comments met with swift and heated local response. Actor Tammy Davis, responded by rebuking Debruge's exoticist expectations. He posted the following comment on *Variety'*s website,

> Peter, growing up Māori on the East Coast of New Zealand is not all riding whales. What culturally specific aspects were you missing? Were young Māori in the early 80s too busy learning to keen and chant and wail to be concerned with schoolyard crushes and the phenomenon that was Michael Jackson? Then I am afraid to say I am a let down of a Māori, because in the 80s this was all there was for me. (Davis, in Wichtel 2010)

Waititi responded with similar irritation to the reviewer's primitivist expectations, observing that cinematic desires for spiritualism and ethnographic authenticity are fulfilled and fuelled in ways that make those desires prescriptive. His response was predicated in part upon the positive international reaction to *The Whale Rider* (2002), a film also set on the East Cape but one that characterises contemporary Māori as spiritually tied to nature and largely isolated from the outside world. Waititi gently mocked Debruge's exoticist expectations on *BOY's* official website by including a small figure riding a breaching whale on its splash page.[26]

Debruge's review also provoked a reaction among indigenous academics. In 2012 Jo Smith and Ocean Mercier edited a special edition of the *New Zealand Journal of Media Studies* dedicated to *BOY*. Although diverse in their opinions about the emancipatory potential of the film (some contributors felt Waititi successfully subverted the Savage slot [Huarcaya 2012], while others felt that the film reproduced colonial disenfranchisement [Kavka and Turner 2012, Pihama 2012]), the contributors to the volume nevertheless consistently took Debruge to task for his retrograde anthropological desires (Hokowhitu

2012, Smith 2012). Smith, in particular criticised him for failing to accord indigenous filmmakers the same rights as other directors to openly imagine and create narratives of identity (Smith 2012: 4).

It is tempting to dismiss an American film reviewer like Debruge as hopelessly misinformed about the metropolitan aspects of the contemporary Pacific. It is also quite possible to dismiss the kind of criticism published in a trade journal like *Variety* as intellectually inconsequential. Debruge's assumptions, however, as unpalatable as they might seem, are nevertheless significant. Trade reviews influence box office performance. Box office returns reflect a film's distribution and determine to some extent the likelihood of a director's subsequent creative opportunities. Ticket sales are not a definitive measure of success or value, but they are worth considering. Debruge's lukewarm review resonated with international box office figures. Whereas *BOY* earned NZ $9.3 million in New Zealand, it earned an underwhelming US $256,000 dollars in the U.S. (Box Office Mojo 2013a). This sum was significantly more than *Sione's Wedding*, which earned US $72,244 under the title of *Samoan Wedding* (Box Office Mojo 2013b), but significantly less than *Whale Rider*, which earned over US $20 million domestically and internationally (Box Office Mojo 2013c). These figures support Debruge's prediction that films such as *Whale Rider*, which promote romantic visions of Māori indigenous spirituality and closeness to nature appeal to international audiences looking for what they perceive as an anthropological allegory. To some extent *BOY*'s failure to turn its critical success at Sundance and The Berlin International Film Festival into international box office receipts suggests that distribution companies shared Debruge's 'highly prescriptive views on what an Indigenous filmmaker must provide' (Smith 2012: 66). Distribution companies are significant here because of the gatekeeping role they play. Audiences only see and develop tastes for what becomes available to them. Despite *BOY*'s domestic box office success and international recognition, no international distributor was willing to take it to the American market (Silverman 2012). In the end, a consortium of small independent U.S. distributors (Unison, Radius and Paladin) distributed the film independently with Waititi raising the print and advertising budget through the crowd funding website Kickstarter (Daniell 2012). Ultimately, *BOY* was released in a very limited number of cities ranging from New York and Los Angeles to Salt Lake City and Santa Cruz. In stark contrast *Whale Rider* was picked up by Newmarket Films, a well-financed distributor who entered the North American market aggressively, capitalising upon the favourable response of festival audiences to the film's mysticism (Berney in Toumarkine 2003: 20), its armchair anthropological approach (Hokowhitu 2007), and its economic value as a rare film that adults could take their kids to (Laemmle in Ross 2012: 30).

The international expectations about anthropological allegory and good indigenous filmmaking that underpin Debruge's review cannot be dismissed as merely idiosyncratic or personal. Indeed the *Variety* reviewer for the Samoan film *The Orator* (2011) also invokes anthropology in her review. In this instance she reports that director Tamasese "explodes myths" and "balances cultural insight with storytelling" that renders the "exotic comprehensible" producing a film that has more than "merely anthropological interest" (Felperin 2011). Notwithstanding the fact that her review is positive and Debruge's borders on negative, the anthropologically authentic South Seas cinematic standard against which they implicitly judge contemporary Pacific and Māori film is discernible.

* * *

Critical and popular discourses that detect traces of "Cokes and cartridges" or, in the case of *BOY*, Michael Jackson and the comic character the Incredible Hulk, have produced criticisms that reveal the ongoing presence of a political economic, thematic and narrative Savage slot operating in Pacific representation. Rather than enacting vernacular modernities in circumstances not entirely under their own control, Pasifika seem to be imagined as properly outside of global popular culture and regimes of commodification. If they do participate in commodity relations they are immediately dupes of Euro-New Zealand hegemonies, doomed to participate in their own dispossession.

bro'Town's claims to subversion and irreverence need to be considered in the context of televisual promotion rather than as hard evidence of a politically formulated agenda. The producers of the series *bro'Town* might have aspired to effect social change (and arguably they did in the schoolyard and perhaps even beyond) but they were also impelled to promote the distinctiveness of their product, which they did by emphasising how the show intervened in New Zealand's heretofore televisual whiteness. While the series may have failed to pry open emancipatory spaces in which complex Polynesian youth identities could be articulated (Earl 2006: 61), the series clearly opened spaces for more Pacific visibility in the public sphere. It also produced capital and ongoing professional opportunities for the Naked Samoans, even if it did so in addition to lining the pockets of TV3's owners Ironbridge Capital. Criticising the series for exploiting Vodafone's marketing strategies reduces the social dynamics of cell phone use to affordability, when clearly cell phones are used to signify more than simply "to have is to be". Cell phones appear to constitute part of a repertoire for performing Pasifika modernities and can be seen as a small intervention in discourses of persistent primitivisms.

In the case of *Sione's Wedding* performing modernity in the form of a well-established genre rendered the film all but invisible to cultural criticism. Audiences may have flocked to the film, but academics failed to detect the usual harbingers of migrant distress and indigenous angst, and therefore looked towards more predictably controversial and contentious quarters. Performing modernity, however, does not always produce the same results. In *BOY*, critics registered the hallmarks of modernity, symbolised almost entirely by electronic media, with disdain and disappointment, thwarted in their desire to "sight the Savage".

Contemporary Pacific romanticism may carry the trace of its 20th century antecedents but it has also proven highly adaptive, incorporating new elements such as public service broadcasting, non-genre narratives and realist aesthetics into its Savage slot. Its enduring omnipotence is signalled by its capacity to underpin both progressive liberal discourses, as is the case in Earl's argument where her objective is to critically interrogate falsely inclusive multicultural discourses, and Debruge's unapologetic desire for primitive holism and heightened spirituality. In her polemic to shake the anthropological frame Smith asks, "Why can DeBruge [sic] not see Waititi's refusal to deliver more domesticated ideas of Indigenous culture as an expression of the endlessly transformative dimensions of Indigenous articulations?" (Smith 2012: 67). The answer may lie in the structurally sticky, persistent nature of the Savage slot and the multiple registers (popular, academic, political) throughout which it operates. Current critical discursive practice suggests that these romanticist assumptions are more difficult to un-think and undo than social scientists and humanities scholars in the Pacific might have anticipated.

NOTES

1. The opening title sequence to *Moana: A Romance of a Golden Age* establishes that the Flahertys lived in a village on Savai'i for two years and consulted with a culturally knowledgeable and well-connected translator (Fialelei, the granddaughter of Seumanutaga). *Tabu* opens with a title card that assures audiences that the film features "only native-born south sea islanders… with a few half-castes and Chinese". *White Shadows in the South Seas* makes similar claims to authenticity except that they were inaccurate. MGM claimed the film was shot in the Marquesas with authentic Marquesans but it was shot in Tahiti (Geiger 2007: 263). Regardless of the relative veracity of these opening claims, their narrative role nevertheless functioned to ensure that audiences read these films as displaying real people and places, rather than openly imagined ones.
2. Pasifika is used to officially denote New Zealand based Pacific peoples by organisations such as the Ministry of Education. In an article for the *New Zealand Herald*, Perrot describes the term as the "… samoanisation of a Portuguese nod

to the Latin phrase Mare Pacificum, or peaceful sea, so named by navigator Ferdinand Magellan…. it has become an umbrella term for everyone living here with traceable Pacific Island heritage. You'll find it touted enthusiastically by governmental social ministries and schools" (Perrot 2007).

3. *BOY* is included as part of this emerging corpus of work because critics outside New Zealand include Māori filmmaking as part of the Pacific oeuvre (Douglas 1994, Mawyer 1998) and because *BOY* deploys tactics (such as its use of ironic humour) that coincide with significant trends in Pasifika motion picture, attesting to the representational affinities between indigenous Māori and Pacific migrants (Somerville 2005, Teaiwa and Mallon 2005).
4. *Kapa haka* refers to a performance of traditional or contemporary Māori song and dance.
5. Indigenous film scholars who have critiqued vexed relations with modernity and global popular culture in a special edition of the *New Zealand Journal of Media Studies* dedicated to the film *BOY* are an exception (Smith and Mercier 2012).
6. Trouillot carefully pointed out that regarding the savage or primitive as the West's alter ego is simplistic; that in fact the alter ego is Janus faced: "… of whom the savage was only the second face. The first face was the West itself, but the West fancifully constructed as a utopian projection and meant to be, in that imaginary correspondence, the condition of existence of the savage" (Trouillot 1991: 28).
7. Trouillot focused upon literary practices but he makes fleeting reference to the role that other media play in constructing the Savage slot. He wrote, "Anthropology came to fill the savage slot of a larger thematic field, performing a role played, in different ways, by literature and travel accounts—and soon to be played perhaps by unexpected media, if one takes the success of 'Roots,' 'Miami Vice' or 'China Beach' on North American television… as a future" (Trouillot 1991: 29).
8. For Kihara's photographs as a dusky maiden with a difference, see http://www.shermangalleries.com.au/artists/inartists/artist.asp%3Fartist=58&exhibition=90.html.
9. Raymond's 2006 project *Pasifika Styles* (curated with Amiria Salmond) at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge represented another incarnation in which Pacific artists interrogate the historical past and modernity.
10. The first series of *bro'Town* (2004) "attracted 33 percent of the viewing audience during its 8 pm time slot, 24 per cent in 2006 and 20.3 percent in 2007" (Barry 2009).
11. Pākehā refers to the descendants of British New Zealand settlers but it can also be used more generically to refer to European New Zealanders.
12. See *bro'Town* episodes *Survival of the Fattest* (Season 2) and *An Alien at my Table* (Season 4).
13. Havens (2006) noted the commercial appeal of animation and the merchandising synergies between animation and the marketing of toys, fast food and DVDs. Lustyik presented a case study of Nickelodeon's operations in New Zealand as an example of how the network exploits its significant animation catalogue in multiple territories (Lustyik 2010: 175).
14. *bro'Town* aired on TV3 as well.

15. *Te reo* means Māori language.
16. South Pacific Pictures CEO John Barnett was one of the financiers who recognised *Mataku's* international potential (Glynn and Tyson 2007: 215).
17. Hardy noted (2012: 11) that several recent Māori films such as *The Strength of Water* (2009) and *Matariki* (2010) as well as *BOY* exhibit the presence of "a loose template for an effective 'spiritual' film, one that links the pantheistic beliefs of traditional Māori lifeworlds with the expressive spirituality in popular in the contemporary secular cultures". Although Hardy characterised spirituality in New Zealand film as an antipodean phenomenon, she acknowledged the tendency for Māori expression of spirituality to find critical acceptance while contemporary Pākehā films with similar types of content, such as *The Vintner's Luck* (2009) find less. The reasons are complex but the discrepancy suggests that audiences expect and accept spirituality more readily when expressed as indigenous.
18. Te Mangai Paho is a government agency charged with funding Māori Language broadcast media. The New Zealand Film Commission supports national short and feature film production.
19. The presence of public service institutions such as SPARC complicate Earl's argument inasmuch as these organisations promote values such as physical fitness and healthy living that are in the public interest. These are values that are presumably consistent with what Earl sees as *bro'Town*'s self-advertised progressive political agenda with respect to Pasifika youth identities.
20. New Zealand on Air contributed $5000 toward the music video for *For the People* in June 2002 on the basis of the single's radio play potential (NZOA 2011).
21. Grey Lynn is an inner city Auckland suburb where many Pacific Island migrants settled in the 1970s. Despite the significant gentrification that this neighbourhood has undergone and the movement of many Pasifika families to the southern and western suburbs of the city, Grey Lynn nevertheless continues to play a significant role in the geographic imaginary of Pasifika and various institutions such as churches are still located there.
22. Prolific television writer James Griffin was co-writer and veteran music video director Chris Graham directed. See Henderson (2004) for background on Chris Graham's links to hip hop and music video direction.
23. *No. 2* made $753,355 as of 27 July 2010 according to the New Zealand Film Commission (2010).
24. A survey of film reviews and academic articles about recent films about Pacific peoples indicates that *The Orator* (2011) has generated a far more significant response than the *Sione* franchise or *No. 2*. A significant reason for this attention is that *The* Orator was filmed on location in the Samoan language. For example, *The Contemporary Pacific* published four reviews of *The Orator* in their fall edition of 2012 (Henderson 2012, Kihleng and Teaiwa 2012, Muiava and Suaalii-Sauni 2012, McFarland-Tautau and Hunkin 2012). *Metro* published an interview and references have been made to the film in two articles published in *Studies in Australasian Cinema* (Hardy 2012, Huffer 2012).
25. Leonie Pihama (2012) expresses disappointment at what she sees as a continuation of Māori dysfunction and distress in Māori cinema. Kavka and Turner (2012)

also note how some of the ways in which *BOY* fails to subvert or problematise the settler politics that overdetermine Māori film.

26. See *BOY*'s official website: http://www.boythemovie.co.nz/

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ABSTRACT

Despite the sophistication of international audiences and the politically subversive work produced by postcolonial creatives in the Pacific, romanticism continues to profoundly shape critical discourses about film and television set in the South Pacific. This article examines how the criticism generated (and sometimes not generated) in academic studies and among film critics reflects persistent discourses of primitivism. Even politically progressive narratives find themselves subject to the gravity of romanticism. The sheer persistence of these assumptions that continue to cast Pacific subjects as timeless, innocent and primitive remind us of the resilience of what Trouillot calls "the Savage slot" (1991, 2003).

Keywords: Savage slot, Pasifika, *bro'Town*, *Sione's Wedding*, *BOY*

THE *PĀNĀNĀ* OR 'SIGHTING WALL' AT HANAMAULOA, KAHIKINUI, MAUI: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF A POSSIBLE NAVIGATIONAL MONUMENT

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> The place where Kiopaa stands is the north, or *koolau*; the side of the earth in the direction of the 'cross-of-stars' is called the south, or *kona*. This is the old compass [*ke panana kahiko*] by which Hawaiians marked the position of places on land by the positions of the sun, the moon, and the important stars indicated. (Kepelino 1932: 80-81).

INTRODUCTION: THE *PĀNĀNĀ* OR 'SIGHTING WALL' OF HANAMAULOA (P.V. Kirch)

In the still-chilly morning of 10 February 1997, I was introduced to the late Rev. Kavika Ka'alakea, then minister of the Hawaiian Congregational Church, at the ruins of the 1830s Catholic Church at Kahikinui (St. Ynez), Maui.[1] We were both attending a blessing of the stone walled enclosure said to have been the house reserved for the visiting priest during the mid-19th century. As we had arrived early and had some time to pass before all the participants assembled, the Rev. and I began chatting about the surrounding Kahikinui landscape, so visible from this prominent vantage point.[2] He asked whether we had seen a particular, uniquely shaped and constructed stone wall at a place he called Hanamauloa.[3] After verifying that Hanamauloa referred to a broad fan-shaped slope emanating from the base of a massive *'a'ā* lava flow to the east of the bay I knew as Niniali'i, I replied that I had indeed seen that wall. It had attracted my attention during my first of many visits to this remote area of the coast, accessed by a narrow and extremely rough jeep track. The wall, 8.75 m long, 1.5 m high, and with a carefully constructed rectangular notch taken out of the middle (Fig. 1), was unlike any other Hawaiian stone construction I had seen previously. Moreover, sighting along the wall's plane of symmetry aligns the notch with a similarly well-constructed cairn (*ahu*) about 65 m seaward (to the south). Upon reflection, after walking around the site and spending some time mapping and photographing it, it seemed that

Figure 1: View of the notched wall or *pānānā* at Hanamauloa; the *ahu* is visible at the shoreline, standing up against the backdrop of the ocean. Photo by P.V. Kirch.

the notched wall together with the *ahu* could plausibly have functioned as a kind of orientation marker.

Rev. Kaʻalakea went on to emphasise the importance of this place in his demeanour and bearing, straightening up his back and gesturing towards the soaring ridgeline of Haleakalā. He recounted that it was in Kahikinui that people first arrived from Kahiki (Tahiti). There was no name to this place before, he said, and the new arrivals "awakened the land" (*e ala ka ʻāina*), calling it Kahikinui (literally 'Great Kahiki' or 'Great Tahiti'). The notched wall, he said, pointed out the sea path back to Kahiki, the ancestral homeland. He called the wall a *pānānā*, emphasising in pidgin English: "You *nānā*, see, go Kahiki."

I was familiar with the words *pā* and *nānā* in his speech, these being the Hawaiian word for 'wall' or 'enclosure', a term that can be reconstructed to

Proto-Polynesian language (Kirch and Green 2001: 193-94 and Table 7.7), and the word for 'look' or 'see' (Pukui and Elbert 1986). The compound term *pānānā* , however, was unknown to me. Rev. Kaʻalakea made it clear that it could be glossed, in one sense at least, as a wall from which one would 'look, sight, take a bearing'. This he expressed by unmistakable hand movements, delineating a line moving away from his eyes towards the horizon. Thus *pānānā* could, it seemed, be glossed as a 'sighting wall' or a wall which aided or was involved in some way in taking a sight line or viewing some other phenomenon from the perspective of a fixed orientation.

Later, upon consulting the definitive *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Pukui and Elbert 1986: 313-14), I was fascinated to find an entry for the compound word *pānānā* with the gloss "compass; pilot; to row here and there irregularly". Turning to Andrew's 1865 dictionary, the first published dictionary of the Hawaiian language, I also found the term, with this entry: "Pa-na-na, s. [substantive noun]. *Pa* and *nana*, to look. A compass, especially a mariner's compass. 2. A pilot; one who directs the sailing of a vessel; he mea kuhikuhi holomoku" (Andrews 1865: 456).

It seemed a curious thing that Native Hawaiians, upon being introduced to Western seafaring and voyaging concepts in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, would call the mariner's compass by a term meaning 'sighting wall'. Unless—and here the hypothesis presented itself—the Hawaiians already had an indigenous tradition of walls constructed expressly as sighting devices to provide orientations for cardinal or other directions, and transferred that term to the Western magnetic compass. Consulting 19th century Hawaiian texts on astronomical knowledge, I found the term *pānānā* also used, as in Kepelino's notes on the sun, quoted at the beginning of this article, in which he refers to "ke panana kahiko a Hawaii", 'the old Hawaiian compass' (Kepelino 1932: 80-81).

But why a 'sighting wall', a *pānānā,* at Hanamauloa, the southernmost part of Maui Island's coastline? Hanamauloa lies within the ancient district (*moku*) of Kahikinui, literally "Great Tahiti", arguably named after Tahiti Nui in the Society Islands (Fig. 2). A plan view of Maui Island with its larger and smaller twin volcanoes linked by a low-lying isthmus closely resembles the shape of Tahiti. That early Polynesian voyagers from central eastern Polynesia saw this resemblance and transferred the name Tahiti Nui to this part of Maui seems highly probable. But there is yet a closer link between Kahikinui and the ancestral homeland of Kahiki (Tahiti), one encoded in the *moʻolelo* or oral history of Moʻikeha and Laʻamaikahiki, famed voyaging chiefs of the late 14th or early 15th centuries (Cartwright 1929, 1933; Fornander 1916-1920, 1996; Kirch 2010, 2012). Moʻikeha, along with his brother ʻOlopana and his brother's wife Luʻukia, made a voyage

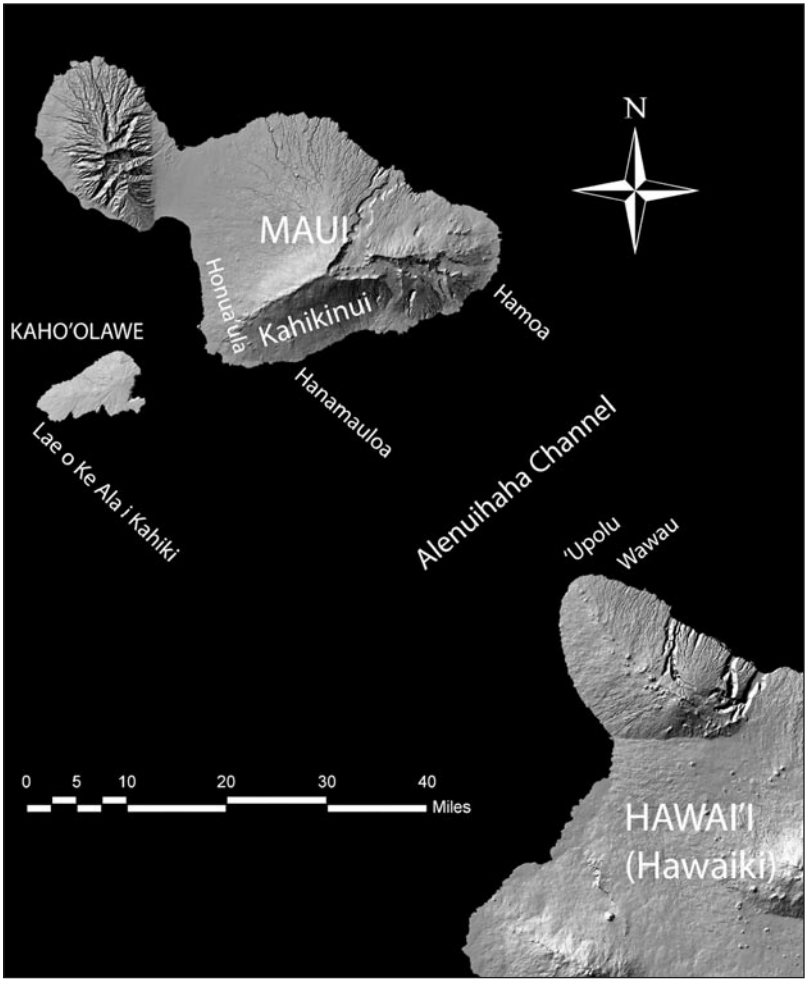

Figure 2: Map of Maui, Kahoʻolawe, and the northern part of Hawaiʻi Island. The *pānānā* is located just above the "H" in Hanamauloa. Various place names relating to the ancestral Polynesian homeland are also indicated.

from Hawai‘i to Kahiki, and dwelt for a time in the land of Moa‘ulanuiākea (Fornander 1916-1920). Before returning to Hawai‘i, Mo‘ikeha fathered a son by a chiefly Tahitian woman. Many years later, Mo‘ikeha dispatched another son, Kila, to sail from Kaua‘i to Kahiki to fetch the now grown son La‘a, and bring him back to Hawai‘i. Kila found La‘a in Moa‘ulanuiākea, and returned to Kaua‘i, after which La‘a became known as La‘amaikahiki (La‘a from Kahiki). La‘amaikahiki stayed for a time with his father on Kaua‘i, but eventually desired to return to Kahiki. Before doing so, he sailed to Maui, and as the tradition recounts:

> Laamaikahiki lived in Kauai for a time, when he moved over to Kahikinui in Maui. This place was named in honor of Laamaikahiki. As the place was too windy, Laamaikahiki left it and sailed for the west coast of the island of Kahoolawe, where he lived until he finally left for Tahiti. It is said that because Laamaikahiki lived on Kahoolawe, and set sail from that island, this was the reason why the ocean to the west of Kahoolawe is called “the road to Tahiti.” (Fornander 1916-1920 [IV]: 128)

Is it possible that the *pānānā* at Hanamauloa, Kahikinui, is in some way related to La‘amaikahiki and his return voyage to Kahiki? The hypothesis is certainly intriguing. The possibility that this part of Maui and adjacent Kaho‘olawe Island played a key role in long-distance voyaging between Hawai‘i and Tahiti has been made all the more plausible in light of the recent claim by Collerson and Weisler (2007) that a stone adze collected by Kenneth P. Emory in the Tuamotu Islands was manufactured from basalt geochemically matched with a source on the point of Kaho‘olawe known as Ka Lae o Ke Ala i Kahiki (“The Road to Tahiti”).

Since my discussion with the Rev. Ka‘alakea in 1997, I have investigated and mapped the *pānānā* in detail. Together with my archaeoastronomer colleague Clive Ruggles, we have made two field trips to precisely determine the orientation and possible relationship of the *pānānā* to key astronomical phenomena, especially the Southern Cross. In the remainder of this paper we present the results of an archaeological investigation of the *pānānā* at Hanamauloa, and advance the possible interpretation of the site as an orientation marker. This interpretation is given in the context of a wider consideration of Kahikinui within the “remembered landscape” of Polynesian voyaging. In addition, we are joined by geochronologist Warren Sharp, who has assisted us in dating branch coral associated with the site, giving a possible age of construction or use of the *pānānā.*

HANAMAULOA AND THE KAHIKINUI LANDSCAPE

Hanamauloa is one of the most remote and difficult places to access anywhere along Maui's extensive southern coastline. The high waves and treacherous surf of the ʻAlenuihāhā Channel—which crash against sheer lava cliffs punctuated occasionally by tiny boulder beaches—prevent a boat landing in all but rare calm days. Thus to visit the site one must navigate one of the worst four-wheel tracks in Kahikinui, a torturous hour-long trip during which the driver constantly fears a broken axle.[4] One descends through rough *ʻaʻā* and *pāhoehoe* lava flows dating to about 13,000 years ago (the Alena volcanic flows), sparsely covered at the higher elevations with indigenous dryland shrubs such as *aʻaliʻi* (*Dodonaea viscosa*) and the endemic *wiliwili* (*Erythrina sandwicensis*) tree. Near the coast the vegetation is limited almost exclusively to wiry grass.

Hanamauloa consists of a gently sloping alluvial fan, the outwash deposited by several small gullies that track inland up to the base of the Lualaʻilua Hills cinder cones. The fan is made up of coarse cinder and ash washed down these gullies during the periodic *kona*, or southerly, storms which soak the southern flanks of Haleakalā in the winter months. The alluvial fan forms a shallow veneer over older *ʻaʻā* lava flows which outcrop here and there, especially at the coast.

Arriving in the vicinity of the *pānānā*, one is struck by the spectacular landscape panoramas in every direction. To the southwest the island of Kahoʻolawe—from whence Laʻamaikahiki sailed home to Tahiti—rises up prominently out of the choppy seas. In the west, the long broad slope of Haleakalā is broken by the cinder cones of Puʻu Pīmoe and Puʻu Hōkūkano. Turning clockwise and looking inland, the Lualaʻilua Hills cinder cones loom prominently, while in the farther distance the summit ridgeline of Haleakalā is unobstructed (when not veiled by the usual midday cloud inversion layer). To the east the great mountain slopes down to the sea. And to the southeast, across the ʻAlenuihāhā Channel, lies Hawaiʻi Island, whose towering volcanic summits of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa, along with less prominent Hualālai are all visible in clear weather. Directly south is the unbroken horizon. Every time that we have visited the *pānānā,* these unparalleled view-sheds have awed us; we cannot escape the conclusion that the builders of this unique notched wall chose this location precisely because of the remarkable, unobstructed vistas.

Another fragment of Hawaiian oral tradition alludes to the possible importance of Hanamauloa in the early period of Polynesian settlement of the archipelago. Samuel Kamakau penned the following passage in a discussion of "the coming of the gods":

> According to the *mo'olelo* of Kāne and Kanaloa [two of the great gods of ancient Hawai'i], they were perhaps the first who kept gods (*'o laua paha na kahu akua mua*) to come to *Hawai'i nei*, and because of their *mana* they were called gods. Kaho'olawe was first named Kanaloa for his having first come there by way of Ke-ala-i-kahiki [the road to Tahiti]. From Kaho'olawe the two went to Kahikinui, Maui, where they opened up the fishpond of Kanaloa at Lua-la'i-lua, and from there the water of Kou at Kaupō. (Kamakau 1991: 112)

Lualaʻilua in this passage can only refer to Hanamauloa, where facing inland one looks up directly at those great cinder cones. Moreover, it is entirely likely that the "waters" referred to were seasonal streamflow in the small gulches which created the alluvial fan at Hanamauloa.[5] This is the only area along this arid coast where there is any evidence of possible former water flow. Although it is but a fragment, this tradition does suggest some particular importance for Hanamauloa and Kahikinui during the initial period of Polynesian discovery and exploration of the islands.

Finally, from a strictly geographical point of view, it may be significant that the *pānānā* at Hanamauloa lies directly inland of the exact place on the gently curving shoreline of southeast Maui where the island reaches its southernmost extremity (Universal Transverse Mercator [zone 4] ^{7}8109E, ^{22}7829N). If one wanted to construct a monument in some way associated with a southerly direction or orientation, this would be the ideal location.

THE *PĀNĀNĀ* COMPLEX AT HANAMAULOA

The *pānānā* is part of a complex of several stone structures and other archaeological features at Hanamauloa, as can be seen in Figure 3. Figure 4 is a map of the complex based on a plane table and alidade survey by Kirch made in 1997.

Feature LUA-27, The Pānānā Wall.

The notched wall designated LUA-27 is 8.75 m long and 1.52 m wide at the base, and stands 1.5 m high above the ground surface. It is oriented east-west but skewed slightly with an azimuth of 4.1°. The wall is built of *'a'ā* cobbles and small boulders, carefully stacked so that the wall faces have a slight batter or slope. The skill used in its construction is evident; the wall is one of the most expertly constructed that we have seen in many years of survey work in Kahikinui. The notch is located at the mid point of the wall, and is 55 cm wide.

Careful searching around the wall revealed no signs of midden, lithics or any other cultural materials. The base stones appear to sit directly on the ashy ground surface. Unfortunately, the lack of any cultural materials means that there is no way to date the wall directly.

Figure 3. Aerial view of the Hanamauloa complex from the seaward side. The LUA-29 *heiau* is visible in the foreground, while the *pānānā* can be seen in the near distance.

Feature LUA-28A, Ahu and LUA-28B, Upright Slab.
About 65 m south of LUA-27 is a stone cairn, or *ahu*, situated near the low cliff that drops off to the rocky tidal flat below. This *ahu* is constructed in the same style as the notched wall, with carefully positioned *'a'ā* cobbles and small boulders, and also exhibiting some degree of batter to its sides. The *ahu* has a base diameter of 1.25 m and a height of 1.05 m.

About 18 m northeast of the *ahu* is a large slab of *pāhoehoe* lava, about 1 m across, which appears to have been artificially set upright in the rubble of the lava flow surface. The slab leans on its side at about 45 degrees, but may originally have been set up vertically.

Feature LUA-29, Notched Heiau.
A first view of the site plan (Fig. 4) suggests that LUA-29 is a typical notched *heiau*, with the notch in the northwest corner, and an opening on the south. (The term "notched" in reference to *heiau* was first coined by Winslow Walker [MS.] to refer to six-sided enclosures, a very common temple form

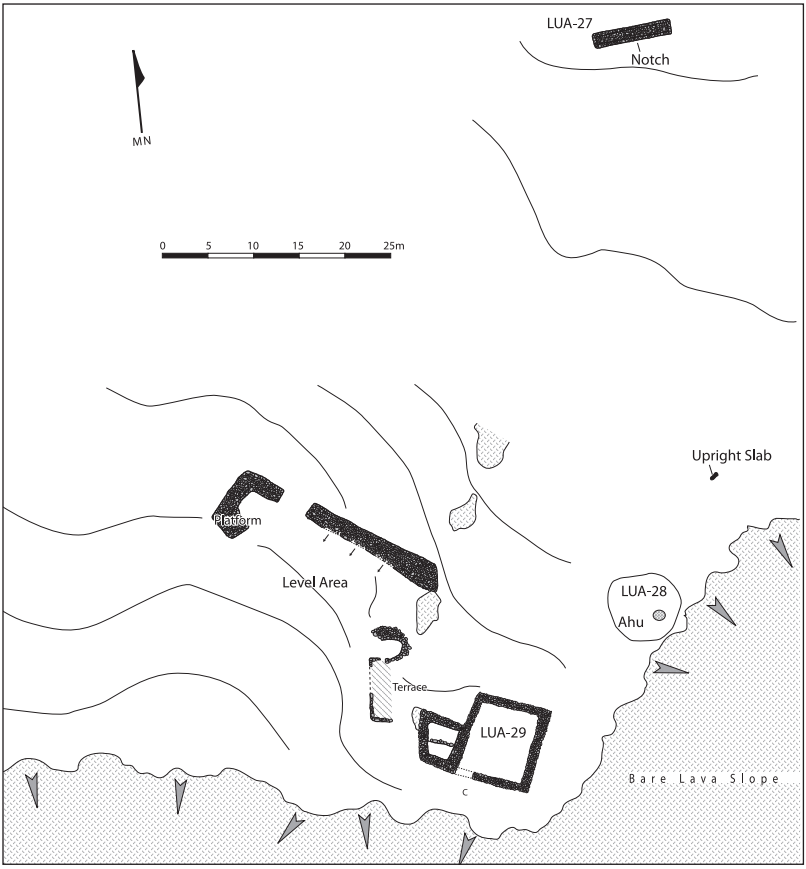

Figure 4. Map of the Hanamauloa complex.

on Maui.) The maximum external dimensions are 14 m east-west and 9.5 m north-south. A more detailed inspection, however, reveals crucial differences between this and most notched *heiau*, because LUA-29 was constructed in two distinct phases. The smaller room or enclosure on the west does not open onto the main court in the eastern enclosure, as would be the case in most notched *heiau*. This is because the western enclosure is actually a *ko'a* or fishing shrine which seems to have existed as a free-standing structure before the construction of the larger eastern enclosure.

Taken by itself, the smaller western enclosure is a classic *ko'a*, in size and architectural details. Like other *ko'a* along the Kahikinui coast, its interior is subdivided into two small courts, with the inland or northern court elevated, the two being separated by a single-course stone facing. The seaward court is paved with small *'ili'ili* (waterworn pebbles), and littered with branch coral and water-worn coral pieces. Several larger water-worn basalt cobbles sit on the upper court along with several entire coral heads; a cluster of *Porites* corals sits on the north wall. A curious architectural detail is the extension of the northwest corner of the *ko'a* enclosure into a distinct "canoe-prow" point.

The larger eastern enclosure is defined by core-filled walls 1 to 1.5 m thick and about 1 to 1.25 m high. Close examination of the contact of the enclosure's west wall with that of the *ko'a* strongly suggests that the eastern enclosure was added to and abutted against the *ko'a*. The south wall of the eastern enclosure has an opening which seems to be a formal entryway. The interior courtyard defined by the eastern enclosure is covered with scattered branch coral and *'ili'ili*. On the exterior of the north wall, there is also a concentration of branch coral pieces. There are also branch corals at various places on top of the enclosure walls.

Other Features

Immediately northwest of the LUA-29 *heiau* is a low terrace, with a partly collapsed retaining wall on the west side, built into the gentle lava slope. To the north of the terrace there is a small C-shaped structure, open to the west, with a rear wall up to 1.4 m high. Both the terrace and the C-shape look out over a broad flat area, defined on the north by a thick, stacked stone wall 16 m long and 1.5 to 2 m wide. After a gap which may be a formal entryway, the wall continues to the west forming another C-shape structure. This wall and the C-shape appear to bound the flat, level area, which may have been an assembly or seating area for persons witnessing ceremonies taking place at the LUA-29 *heiau*. Such flat assembly areas have been noted on the western sides of other *heiau* in Kahikinui District.

About 66 m west of the LUA-29 *heiau* we noted several grinding depressions in the *pāhoehoe* lava surface. One other feature of note is a single petroglyph, some 130 m northwest of LUA-27. The petroglyph, pecked into the *pāhoehoe* lava, is an anthropomorph 23 cm high with wing-like arms and long lateral extensions for feet. The wing-like arms suggest that it might be a bird-man figure. A search of the area did not reveal any additional petroglyphs.

RADIOMETRIC DATING OF BRANCH CORALS FROM THE *PĀNĀNĀ* COMPLEX

One aspect of ancient ritual practice at temples (*heiau*) and fishing shrines (*ko'a*) in Kahikinui, as elsewhere in the islands, involved the placing of entire coral heads, or more frequently branches removed from such coral heads, on the altars and walls of these structures. Coral branches were also deposited within the wall fill of religious structures during construction. The species of coral used was typically the branching coral, *Pocillopora meandrina*. Examination of these branch coral specimens on temple sites and fishing shrines in Kahikinui demonstrates that these corals were usually collected from the ocean as living specimens, as their surfaces display a lack of wear or rounding which would have been present if they were collected from beach deposits. Kirch and Sharp (2005) applied high-precision U-Th isotopic dating to selected branch corals from Kahikinui ritual sites, showing that this method could be used to produce a highly accurate chronology of *heiau*. This work has recently been expanded with a larger sample of branch corals from ritual sites throughout Kahikinui district, including samples from sites LUA-28 and -29 (Kirch, Sharp and Mertz in prep.). Methods used to date the branch corals from Hanamauloa are similar to those reported by Kirch and Sharp (2005); here we provide U-Th dates, corrected for ^{230}Th from detritus, with error ranges reported at two standard deviations. Full details of these dates will be published elsewhere (Kirch *et al.*, in prep.).

Unfortunately, a careful search in the vicinity of LUA-27 did not reveal any branch coral specimens. However, three coral branches were observed on the bare lava rock surface in the vicinity of LUA-28, all within a 3 m radius of the *ahu*. All three specimens exhibited substantial weathering on their upper sides because of long exposure to the elements, while their lower sides retained the fresh, sharp verrucae typical of *Pocillopora* corals. The lack of any rounding or wear indicates that the three corals had been collected live and purposefully placed around the *ahu* as offerings of some kind. Specimen LUA-28-CS-2, a branch with intact tips, yielded a U-Th date of AD 1444 ± 4 years. Of course, this coral does not *directly* date the LUA-28 *ahu*. Most likely, the *ahu* was pre-existing since the corals appear to have been placed around the cairn; thus, the date likely provides a minimal age for the *ahu* itself, and by inference, for the *pānānā* wall.

Kirch and Sharp also collected seven samples of branch coral from LUA-29, the notched *heiau*, and dated three of these (Kirch *et al*. in prep.). Sample LUA-29-CS-1 was embedded within the wall stones at the southwest corner of the western enclosure or *ko'a*, and presumably placed there during construction. It yielded a date of AD 1615 ± 3 years. LUA-29-CS-4 is a small branch tip which was tightly embedded in the wall at the junction of

the northeast corner of the *ko'a* with the abutted eastern enclosure, and is presumed to have been placed there when the eastern enclosure was added. This sample yielded a date of AD 1658 ± 2 years. The third dated sample, LUA-29-CS-6, is a branch tip that was embedded in the eastern wall of the eastern enclosure; it had to be "excavated" out by removing some wall stones and clearly was a part of the original wall construction. This sample yielded a date of AD 1660 ± 2 years, which is indistinguishable from that of CS-4.

The U-Th branch coral dates from LUA-29 are all from samples that were architecturally integrated and should therefore date wall construction. The date of AD 1612-1618 from the *ko'a* indicates that this fishing shrine was constructed some 170 years or more after the construction of the LUA-28 *ahu* (and presumably, the *pānānā* itself). Some 45 years after the initial construction of the *ko'a*, the eastern enclosure was added, in c. AD 1656-1662, transforming this into a classic notched *heiau*.

VIEWSHEDS AND ORIENTATIONS OF THE *PĀNĀNĀ* COMPLEX

Ruggles and Kirch visited the LUA-27, -28, and -29 complex together on 23 March 2003 in order to determine the main structural orientations and their potential significance in relation to the visible topography and prominent asterisms. To this purpose we carried out a Total Station survey using methods well tried and tested in archaeoastronomy (Ruggles 1999a: 164-71), including the accurate determination of true north by timed observations of the sun.[6] On this occasion the instrument was stationed close to the *pānānā*; we returned with the same instrument on 5 November 2011 to examine the nearby *heiau* more closely and to reaffirm our earlier results.

As we have already remarked, from the complex there are open vistas in all directions. To the east and south (azimuth 81° to 253°) there is a clear view out to sea, with the mountains of Hawai'i Island visible to the southeast when conditions are clear, most typically in the early morning (Mauna Kea summit az 134°, Mauna Loa summit az 149°). The island of Kaho'olawe is visible to the west (az 253° to 270°). Inland, the ground slopes steadily up towards the summit of Haleakalā, whose ridge forms the northern horizon, reaching its maximum altitude (12.5°) just east of due north (az 3.8°). The prominent isolated cinder cone of Pu'u Pīmoe (538 m), 7.8 km away at $^{7}7400$ $^{22}8128$ (az 293°), appears on the horizon to the west-northwest. Pu'u Hōkūkano (446 m), a somewhat closer, and redder, cone 3.9 km away at $^{7}7834$ $^{22}8086$ (az 312°), is visible further uphill to the right; this forms a second prominent horizon feature as viewed from the *pānānā* but from the *heiau* it drops below a more distant horizon.

The *pānānā* is not orientated exactly east-west but skewed clockwise by 4.1 degrees, so that the perpendicular direction, as viewed through the notch

in the *pānānā*, has an azimuth of 4.1°/184.1°. While this aligns almost exactly to the highest point of Haleakalā to the north (Fig. 5), the opposite direction, out to sea, may well have been the more significant. Although there is a flat sea horizon in this direction, sighting through the notch affords a clear view of the periodic appearance just above the horizon of one of the most spectacular asterisms in the Hawaiian sky: the Southern Cross (α, β, γ and δ Cru), together with the Pointers, Rigil Kantaurus and Hadar (α and β Cen). Figure 6 shows this view through the notch with Southern Cross directly above the upright slab, as it would have been visible in AD 1444.

Within the field of view, in the foreground, are two constructed features that would have stood out prominently with the sea behind them. The first is the stone pillar of the *ahu* (LUA–28A), at azimuth 192.7° from the notch, which continues to stand out prominently today. The second is the upright *pāhoehoe* slab, now leaning, at azimuth 185.1°. Even though they do not cut the sea horizon they seem to frame the stretch of that horizon from c. 185° to 193° and to emphasise that the focus of attention is not upon the exact south point but a span of horizon a few degrees to the west of south.

This might seem surprising if the sighting mechanism had anything to do with the Southern Cross and Pointers, since all stars passing low across the southern horizon reach their point of culmination, and hence will be at their clearest, as they cross the meridian due south of the observer. Neither does this stretch of horizon represent the setting point, since up to around AD 1600 all six stars set at azimuths westwards of 200°. The direction perpendicular to the wall, and that of the upright slab that (to an accuracy of a degree) marks this direction, does, however, indicate the position where the kite-shape of the Southern Cross appears at its most upright, with the highest of the four stars approximately directly above the lowest (Fig. 6). This effect is independent of the date, since the effect of precession is simply to shift the stars downwards as the centuries progress. As the stars proceed westwards on a given night, they reach a point where the Southern Cross is neatly framed between the upright and the *ahu* before they continue to move westwards and eventually sink and disappear owing to atmospheric extinction as they approach to the horizon.

The time of appearance of these stars depends upon the time of year: in December they rise just before dawn but the sky lightens before they reach culmination. From January to June they can be seen passing across the south progressively earlier in the night and by July they are already setting by the time the sky gets dark after sunset. For the remainder of the year they are invisible.

If the southern horizon, out to sea, was the focus of the *pānānā*, what of the *heiau*? Its principal orientation, as judged from the most intact segments of the longer walls, is 33.4°/213.4°, which suggests a different purpose from

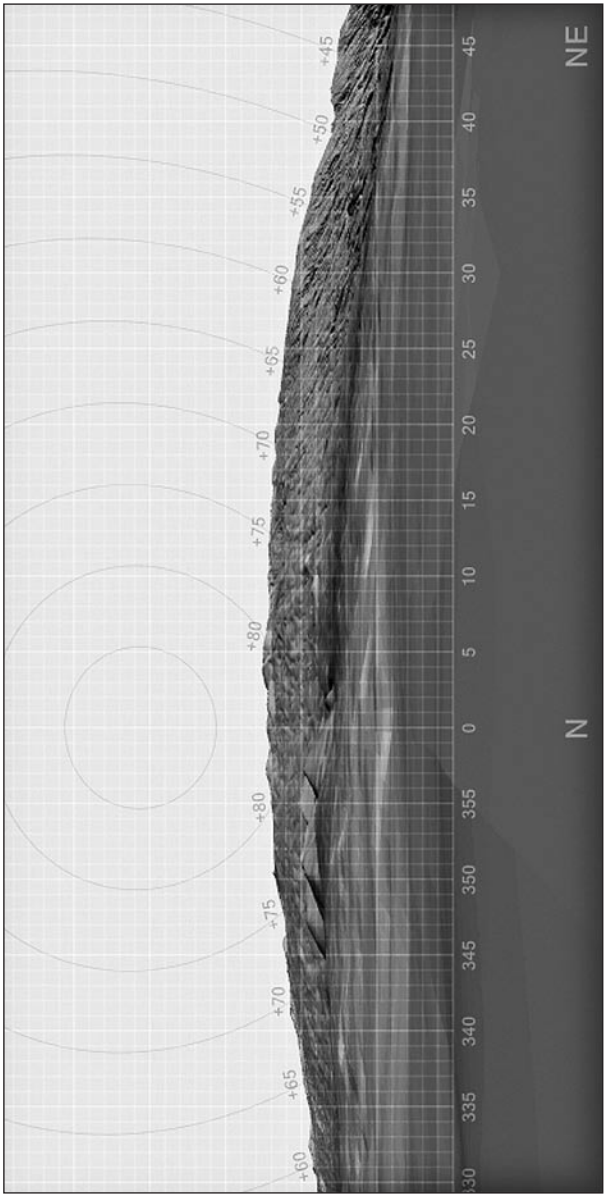

Figure 5. Digital elevation view of the ridgeline of Haleakalā as seen from the position of the *pānānā*.

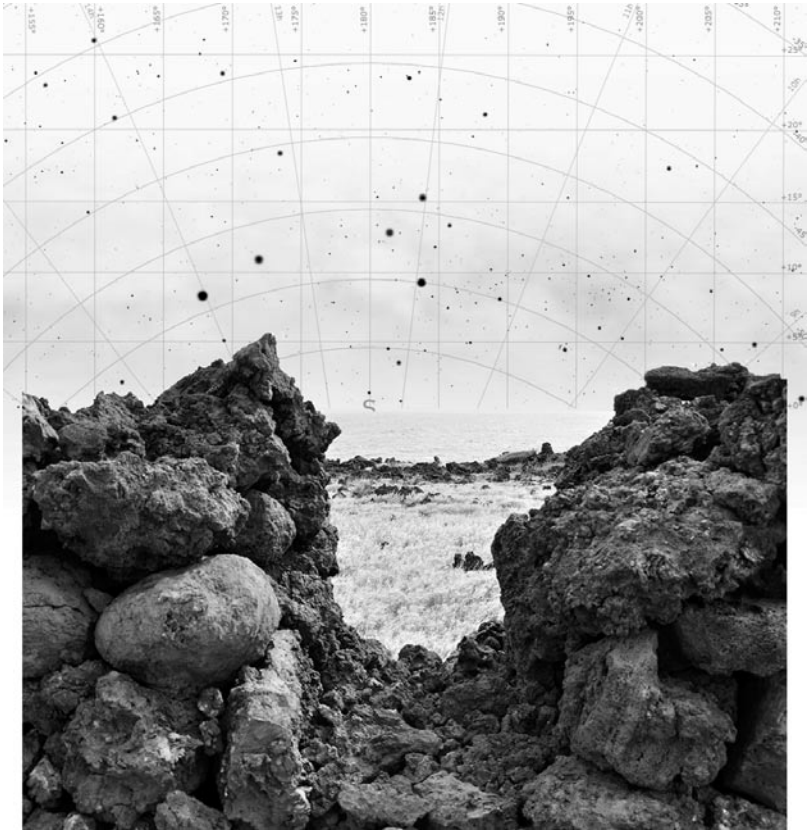

Figure 6. The view southwards through the notch in the *pānānā* wall, with the *pāhoehoe* slab to the left and the *ahu* to the right, superimposed upon a Stellarium reconstruction of the sky at 4:15 am local time on 21 January AD 1444 (Gregorian calendar).

that of the *pānānā*. The orientation of the adjacent walls is less well defined but (as is typical) is not quite perpendicular to this. Consistent wall segment orientations suggest that the intended direction was between 120°/300° and 121°/301°. In the west-northwesterly direction this is mid-way between the two cinder cones already mentioned, the prominent Puʻu Pīmoe at 293° and the less prominent Puʻu Hōkūkano at 312°.

It is interesting that the second of these cinder cones apparently has a star name (*Hōkūkano*, literally 'proud star' or 'erect star'), but it is not one that is listed in any of the historical sources (see Johnson, Mahelona and Ruggles, in prep.). While the bright star Deneb (α Cyg) would have set directly into this hill between AD 1000 and AD 1600,[7] there is no independent evidence to attest that this is anything but coincidental. More interesting, perhaps, is that the more prominent cinder cone visible lower down the slope, Puʻu Pīmoe, coincides with the setting point of the Pleiades (Makaliʻi). Viewed from the *heiau*, the cluster would have set partly into the hill from about AD 1210 onwards, wholly into the hill from about AD 1350 onwards, and directly into the peak between c. AD 1630 and 1790 (Fig. 7). (As viewed from the *pānānā*, the respective dates are AD 1040, 1190, and 1470–1620.)[8] Puʻu Pīmoe also coincides with the setting position of the June solstice sun, both as seen from the *heiau* (from which the left limb of the setting sun would just touch the top of the hill on the way down) and the wall (from which the sun would set into the lower part of the right-hand slope of the hill).[9] While we cannot be certain at this point, the pivotal significance of the Pleiades in the ancestral Polynesian ritual cycle (Kirch and Green 2001: 260-73) and the evident importance of solar solstice observations at least in some parts of Polynesia, given recent evidence from Mangareva (Kirch 2004), as well as fragments of evidence from the Hawaiian Islands themselves (Beckwith 1940: 119, Ruggles 1999b), all suggest that the Puʻu Pīmoe cinder cone and its visual linkage to the Pleiades and/or solstitial sun may well have had significance for those who chose to construct the *pānānā*, *heiau* and associated structures at this particular spot.

TOPONYMY AND THE REMEMBERED LANDSCAPE

There is yet one additional set of evidence that we can adduce to the effect that Hanamauloa, and indeed the Kahikinui District in general, held a privileged place in the remembered history of early Polynesian voyaging to Hawaiʻi. As is well known, the Polynesians had a tradition of transferring the names of important islands or places in their ancestral homelands to newly discovered islands and locales. This is the case with the toponym Kahikinui itself, which we have already noted is a transference of the name Tahiti Nui. Of course, the classic case of toponymic transfer is that of Hawaiʻi Island, visible across the ʻAlenuihāhā Channel from Kahikinui, Hawaiʻi being a variant of Hawaiki, the ancestral homeland itself (Kirch and Green 2001).

Yet there are several more place names that surround Kahikinui and Hanamauloa—names that index locations visible from the site or bounding it geographically—which all hark back to important ancestral lands. These names are shown on Figure 2, and we briefly describe their significance here:

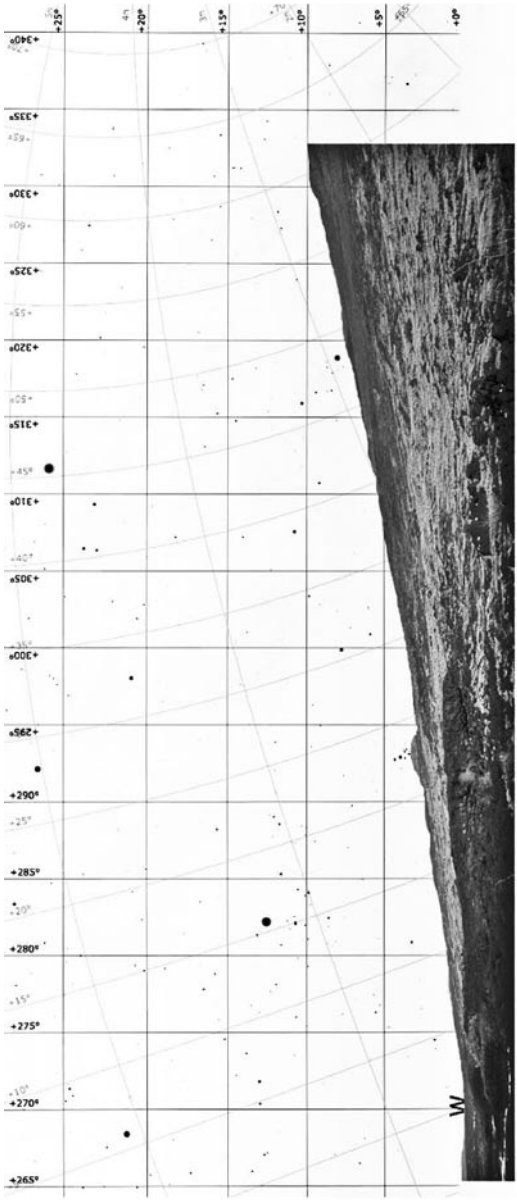

Figure 7. The west-northwestern horizon between azimuths of approximately 268° and 318°, viewed along the southern wall of the *heiau*, showing the prominent cinder cones Puʻu Pīmoe in the centre and Puʻu Hōkūkano (right). The view is superimposed upon a Stellarium reconstruction of the sky at 05:16 local time on 2 December AD 1600, with the star cluster Pleiades setting directly into Puʻu Pīmoe.

Honua'ula, literally translating as 'red land': The place name Honua'ula occurs at least six times in the Hawaiian archipelago (Pukui, Elbert and Mookini 1974: 51). On Maui, it is the name of the district (*moku*) adjoining Kahikinui on the west. It is also the proper name of a particularly sacred *heiau* in Waipi'o Valley, Hawai'i, seat of the Hawai'i royal line. Moreover, the name is arguably a very ancient one within Polynesia, with connections to Hawaiki, the ancestral homeland. Honua'ula is the Hawaiian cognate for Fijian Vanuakula, which Geraghty (1993: 363) believes to be a synonym of Burotu or Pulotu, another name for the Polynesian homeland. Geraghty cites several sources listing Polynesian variants of this ancient name (Enua-kura in the Cook Islands, Fenua Ura in Tahiti, and Henua Ura in the Tuamotu Islands, for example).

Hāmoa. This is, of course, the Hawaiian variant of the old Polynesian place name Ha'amoa, indicating the Samoan archipelago. It applies to a bay and former village site in Hāna District, to the east of Kahikinui.

'*Upolu*. Applied to the northern point of Hawai'i Island, across the 'Alenuihāhā Channel from Kahikinui. This is also the name of one of the two largest islands in the Samoan archipelago. It can be traced back to the Proto Polynesian name *Kupolu, as noted by Pukui *et al.* (1974: 249, Table 1).

Wawau. This name applied to a land section near the ancient *heiau* of Mo'okini, at 'Upolu Point on Hawai'i Island. It, too, is an ancient name also reconstructable to Proto Polynesian (*Vava'u), and is the name of the northern cluster of islands in the Tongan archipelago (Gifford 1923: 255). Vava'u was also an older name for Ra'iatea in the Society archipelago (Pukui *et al*. 1974: 229, 249, Table 1).

Ke Ala i Kahiki, literally, 'the road to foreign lands, to Kahiki'. This name applies to the ocean beyond the southwestern point of Kaho'olawe Island. The point itself is called Lae-o-Ke-Ala-i-Kahiki (Pukui *et al.* 1974: 101).

In short, standing at the Hanamauloa *pānānā,* in whatever direction one gazes, that landscape is indexed by an ancient place name. To the east you look towards Hāmoa; across the 'Alenuihāhā Channel looms Hawai'i (Havaiki) with both 'Upolu and Wawau near its tip; and, to the west is Honua'ula (Fenuakula, another name for the Polynesian homeland). It seems to us to be more than coincidence that this place in Kahikinui is uniquely surrounded by such a rich toponymic history, a kind of geospatial encoding of ancestral homelands.

* * *

The notched wall and associated *ahu* and upright at Hanamauloa, Maui—said to have been a *pānānā* or 'sighting wall' by the late Rev. Kawika Ka'alakea—is a unique archaeological structure within the Hawaiian Islands. We know

of no other site similar to this anywhere in the archipelago, or for that matter, elsewhere in Polynesia. We have argued that the feature was constructed so that its notch precisely frames the stars of the Southern Cross, with the vertical limb of Crux at 90° to the horizon when it is exactly positioned above the upright slab visible through the notch (Fig. 6).

The Southern Cross, known to the Hawaiians as Newe (or Newa), was a navigational marker to Kahiki, the ancestral homeland to the south. Makemson (1941: 20), drawing upon Hawaiian oral traditions of the famed navigator Kamahualele (who guided the voyaging chiefs Moʻikeha and Kila, see Fornander 1916-1920), wrote: "On the return trip from the Hawaiian to the Society Islands the course appears to have been directed south or a little east of south by the stars of the Southern Cross." Similarly, Buck (1938: 255) wrote:

> In sailing south from Ke Ala-i-Kahiki, the course was maintained by keeping the North Star (Hokupa [Hōkūpā or Hōkūpaʻa]) directly astern. When the Navel-of-Space (Piko-o-Wakea) was reached, the North Star sank into the sea behind but the star Newe [Southern Cross] was taken as the southern guide and the constellation of Humu was overhead. [10]

Given the importance of the Southern Cross in Hawaiian voyaging traditions, the fact that the *pānānā* marks the direction where it stands upright in the southern sky seems more than coincidental. But the case for the Hanamauloa *pānānā* being a monument to ancient voyaging to and/or from Kahiki is further strengthened by the fragments of oral tradition that have come down to us. Most important is the link between the famous voyaging chief Laʻamaikahiki and Kahikinui District, as quoted earlier in our article. That Laʻamaikahiki lived for a time in the land of "Great Tahiti" before his departure for Kahiki (from Ke Ala-i-Kahiki on nearby Kahoʻolawe) increases the probability that the *pānānā* was connected to Laʻamaikahiki. Could it have been built by Laʻamaikahiki himself, as a reminder to those he left behind of the voyaging route back to the ancient homeland? Or might the *pānānā* have been built later, in memory of Laʻamaikahiki?

When was the *pānānā* at Hanamauloa constructed? It is impossible to date the notched wall or the associated *ahu* and upright directly. However, the date of AD 1444 ± 4 years on branch coral placed adjacent to the *ahu* suggests that these features are at least that old, if not somewhat older. Laʻamaikahiki was the son of Moʻikeha, who himself was one of the grandsons of Māweke, an important founding chief of the Oʻahu ruling line (Fornander 1996). Using a 20-year interval for the reigns of Hawaiian ruling chiefs (Stokes 1933), the reign of Maweke is estimated to have been between AD 1310 and 1330

(Kirch 2010, Table 3.1). This puts Mo'ikeha at approximately AD 1350-1370. Mo'ikeha was, however, an old man by the time that his son Kila was sent on the mission to fetch La'amaikahiki from Kahiki (Fornander 1916-1920); it is likely then, that La'amaikahiki's stay in the Hawaiian Islands occurred at the very end of the 14th century, and could even have overlapped into the opening years of the 15th century. This gets us remarkably close to our U-Th dated branch coral at AD 1444.

The other archaeological features at the Hanamauloa complex we know to have been constructed considerably later. In terms of the genealogical chronology of Maui ruling chiefs (*ali'i nui*), the initial *ko'a* at LUA-29 was probably constructed during the reign of Kamalālāwalu, while the eastern enclosure would have been added to form the notched *heiau* during the reign of Kalanikaumakaōwakea (Kirch 2010, Table 3.1). The *heiau* seems to have had a completely different function from that of the *pānānā*, although its location near the notched wall may have been in some manner a recognition of the importance of that monument. The orientation of the *heiau*, towards the prominent cinder cone of Pu'u Pīmoe in Honua'ula—which is also the setting position of the Pleiades—suggests that the *heiau* was related to the annual rites of the Makahiki, whose timing was determined by observation of that star cluster (Valeri 1985).

In sum, the *pānānā* or 'sighting wall' at Hanamauloa on the southern tip of Maui Island in Kahikinui district is unique within the known corpus of Hawaiian archaeological structures. Ethnographic evidence from the late Rev. Ka'alakea combined with our own archaeoastronomical observations strongly support the case for the notched wall having been a navigational monument associated with observation of the Southern Cross, Newe in Hawaiian. Newe is reputed to have been used as a navigational guide in traditional voyages from Hawai'i to Kahiki. Oral tradition also links the Kahikinui area with La'amaikahiki, raising the possibility that the *pānānā* might have either been constructed by, or in memory of, this famous voyaging chief. Regardless of who built the *pānānā,* it stands as a monument to a fascinating period of long-distance voyaging in Eastern Polynesia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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supportive of our research over the years and we extend our *mahalo nui loa* to them. Sharp thanks Regina Mertz for help in developing improved methods for U-Th dating of corals. Finally, Kirch thanks the late Rev. Kawika Kaʻalakea for sharing his knowledge regarding the *pānānā* at Hanamauloa.

NOTES

1. The Rev. Kavika Kaʻalakea (1919-1998) was born and raised in the district of Kaupō, to the east of Kahikinui. He was raised as a *punahele* child of his grandmother, from whom he gained much knowledge of this southeastern part of Maui Island.
2. The site of St. Ynez church is on a knoll at about 1,250 feet elevation, a place evidently called Puʻu Aniʻani and said by some local informants to have been the site of a stone temple platform (*heiau*) destroyed to construct the stone-and-mortar walls of the church. From the knoll one has a superb view of the slopes descending to the rocky, wind and surf-attacked coastline, from as far east as Nuʻu Bay and to the west past Alena towards Hanamauloa. This vast coastal zone, dotted with ancient Hawaiian house sites but today barren of a single habitation and mostly treeless, helps to inspire a certain sense—as told to me by a number of Native Hawaiian friends and informants—that the area is inhabited by *ʻuhane*, or spirits of the dead. The Rev. Kaʻalakea mentioned this during our conversation, and said that during his experience of visiting Kahikinui while growing up in adjacent Kaupō he had heard the *ʻuhane* whistling to him.
3. Hanamauloa does not appear in the Pukui *et al.* (1974) compilation of Hawaiian place names, and it is not a name in common use today among the fishermen and others who occasionally visit the area. However, the name does appear on one of the earliest maps of Maui, the 1838 "Kalama" map engraved at the missionary press at Lahainaluna (Forbes 2012: 150-51). The prefix Hana- is a very common form in Hawaiian coastal names, deriving from an old Polynesian term meaning 'bay' or 'place' (Pukui *et al.* 1974: 245-46). Hanamauloa might be loosely glossed as 'The Endless Bay'.
4. The Hanamauloa *pānānā* is located within lands controlled by the State of Hawaiʻi Department of Hawaiian Home Lands. Access is strictly prohibited without written permission from the DHHL.
5. When the uplands of Kahikinui formerly had a more substantial vegetation cover, especially before19th century cattle ranching, it is conceivable that the smaller watercourses descending down the slopes to Hanamauloa had seasonal, if not year-round, water flow.
6. In both surveys we used a Leica TCR705 Total Station loaned by the School of Archaeology and Ancient History at University of Leicester.
7. Viewed from the *heiau*, the summit of Hōkūkano appears at az=313.5°, alt=+6.5°, yielding a declination of +42.9°, while the visible feet of the slopes on each side yield declinations ca. 0.7° greater and lower respectively. Thus a star with

declination between about +42.2° and +43.6° would set directly into the hill. The declination of Deneb was +42.0° in AD 1000 increasing to +43.9° by AD 1600.

8. Viewed from the *heiau*, the summit of Pu'u Pīmoe appears at az=293.5°, alt=+3.9°, yielding a declination of +23.3°, while the visible feet of the slopes on each side yield +21.7° and +24.5° respectively. Thus a star with declination between +21.7° and +24.5° would set directly into the hill, and one with declination close to +23.3° would set directly into the summit. The Pleiades cluster spanned +21.15° to 21.65° in AD 1200, +21.9° to +22.4° in AD 1400, +22.6° to +23.1° in AD 1600, and +23.3° to +23.8° in AD 1800. From the *pānānā* the declination of the summit is +22.7°, and the whole hill spans a declination range from +21.1° to +23.9°.
9. Around AD 1200 the disk of the June solstice sun spanned declinations from +23.3° to +23.8°; by AD 1800 this range had altered slightly to +23.2° to +23.7°.
10. Humu is identified by Makemson (1941: 212) as the star Altair.

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ABSTRACT

A unique stone monument consisting of a notched, linear wall and associated features, situated at Hanamauloa in Kahikinui District, Maui Island, is interpreted as a probable pre-contact navigational structure. Ethnographic testimony refers to the structure as a *pānānā* or 'sighting wall'. Archaeological investigation revealed that the wall and associated cairn and upright are positioned so that the notch precisely frames the stars of the Southern Cross when the constellation is exactly positioned above the upright slab visible through the notch. In Hawaiian traditions, the Southern Cross is known as a guiding star to Kahiki, the ancestral homeland. Precise Uranium-series dating of branch coral associated with the cairn suggests an age of AD 1444 ± 4 for

construction and/or use of the site. The broader geographical context of the monument is also discussed, including a suite of place names referring to ancestral Polynesian lands. Finally, it is suggested that the *pānānā* may relate to an important figure in Hawaiian oral traditions, the voyaging chief La'amaikahiki.

Keywords: Archaeoastronomy, Polynesian navigation, Hawaiian astronomy, Polynesian voyaging, La'amaikahiki

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

POLYNESIANS IN THE CROSS-FIRE: THE HAWAIIANS CAUGHT BETWEEN FRENCH CAPTAIN ABEL DU PETIT-THOUARS AND AMERICAN MISSIONARY HIRAM BINGHAM, HONOLULU, 1837

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This article discusses the problems brought to the Polynesian people in the Hawaiian Islands by the presence of the French and American missionaries. Until now, these problems have been seen primarily from one side, that of the American missionary Hiram Bingham. The aim of this article is to also present the French side, as seen here essentially through the hitherto untranslated journal of Captain Abel du Petit-Thouars, who arrived in Honolulu in July 1837. The pages of Du Petit-Thouars' journal pertaining to his sojourn in these islands are: *Tome premier, chapitre VIII, pp. 317-95*, and references to these are usually presented in citations.

In the 1820s two events occurred which were to throw the lives of the Hawaiian rulers into confusion.

On 4 April 1820 Protestant Missionary Hiram Bingham and his wife Sybil, accompanied by six colleagues and their wives, arrived in the Islands from Boston, Massachusetts. Then, seven years later, on 7 July 1827, two Catholic priests, Alexis Bachelot and Patrick Short with three colleagues, arrived there from Bordeaux in France.

During these years from 1820 to 1827 the American missionaries had been hard at work, and Queen Regent Ka'ahumanu (the future king, Kamehameha III was only 13 years old in 1827) had become their firm disciple. As a consequence, declared Bingham, she "refused to admit or receive the Papal teachers" (Bingham 1981: 331).[1] The French captain Plassiard who had brought them, however, refused to take them back. They thus remained, and celebrated their first Mass just a week later. By January 1828 they had established "a small chapel in which," observed American resident William Alexander, "a small congregation was soon gathered" (Alexander 1899: 201)[2] and then, "by the end of July 1829, they had baptised 65 adults and a number of children, and had a group of catechumens under their instruction" (Kuykendall 1968 [1]: 140). Success was thus rewarding the efforts of the persistent Catholics.

This success, however, did not please everyone, and Bingham would say that these "Roman emissaries" were there to interrupt and thwart his own "evangelical efforts". On 8 August 1829 Kaʻahumanu published a law forbidding her people from embracing the Catholic faith (on pain of being condemned to hard labour) and then, on 3 January 1830, she forbade the Catholic priests from teaching their religion. Hiram Bingham noted, however, that "the Romanists... were erecting or enlarging their buildings" and were still busy "inculcating the Romish faith", and subsequently, on 2 April 1831, a decree of banishment was announced to the Catholic priests, requiring them to leave within three months. They eventually departed Honolulu on Christmas Day that year. Triumph for Bingham could not be more complete.

Then, on 5 June 1832, Kaʻahumanu died. Bingham was with her at the very last moment. "She turned her languid and friendly eyes upon me for the last time," he wrote, and said, 'I am going now'." She died just before dawn. "The nation," declared Bingham, "felt the shock." However, he added, "None, perhaps, felt it more deeply than the missionaries, whose firmest helper had left them in the midst of their struggle" (Bingham 1981: 405, 433-34). Her place was taken by Kinau, half-sister of the future King.

When Captain Auguste Vaillant arrived in the impressive 800-ton warship *La Bonite* in October 1836 the Hawaiians assumed that this visit, as Vaillant himself would put it, "concerned the expulsion of the two Catholic priests for whom... I had come to seek vengeance". He had indeed been instructed, before leaving France, to impress the Hawaiian people "with a true idea of the power of France", but no specific persons had been named.

Soon after arrival, he invited Kamehameha III (now 23 years of age) aboard *La Bonite*, and showed him the ship's weapons. "In less than a quarter of an hour," he assured his guest, "all this can be ready to storm a beach, and mow down everyone who may try to resist!" The King, the Frenchman observed, "was quite at a loss". The cross-fire, in which he found himself, was rapidly becoming less metaphorical. Vaillant then became more conciliatory, reassuring Kamehameha that "France... knows how to forgive", and when Kamehameha finally left for shore he did so "to a salute of twenty-one guns".

Before departing Honolulu Vaillant recorded that "the King had promised to welcome with special consideration all French people who may come into his States" (Vaillant 1845-52: 256, 258-62). Vaillant left on 24 October and then, six months later on 17 April 1837, the two priests returned—only to be ordered again to leave. They again refused, but this time remained aboard the ship, the *Clémentine*, which had brought them.

THE VISIT OF CAPTAIN DU PETIT-THOUARS

Abel du Petit-Thouars arrived in Honolulu three months later (on 8 July) in the frigate *Vénus*, heavily-armed with 58 cannon and some 470 men. Like Vaillant, he had been instructed "to give a strong idea of the power of France". Accordingly, accompanied by British consul Richard Charlton, he went to call upon "Queen Kinau, who was governing in the King's absence". Kinau would now find herself in the midst of conflicting allegiances, not the least of which was to her own people.

The Frenchman soon raised the question of Alexis Bachelot, and asked "that he should be immediately allowed to disembark and to reside here... until he found a suitable time to leave. The Queen refused", said Du Petit-Thouars. Then he noticed "that the Methodist missionary Bingham, present at this visit, was making a sign to the Queen to say no". Seeing that the American's influence here was much stronger than his, Du Petit-Thouars decided to withdraw, declaring that he himself "would put Mr Bachelot ashore".

Bingham clearly manifested his influence when he presented the text of Kamehameha's order banishing the Catholic priests for the second time. The Old Testament language of this document and its faultless English could perhaps lead one to believe this was the American's own composition, the writer proclaiming:

> Ye strangers all from foreign lands… I make known my word to you all.... The *men of France*, whom Kaahumanu banished, are under the same unaltered order.... I have no desire that the service of the missionaries who follow the Pope should be performed in my kingdom, not at all.

According to Bingham, during the course of this meeting he and the British consul had become involved in an altercation, at the end of which the consul had threatened him by saying, "Mr Bingham, if you insult me again, I will horsewhip you." Another person, added Bingham, "had threatened to hang [him] at the yard-arm". What Queen Kinau thought of these self-styled "civilised" people, arguing so violently in front of her, is not known. The two priests, however, were later put ashore from the *Clémentine*, and taken "to the Maison française where they lived" (Bingham 1981: 505-6, 508, Du Petit-Thouars 1840-1843 [1]: 328-29).[3]

On 20 October the King finally returned from Maui, and the next day Du Petit-Thouars, accompanied by two of his officers and the British and United States consuls, went to see him. The King must have felt this was an important event for "he was surrounded by his [half] sister Queen *Kinau*, his wife the Princess *Kalama*, by *Kaukini*, governor of Hawaii, by *Opili* governor of Mawée" and several other highly-placed chiefs. "The King," wrote the

Frenchman, "was sitting in front of the Queen [Kinau] who dictated to him what he should reply. She, for her part," he observed, "received her instructions from the head of the missionaries, Mr Bingham, placed behind her." The threats the American had received earlier had clearly not deterred him. French patience was to be tested once again. As Bingham had now been in the islands for 17 years he would have realised that, as soon as his rivals had left, he would be able to undo everything they had done. This whole negotiation process was thus for him quite inconsequential. Meanwhile the Hawaiians, serving here only as Bingham's mouthpiece, became increasingly confused.

Not surprisingly perhaps, the accounts of Du Petit-Thouars and Bingham of this meeting differ considerably. The Frenchman wrote:

> We addressed the King in English but he... seemed not to understand.... So we sent for MM. Bachelot and Short, who speak *kanak* very well, to act as interpreters for us. The King, on the advice of Mr Bingham, pretended still not to understand what they said." (Du Petit-Thouars 1840-43 [1]: 336-37)

Bingham, speaking of himself in the third person, said that "the King chose Mr Bingham for interpreter" but the British consul had "refused him, and sent for Mr Bachelot.... This obtruded priest," said the American, "labored through a sentence... after which the King... followed him with the forcible interrogation, 'What?'" Other interpreters were tried, but eventually, admitted Bingham, "the necessity of having an interpreter, not connected with the mission, became obvious and", he confessed, "my being rejected became a matter of relief to me" (Bingham 1981: 508-9).

During this audience Du Petit-Thouars had asked the King why Bachelot had been treated so harshly. "The King replied," said the captain, "that it was not he who had maltreated them, and that he had simply upheld a decree already adopted during his minority." The Frenchman may indeed have felt he was boxing with shadows, for Kamehameha here referred him to the decree of Ka'ahumanu, who in turn had been influenced by the omnipresent Bingham.

It was at this point that Du Petit-Thouars added a footnote to his text (1840-43 [1]: 339) saying that the Catholics were "described by the Methodist missionaries as the enemy of the populations of Havaii [sic]", and "… like pagans and, in some way, like a kind of malfeasant beast".

"Before the discussions of the day were through", however, wrote Bingham, "the company got into some confusion, as some papers which Captain Thouars wished to put into the King's unwilling hand, were allowed to fall to the floor" (Du Petit-Thouars 1840-43 [1]: 338, Bingham 1981: 509). Kamehameha, caught in the midst of this Franco-American cross-fire, was beginning to manifest his confusion physically. All this conflicting foreign

intervention in his country's life-style was beginning to take its toll, and indeed these may be the early signs of a deep depression which he would suffer later. In a less serious context the subsequent scene could seem quite a burlesque. Du Petit-Thouars did indeed hand the King "a written note".

> The King took it at first, but some chiefs and missionaries rebuked him for this. The English consul... took it out of his hands for some reason. I immediately invited him [the consul] to give it back to him, which he did. But the King looked quite frightened, and didn't want to touch it any more. The consul placed this note on the King's knees, but it slipped to the ground. An officer picked it up and gave it back to me [Du Petit-Thouars] and I gave it back, once again, to the King who accepted it a second time. He took it, however, only with a feeling of fear." (Du Petit-Thouars 1840-43 [1]: 340)

Bingham claimed that this officer had approached him and,

> …clapping his sword, said, with a malign stare, 'Do you see this? Do you see this?' intending, doubtless, to give the impression that, should all arguments fail to introduce Romish teachers, the sword could accomplish it.... The King subsequently asked me, 'Would the United States make war with me if that Frenchman had killed you?'

The American had reassured the King that "they would surely enquire into it first". He then recalled how Kamehameha "had alluded forcibly to this commotion in his letter to William IV [in September 1837] as 'the near approach of battle'" (Bingham 1981: 509).[4] It may thus have been this "commotion" which had caused Kamehameha to accept the Frenchman's note for the second time "only with a feeling of fear".

When Du Petit-Thouars arrived in the islands he had in fact expected to be able to thank Kamehameha "for the gracious promises he had made to Captain Vaillant...". However, he wrote, "what was my surprise on learning about the violent and inhumane way in which a Frenchman [Bachelot] has just been treated. Nevertheless," he continued, "I fear that some persons may have abused their influence in order to induce the King into error on this question."

On the 22nd of July a second meeting got under way. "Mr Bingham was not in the room," noted Du Petit-Thouars—until he noticed that his adversary was "in a small adjoining closet, where he could hear exactly what was going on". The Frenchman was accompanied by Englishman Captain Edward Belcher of the warship H.B.M.S. *Sulphur*, then in Honolulu harbour, and both men requested that the Catholic priests be allowed to stay. Finally, "after numerous difficulties", the King granted their request, and it was agreed that

written guarantees should be drawn up, and exchanged on "Monday 24th at 10 o'clock". Kamehameha's text (translated from Du Petit-Thouars' French) read as follows:

> We, Taméhaméha III, king of the Sandwich Islands, agree that Mr Bachelot may reside in the island of Oahu, without being troubled or molested, until he shall find a favourable occasion to leave this country...
>
> *Signed* Tamehameha III

Du Petit-Thouars' response was as follows:

> The undersigned, ship's captain, commandant of the French frigate the *Vénus*, promises, in the name of Mr Bachelot, that this foreigner will seize the first favourable occasion... to leave these islands, either to go to Manila, Lima or Valparaiso or to another part of the civilised world, and that, should an occasion not present itself, he shall be embarked upon the first[5] warship [*bâtiment de guerre*] to visit these islands. Meanwhile, he shall not preach.
>
> *Signed* A. du Petit-Thouars

Bingham managed to see this as a triumph, saying that Du Petit-Thouars had thus "concurred officially" in Bachelot's final expulsion, and had agreed to restrain his essential function, that of preaching.

The Frenchman, however, pressed for time (for he was leaving that same evening), then negotiated—"after long debates and difficulties"—a convention of just one article with Kamehameha, which was drawn up in both French and *"Kanak"*.[6] It was dated July 24, 1837:

> There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the French and the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands.
> The French will be able to go and come freely in all the states which comprise the government of the Sandwich Islands. They shall be received and protected there, and shall enjoy the same advantages as the subjects of the most favoured nation.
> The subjects of the king of the Sandwich Islands shall also be able to come to France. They shall be received and protected there like the most favoured foreigners.
>
> Signed: Taméhaméha III
> du Petit-Thouars
> (Du Petit-Thouars 1840-43 [1]: 341-43, 345, 347-48)

Bingham, for his part, supposed (perhaps mischievously) that "It was doubtless mutually understood that fugitives from justice, deserters from ships, Romish teachers and armed invaders .. were not included in the pledge of free entry."

"I let the King know", said Du Petit-Thouars, "that I was provisionally giving Mr Dudoit the functions of agent of the consulate of France... because", he declared, "Queen Kinau had, in my presence, threatened him with her vengeance after my departure."

The awkward position of the Hawaiians, caught between the French and the Americans, was manifest until the very moment before the departure of Du Petit-Thouars, who wrote:

> The King expressed to me the wish to come aboard the *Vénus*, and I asked him to come straightaway, as I intended to get under way at nightfall. He told me he was going to consult his chiefs, and he did not come.... He was prevented from doing so, for it was feared that he should see me alone. Mr Bingham has indeed too much interest in him not being enlightened as to his position, to leave him exposed to the points of view of foreigners. (Bingham 1981: 511, Du Petit-Thouars 1840-43 [1]: 348)

"At 7 o'clock in the evening [of 4 July]," concluded Du Petit-Thouars, "we left Honolulu Harbour, and set sails for Kamtschatka [sic]", some 3000 miles to the north-west, in the very different climate of Siberia.

* * *

A few months later, as promised, the two Catholic priests also took their leave. Short sailed for Valparaiso on 30 October, and arrived there on 8 January. Bachelot left on 23 November, but died at sea during the night of 4 December.

On 18 December 1837 King Kamehameha III issued a severe "Ordinance Rejecting the Catholic religion", and several converted Hawaiians were consequently set at forced labour (Alexander 1899: 223, Bingham 1981: 514, Du Petit-Thouars1840-43 [1]: 395). All the hard work that Du Petit-Thouars had done, had thus been undone in less than five months.

EPILOGUE

It was perhaps inevitable that such continuous and conflicting pressures should bring about a deterioration in Kamehameha's health. After Du Petit-Thouars' departure, however, he would have even more difficult problems to solve.

On 10 July 1839 Captain Cyrille Laplace arrived in Honolulu on the 52 gun frigate *L'Artémise.* He came to lodge yet another complaint on behalf of his government. "In vain", he declared, "had the captains of *La Bonite* in 1836 and *la Vénus* the following year lodged strong complaints against... the government of the Sandwich Islands.... Scarcely had they left than the persecutions began again with renewed violence." It is improbable, however, that Laplace actually saw any such violence, for the American whaler *Elizabeth* had forewarned Kamehameha of *L'Artémise*'s arrival and, on 17 June 1839, the King had issued an "Edict of Toleration", declaring that no more people should be punished because of their religion.

Upon arrival Laplace learned from French consul Dudoit that "our rivals [as Laplace called them] had precipitously abandoned the town in order to withdraw... to the other side of the island. They thus abandoned," he said, "with neither counsel nor protection—to my mercy, as it were—the principal indigenous authorities of the island.... Perhaps they hoped", he wrote, "that, once *L'Artémise* had gone, they would quietly take up again where they had left off" (Laplace 1841-54 [5]: 433-39). In the meantime Kamehameha was left on his own—all the while knowing that his absentee counsels were not gone far, nor for long. Laplace demanded freedom of religion in the islands, and 20,000 piastres as a "guarantee" of good faith. If, he said, "the King, led on by bad counsels, should refuse to sign this treaty, then war would immediately be commenced" (Laplace 1841-54 [5]: 440, 533). Laplace also took Kamehameha's secretary, Haalilio, as hostage. Not surprisingly, the demands were accepted—and no "war" was required.

Three days before Laplace left Honolulu, the King visited him on *L'Artémise.* Kamehameha's confusion now appears to be complete, and his indecision here may indicate a deepening depression. He was certainly no longer master in his own domain. He explained to his host how he "was not strong enough alone to extract himself from the yoke of the [Protestant] missionaries who... had managed to render him completely incapable.... Why do you not stay a while longer with me?" he asked the Frenchman. "But no", he continued, answering his own question, "Just like the captains of the other French warships who have preceded you, you are going to leave and will not return." Laplace explained that he could not stay because he needed "to reach the north-west coasts of America before the bad weather closes our access to them". *L'Artémise* raised anchor and "set sail in the morning of 20 July" (Laplace1841-54 [5]: 494, 497).

Nearly four years later, in February 1843, Kamehameha would come under pressure from English captain Lord George Paulet to cede his islands to the British government because, wrote Paulet to his Secretary of the Admiralty, "a French man-of-war was expected soon to arrive to take possession of the

islands" (Bradley 1942: 433). To avoid this cession Kamehameha had thought for a moment of ceding his islands rather to France or the United States, or indeed to both. The situation had become so desperate and confusing, wrote President of the Hawaiian Treasury Board, American Dr Gerrit Judd, on 27 February, that "the King declared himself a dead man, and expressed his conviction that his ruin was determined.... He would sooner give up all," said Judd and, "let them take the Islands" (Kuykendall 1968: 215). Five months later, however (on 26 July), the Islands were returned, after Queen Victoria had declared Kamehameha should "be treated as an *Independent Sovereign*" (Kuykendall 1968: 220).

For the greater part of the next six years relations between the French and the Hawaiians and Americans were friendly, and in March 1846 the 20,000 piastres given to Laplace were returned. By now, however, there were many Americans in the Hawaiian government. Judd held various portfolios, John Ricord was Attorney-General, Robert Wyllie was Minister of Foreign Affairs and John Young II was Minister of the Interior (Alexander 1899: 340). By 1849 new French consul Patrick Dillon felt he needed a French naval force to give him support, especially regarding the Catholic priests and the import duties on French wines and spirits. Accordingly, on 12 August 1849 Admiral Tromelin, Commander of the French Naval Division of the Pacific, arrived in Honolulu harbour with his "French Armada" (as Kuykendall would call it), the frigate *La Poursuivante* and the steam-corvette *Le Gassendi*. Tromelin dispatched ten demands to Kamehameha, saying that if a satisfactory answer was not received in three days then his officers "would employ the means at their disposal to obtain a complete reparation"(Kuykendall 1968: 393). Three days later a reply, courteously declining the demands, was received. The Hawaiian government also advised Tromelin and his officers that, if they were indeed to "employ the means at their disposal," no resistance would be offered.

That very afternoon (25 August) Tromelin sent an armed force ashore, took possession of the fort, occupied the custom house and other government buildings, seized the King's personal yacht and blockaded the harbour.

On the 28 August he received aboard *Le Gassendi* two commissioners from the Hawaiian government, Americans Judge William Lee and Dr Judd. No Hawaiians were present, and no solution was achieved. The occupation and blockade continued. The fort was dismantled, and Governor Kekuanaoa's house was ransacked. Finally, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Robert Wyllie, proposed that the matter should be referred back to the French government in Paris. The French invasion came to an end. With little or nothing achieved, Tromelin took his leave on 5 September, with his "French squadron" (Kuykendall 1968: 395) as it would now be called.

In December 1850, new French consul Emile Perrin arrived in the warship *La Sérieuse* and, to everyone's surprise, made the same demands as Tromelin. Apprehension began to grow again among the Hawaiians, and the Americans and British determined to fire upon Perrin's ship if necessary. Perrin wisely decided to return to Paris for new instructions. When he returned in January 1853, he had been instructed to tell Kamehameha that the French government "will never have any thought of establishing over the Sandwich Islands a protectorate either direct or indirect, or of exercising there any exclusive influence, religious, political or commercial" (Kuykendall 1968: 407).

The Polynesian King could thus finally have peace of mind. Two years later, however, on 15 December 1854, he passed away, at 41 years of age and in the 30th year of his reign.

NOTES

1. Future king, Kamehameha III was born in August 1813.
2. William Alexander was, for many years, head of the Hawaiian Government land survey.
3. The translations of Du Petit-Thouars text here and throughout the article are mine.
4. William IV was King of England from 1830 to 1837.
5. "Kanak" was a word commonly ascribed to the language and people of the Pacific.
6. In his translation of this document, Bingham (p. 511) inserts here the word "French".

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ABSTRACT

During the first half of the 19th century the Polynesian rulers in the Hawaiian Islands were increasingly caught between the French and the Americans, as these two nations vied with intensifying hostility to gain support for their religious and commercial interests. The French on one occasion demanded a "guarantee" of 20,000 piastres, then took a Hawaiian notable as hostage, and later invaded Honolulu. In the early 1850s, however, French interest declined and King Kamehameha III, who had reigned over this situation for 30 years, could finally have peace of mind. He died in December 1854.

Keywords: Hawai'i, French Catholics, American Protestants, A. Du Petit-Thouars, Hiram Bingham

REVIEWS

Imada, Adria L.: *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. xiv + 392 pp., bib., figs, glossary, index, glossary. US$24.95 (paper).

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Adria L. Imada examines the United States' colonisation of Hawai'i through the control of *hula* from the late 1800s until the mid-20th century. The U.S. elite in Hawai'i used *hula*—through prominent positioning of largely mixed-race female dancers' bodies—to create an image of the U.S.-Hawai'i colonial relationship as intimate, pacified and mutually desired. The title, *Aloha America*, was the phrase that hung over the first Hawaiian exhibit at the World's Fair in 1876 during the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. Imada positions this highly contextualised phrase, "*aloha*", which references diverse sentiments such as "love, sympathy, pity, joy, compassion, affection, veneration and mercy" (p. 8) as a metaphor for the ambivalent and imagined intimate relationship between Hawai'i and the United States.

In the introduction, Imada questions how dissent for the U.S. colonial project and the native Hawaiian practice of decolonisation has been, and continues to be, categorised as direct activities of resistance and rebellion. Such categorisation, she argues, dismisses practices and experiences that "produce counter-memories that contest sedimented histories or settler colonialism and sustain decolonizing processes (p. 15)." Imada seeks to reconceptualise *hula* performances, during American colonisation, as acts that countered colonialism through the Hawaiian dancers' and cultural brokers' bodily movements and life experiences on and off the national and international stage.

In five ethnographically-rich chapters, Imada accomplishes her twofold aim of reclaiming "low-ranking knowledge of (neo)colonial subjects" and finding the "hidden transcripts" that reveal *hula* performers' desires and lived-experience by conducting open-ended interviews with the performers and their families, and analysing personal collections of objects and photography, performance repertoires, and official and unofficial archives.

One of many strengths of Imada's work in Hawai'i is her focus on telling the complex history of *hula*—one of intrigue, disdain, limitation and opportunities—through the intimate lives of performers such as Kini Kapahukulaokamāmalu (Kini Kapahu). Kini Kapahu is first introduced in Chapter One while training and performing traditional forms of *hula* and western instruments for King Kalākaua and his eclectic guest list of commoners, elite, foreigners and natives in the 1880s. In Chapter Two, Imada challenges the over-determined conceptualisation of *hula* performers in the

tourist circuit, as puppets in the coloniser's stage. She successful shows how they "used" the tourist performance circuit to achieve their own cosmopolitan desires while keeping "alive" Hawaiian culture, identity and practices even while transforming them. In these U.S. and international *hula* circuits, *hula* performers such as Kini Kapahu created lives and identities that countered the images "controlled" by American colonists and "protected" by nationalist Hawaiians. We learn the lesser-known story of Hawaiian native cultural brokers, such as Johnny Wilson, who managed and directed several *hula* performances in the U.S. and international locales in the early and mid-1900s, later marrying Kini Kapahu and becoming a popular political figure in Hawai'i. Thousands of miles away from the American territorial government, cultural brokers like Mr. Wilson presented competing representations of Hawaiians and displayed opposition to U.S. colonial practices through subversive dances and chants that entertained white audiences.

In Chapter Four, Imada shows how the popularity of "things" Hawaiian, including *hula*, grew exponentially in the 1930s, with Americans looking to escape the economic depression, and continued into subsequent decades, substantiating the creation of Hawai'i-specific spaces, such as the Hawaiian Room at the Lexington Room in NYC, which concretised the colonial fantasy year-round. In these entertainment clubs, the *hula* dancers reigned supreme as objectified sexual beings. These spaces created a demand for full-time *hula* dancers, which created high-level opportunities for them within careers unattainable to women in Hawai'i.

In Chapter Five, Imada elegantly shows how live-*hula* performances fell short of selling the fantasy of hospitality, mutual desire and tropical abundance *in situ*. Selling the Hawaiian fantasy of *aloha* and intimacy between the U.S. and Hawai'i to thousands of American troops in a militarised and poverty-stricken Hawai'i became the job of cameras. U.S. military-funded photography and films created a decontextualised image of imperial hospitality by strategically cutting out of the camera frame the realities of urban slums and disgruntled locals, and the significant presence of "questionable" ethnic communities such as the Japanese, African Americans and Puerto Ricans. Finally, the epilogue provides an update of *hula's* respected and, increasingly lesser-known, politicised position within the contemporary Hawaiian sovereignty and self-determination movement.

This book was a joy to read, full of intimate narratives and visual images of women and men in the *hula* circuits whose day-to-day actions, like wearing fur coats instead of a cellophane skirts at professional photo shoots and befriending other "staged" natives during the world fairs, countered the colonial "Hawaiian" image that deprived colonised woman of humanity and personal desire. Imada's careful reconstruction of *hula's* past reinserts into Hawaiian history not only colourful portraits of *hula* performers but also native Hawaiian women and men as cosmopolitan trailblazers and preservers and exhibitors of Hawaiian traditions. This book places as significant the experiences of women's travelling lives and politicises the everyday choices that these women made as significant to the political and spiritual process of decolonisation. This work could benefit however from a focused discussion on decolonisation and its relation to notions of self-determination both within current scholarship and among Native Hawaiians. Such a discussion would highlight the significance of

focusing in on the lives and desires of these *hula* performers. This quibble aside, *Aloha America*, with a brief but useful glossary of *Ōlelo Hawai'i* words and English equivalents, is ideal for undergraduate courses on gender, tourism, colonialism and ethnic relation, and histories of the U.S., Hawaii and the Pacific, or, because of its ample use of oral histories, ethnographic field notes and archival documents, graduate courses on ethnographic research methods. Overall, *Aloha America* is an excellent example of how scholars can use oral histories to examine the archival past and salvage stories, experiences and histories that are seemingly forgotten, silenced or otherwise marginalised.

Kirch, P.: *A Shark Going Inland is My Chief: The Island Civilization of Ancient Hawai'i.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012. xvii + 346 pp., appendices, bib, colour plates, figs, index, maps. USD$ 45.00 (hardcover).

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As a result of numerous cultural resource management and academic projects, archaeologists have now developed a large dataset to interpret Hawaiian prehistory. A result of this proliferation of archaeology over the past four decades is the need for synthesis. This book continues Patrick Kirch's efforts to do just that. Of interest to Kirch in this synthesis is the development of the only "pristine state" encountered by Europeans during the historic period. He argues that Hawai'i represents a model system to evaluate endogamous political development, and to understand a political system that was unique in terms of structure and complexity in Polynesia. By tracing the development of Hawaiian society from its ancestral roots in Southeast Asia to encounters with James Cook at Kealakekua, Kirch identifies cultural patterns and presents theoretical ideas of culture change. He argues that the interaction of long- and short-term processes, termed ultimate and proximate causes, results in the society described at European contact. This society, according to Kirch, is best described as an archaic state, the development of which "was a remarkable replay of the histories of other societies in similarly favourable conditions throughout both the Old World and the New" (pp. 289).

Given Kirch's experience throughout the Pacific, he is uniquely able to create a cohesive story spanning over 3000 years and the entire Pacific Ocean. He begins the book in a prologue recounting the impetus for its writing, describing European accounts of Hawaiian society, and briefly equating the society to other comparable political systems across the globe. He then turns to a discussion of personal experience, a technique continually and effectively used throughout the book, to bring the reader into the mindset of the modern-day archaeologist musing about the past. Such returns to his experiences illustrate the process of archaeological enquiry to both an audience familiar with the practice and interested in this particular situation, and an audience relatively unfamiliar with the discipline.

Part One begins to detail the extraordinary colonisation process that commenced in Island Southeast Asia and ends with the settlement of East Polynesia and Hawai‘i. This discussion revolves initially around the Lapita Cultural Complex before turning to description of Ancestral Polynesian Society from which all East Polynesian cultures putatively developed. It is this culture that Kirch compares to Hawaiian culture as a way of identifying change. Part One ends with a fictitious, but engaging, narrative of voyaging between the Marquesas and Hawai‘i, followed by a useful synthesis of the history of archaeology in the Pacific, intertwined with personal field stories. Though no one knows exactly how colonisation events occurred, the fictitious narrative usefully illustrates the great lengths to which populations went in their regional explorations, and introduces a world view that is likely foreign to many readers. The general synthesis is valuable as it summarises a great deal of information in an accessible way, though it presents one of several alternative scenarios. (For some of these consult: Addison and Matisoo-Smith 2010, Rethinking Polynesian origins: A West-Polynesia Triple-I model, in *Archaeology in Oceania* 45: 1-12; Terrell 1989, Commentary: What Lapita is and what Lapita isn't, in *Antiquity* 63: 623-26; and Terrell 2003, Archaeological inference and ethnographic analogies: Rethinking the "Lapita Cultural Complex", in *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 13: 69-76.)

The next section explores the development of Hawaiian society using a mix of evidence from archaeology, ethnography and indigenous accounts. Kirch places emphasis on the role of people in the modification of their landscape. After colonisation, the landscape began to change as a consequence of cultural actions, agriculture most notably, as well as rapid breeding and expansion of the Pacific rat presumably brought from the Marquesas. Kirch reflects on how these changes were associated with Hawaiian political development, exploring the evolving economic system in particular. He ends the second section by detailing the altered land tenure system that made Hawai‘i unique in Polynesia and its impacts on the development of the political system. This changing system removed kinship connections between commoners and elites, grouping the commoner populations according to locality and low-level familial relations. This was a fundamental difference from all other Polynesian societies and its implications are described later in the book (pp. 221-24). It is this that makes Hawai‘i similar to archaic states throughout the world.

The final section and epilogue are where the reader will find novel academic arguments, along with a description of the final few hundred years before historic contact. Kirch returns to his ideas of ultimate and proximate causation in describing culture change that he first outlined in his 2010 book, *How Chiefs Became Kings*. Kirch argues for multi-causation and states that it is the interaction of human decision-making, population growth, environmental change and contingencies that results in change leading to unique historical trajectories. These causes are couched in terms of a proximate-ultimate dichotomy, in which ultimate causes are seen as long-term processes (evolutionary) while proximate causes are those closer to the point of change (functional) (p. 227). Many of the ultimate causes that Kirch outlines are natural processes like population growth and environmental change (p. 228). Proximate causes, on the other hand, consist of human actions such as status rivalry and ideology (pp. 229, 297).

I am not sure that the proximate-ultimate dichotomy is necessary to illustrate the narrative of culture change sketched by Kirch. Human decisions and innovations—agency—can accumulate, sometimes over centuries and millennia, to change culture. Such decisions can change selective pressures, constrain development and provide opportunities. The process of human agency is intertwined with other external and internal processes. Because of how intertwined these internal (i.e., agency) and external (i.e., population growth and environmental change) processes are, and because both human agency and what are called ultimate causes have long- and short-term effects, I am uncertain whether this dichotomy adds to our understanding of Hawaiian culture change. It may be more useful to examine the political system as one of several interacting complex cultural systems. In such a view factors described as both ultimate and proximate interact in positive feedback loops to constantly create change. In any case, Kirch captures the complexity and intricacies of culture change well in his narrative.

This book is one of the best on Pacific prehistory in recent years and has recently won the 2013 Society for American Archaeology "Popular Book Award". The topic, which is interesting in its own right, is masterfully presented by Kirch and his analysis of the Hawaiian case is a significant work of scholarship. Though I would recommend the academic reader search for original published material on various topics in the book, referred to by Kirch and conveniently listed at the end of the book, the narrative is well worth the read and the arguments provided at the end are compelling. While Kirch has published prolifically over his long career, I am confident that this publication will endure as one of his best. The book should be a mainstay on the shelves of all students, Pacific anthropologists, and those interested in the development of socio-political systems in any area of the world.

Lansdown, R. (ed.): *Strangers in the South Seas. The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006. xiv-xvii + 429 pp., bib., illustrations, maps, photos. n.p. (paper).

ERICA NEWMAN
University of Otago

Lansdown has produced a book that provides the reader with European observations of the Pacific, including their disdains, appreciations and desires. This book is exactly what the title claims; it is about strangers in the South Seas and what their thoughts were of the Pacific. There is no pretence within this book of understanding the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, which is refreshing. The excerpts that Lansdown has selected allow the reader to experience the adventures of these strangers through their own words.

The introduction of this book gives an excellent broad overview of the Pacific. Lansdown has described the origins and settlement by the indigenous peoples and follows on with the European expansion and later colonisation. This is executed very

well and would provide any person who sought a broad overview of the history of how the Pacific was colonised with an excellent starting point. As with all the chapters in this book, Lansdown finishes the introduction with an extensive list of further sources should the reader desire to explore further.

The overall format is the same across each chapter, beginning with an introduction providing an academic overview and explanation of the topic theme, followed by a selection of excerpts from various Western writers, including a brief introduction about the author. These writings are transposed verbatim; therefore, there are a number of areas that need clarification to be understood. Lansdown effectively does this through the use of very clear footnotes. Although Lansdown only includes a selection of excerpts he concludes each chapter with a comprehensive selection of further readings to explore, making this book a valuable resource for any researcher. The excerpts that Lansdown uses come from the journals and writings of well-known explorers, missionaries, scientists, historians, anthropologists and novelists, as well as some lesser known commentators, giving the reader a wide range of perceptions. Writings are not all non-fiction; he has incorporated excerpts from novels and poems about the Pacific that are based on the experiences of the European authors.

There are nine chapters in this book, each following a specific, yet common topic, which flow in chronological order. Each topic covers clichéd Western thoughts of the Pacific. Chapter One looks at early Western exploration beginning with the idea of the Pacific being a version of Eldorado which was ripe for the exploitation of natural resources. Lansdown explains how the need for exploration into the South Seas was to find and exploit natural resources. He provides excerpts describing the explorer's findings as well as their plans for extracting the resources. Lansdown then moves on to Chapter Two where he discusses how indigenous peoples of the Pacific have for a long time been placed in categories of "savage" or "noble savage". Here he explores where these terms came from and why indigenous peoples were perceived as either being "savage" or "noble savage", and his examples provide insight into the Western thoughts of these terms.

In Chapter Three Lansdown relies on the journals, letters and crew recollections from the voyage of the *Duff*. This was one of the most important London Missionary Society voyages which had significant influence on the expansion of Christianity in the Pacific. Chapter Four discusses voyages into the Pacific by botanists and scientists who were intrigued with the different, and similar, flora and fauna of the Pacific. Through his own introduction, he explains how botanists and scientists believed that the South Pacific would complete the gap in the evolution theory of that time through collecting, cataloguing and geographical description of the islands. The excerpts Lansdown has used include scientists and botanists, such as Joseph Banks and Charles Darwin, who recorded their thoughts on the process of evolution based on their findings from these islands. This leads to Chapter Five and an explanation of the way indigenous peoples were characterised according to the hierarchy of civilised peoples with Caucasians at the top. Within this chapter Lansdown explores the beginning of scientific sources of racial differences. The excerpts provided describe how early European scientists evaluated or categorised the other, in this instance, the Pacific other.

This book then shifts to the settlement and colonisation of the Pacific, predominantly by Britain, France or America. Europeans sought to find a place for new beginnings,

either by choice or as convicts or escapees, and colonies were soon established throughout the Pacific. Colonial rule would soon follow as the new settlers, and some indigenous people, requested annexation from the dominant settler group. It is within Chapter Six that Lansdown discusses and provides excerpts relating to the establishment of these new colonies. In Chapter Seven Lansdown discusses anthropology as a new ethnographic form of study. Within his introduction to this chapter, Lansdown describes the history of anthropology and the field of social anthropology within the Pacific. The excerpts included are from the observations of a selection of anthropologists, giving the reader a view of what they saw and how they interpreted their findings.

The final part of this book explores a more contemporary view of the Pacific. At the time of the Second World War the majority of the Pacific was under colonial rule by the English, the French and the Americans. Many of the islands within the Pacific were deeply involved in the war, as were the indigenous people who lived there. In Chapter Eight Lansdown discusses the role of the Pacific during the Second World War. The letters and excerpts he has selected for this chapter provide the reader with the thoughts of those Europeans who either took part in the war or were living in the Pacific at that time. Chapter Nine, the final chapter, begins in the late 1800s with a discussion about the influential legacy of Paul Gauguin who provided the world with perspectives of the Pacific, in particular Tahiti, through his paintings and his journal *Noa Noa*. It is this chapter that provides the contemporary view of the Pacific as utopia, a place of paradise. Lansdown discusses significant changes within Pacific societies such as the introduction of capitalism, decolonisation and tourism. He also provides discussion on how the West saw the Pacific as a vast, empty space ideal for weapons testing.

This book is an excellent resource for anyone who is interested in exploring the early Western perspectives of the Pacific. The introduction gives a very good overview of how the Pacific became colonised and the interactions which followed with European expansion and later colonisation. Each chapter is clear and excerpts are carefully selected with ambiguous text explained clearly and with careful detail. *Strangers in the South Seas* is an excellent academic text for first year University programmes exploring the Pacific such as History, Anthropology, Geography, Pacific Studies and Indigenous Studies.

Pawley, Andrew and Ralph Bulmer, with the assistance of John Kias, Simon Peter Gi and Ian Saem Majnep: *A Dictionary of Kalam with Ethnographic Notes*. Pacific Linguistics 630. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, School of Culture, History and Language, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University, 2011. xiv + 810 pp. n.p. hardcover.

JOEL BRADSHAW
University of Hawai'i

This monumental dictionary is a fitting tribute to those who first began work on it during the 1960s but never had the chance to see the final printed product. The latter include three of those named on the cover—Bulmer, Gi, and Majnep—along with

Pawley's mentor in descriptive linguistics, Bruce Biggs. The bulk of the hefty tome is a Kalam–English dictionary (pp. 93–655) with roughly 6000 primary headwords and 14,000 lexical units, defined as "conventional form meaning pairing" (p. 20), plus a concise English-Kalam finderlist (pp. 662–810) that includes many Latin binomials for plants and animals. The earlier chapters include a guide to the dictionary (pp. 1–10), and notes about the Kalam people and their languages (pp. 11–24), the sound system and spelling practices (pp. 25–33), grammar and semantics (pp. 34–73), and the making of the dictionary (pp. 74–84), plus a list of bibliographic references (pp. 85–89) that refers readers to further work in the 1991 festschrift for Ralph Bulmer, edited by Pawley and titled *Man and a Half* (Auckland: The Polynesian Society).

The volume is aimed at multiple audiences, but perhaps especially educated readers of English who are tolerably familiar with terminology used in linguistics and, to a lesser extent, anthropology and biology. Parts of this review will also be aimed primarily at linguists.

The dictionary employs a spare phonemic orthography, which avoids writing the many predictable vowels that are automatically inserted to keep consonants apart, and also writes each consonant phoneme with the same symbol even when it sounds different in initial, medial or final position within words. Many words have no phonemic vowels at all, as in the sentence, **Ctk bsg nŋnknŋ, nbk ñbspm** 'While we are sitting watching, you (plural) are eating' (p. 28). The prenasalised obstruents, written **b, d, j, g,** are devoiced in final position (sounding more like English *mp, nt, nch, nk,* respectively) and often lose their initial nasalisation if they follow a word ending in an oral (i.e., nonnasal) consonant. The oral obstruents (those without nasal onsets) vary even more. Bilabial **p** is a stop only in final position (where it resembles English *p*), but is a voiced fricative [β] (like English *v,* but without teeth touching the lips) in initial position, and a voiceless [Φ] (like English *f,* but without teeth touching the lips) in medial position. Alveolar **t** is a tap (like the *t* in *later* or *butter* in many dialects of English) not just medially but also at the ends of words. Velar **k** is a voiceless stop (like English *k*) in initial or final position, but voiced fricative [ɣ] in medial position. Positional variants of the other phonemes are not as significant: the palatal affricate **c** (like English *ch*), the sibilant **s,** the resonants **m, n, ñ, ŋ, l, w, y,** and the vowels **a, e, i, o, u.**

Despite its structural economy and even elegance, when judged on language-internal grounds, the dictionary orthography is often a poor match with spelling practices in Tok Pisin, the language of primary literacy for most Kalam speakers. For instance, the personal names spelled Jobtud and Wpc in the dictionary orthography are spelled Ndyombirunt and Uvich in Tok Pisin contexts, and the place names spelled Kaytog and Kab-dagleb in the dictionary orthography are spelled Kaironk and Kamp-dangilemp in Tok Pisin. Some of these incongruities are discussed in the notes on spelling practices, where the compilers acknowledge that in the first draft of the dictionary they wrote **y** and **w** for both the syllabic, stressed vowels [i] and [u] as well as for the nonsyllabic, unstressed semivowels [y] and [w] (the two being in complementary distribution), but later yielded to wider Kalam preference by writing the vowels as **i, u,** and semivowels as **y, w.**

The two major regional dialects of Kalam are called **Etp mnm** and **Ti mnm,** both of which translate literally as '*what* language'. In other words, speakers of the former say **etp** for 'what', while speakers of the latter say **ti.** They differ in morphology perhaps as much as Spanish and Portuguese (pp. 2, 18). Although **Ti mnm** is phonologically more conservative (p. 32), neither one is regarded as Standard Kalam. Instead, both are considered Ordinary Language (OL) relative to the third major variety represented in the dictionary, **Alŋaw mnm** 'Pandanus language' (PL), ritually spoken during expeditions to the high mountain forest to collect and eat mountain pandanus. PL is marked by a set of lexical substitutes, often with wider semantic ranges than their OL translation equivalents. PL grammar is otherwise identical to that of OL.

Kalam syntax is in many ways typical of Papuan languages with what linguists refer to as switch-reference clause-chaining systems, whose main features are summarised very succinctly in the introductory notes (p. 39; original emphasis): "Independent verbs carry suffixes marking **absolute tense, aspect or mood,** and suffixes marking **Subject person-and-number** independently of any other verb. Dependent verbs carry suffixes marking **relative tense** (prior, simultaneous with or subsequent to) and **relative Subject reference** (same or different), the comparison being with the next following verb in the construction."

The most striking feature of Kalam morphosyntax is its verbal lexicon, which consists of a closed class of about 130 verb roots that combine with other elements to convey a wide range of meanings. Ninety percent of the instances of verbs in Kalam text consist of just 15 of the most generic roots combined in a wide variety of verb adjunct or serial verb constructions (p. 38). These roots include **ag-** 'make a sound, emit, utter, say', **d-** 'hold, touch, have, get, control, stop, finish', and **nŋ-** 'be conscious, perceive, know, see, hear, smell, feel'. Tok Pisin (TP) and English terms for actions and states are borrowed into Kalam as adjuncts of the all-purpose light verb **g-** 'do, make' (also glossed 'happen, occur, act, function, work, build, create'), as in **wasim g-** 'wash' (TP *wasim*) and **btuk g-** 'be broken' (TP *bruk*) (48). Common activities in traditional Kalam culture are often described in constructions consisting of several bare verb roots in a row, with only the last one inflected, as in **Am kmn pk d ap ad ñb-ig-pay** ('go game.mammal kill get come cook eat-PAST.HAB-3PL') 'They used to go and kill game mammals and bring them back and cook and eat them' (p. 51). The Kalam language is a fascinating study in compositional semantics.

This book might seem a throwback to the era when anthropology and linguistics worked together to describe new cultures and languages. During the half-century of its gestation period both disciplines have drifted apart, pursuing autonomous interests often irrelevant to each other, as well as to those whose cultures and languages they describe. Over the same period, however, biological, cultural and linguistic diversity in many parts of the world has been threatened as never before, and goals of preserving that diversity have become more imperative. At the 2013 International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (in Honolulu), whose theme was "Sharing Worlds of Knowledge," the long-term Kalam project was praised as an exemplary model of close collaboration among academic linguists, anthropologists and biologists, on the one hand, and indigenous experts on their own language, culture and ecology, on the other.

To preserve cultural as well as linguistic diversity, the dictionary frequently offers encyclopaedic information in the definitions of especially significant phenomena in Kalam culture. Consider, for example, the definition of **kobti** cassowary, *Casuarius* spp., which includes the following cultural notes before a series of subentries.

> **KOBTI** … Not classified as a bird (**yakt**). The local species, to which the term used by the Upper Kaironk and Simbai people normally applies, is probably the small Mountain Cassowary, *Casuarius bennetti.* Hunted. Cassowaries must be killed in ritually appropriate manner with blunt instrument and the flesh must be cooked on raised ovens with appropriate rituals. A man who has killed a cassowary remains ritually contaminated for several weeks. Tall men are often nicknamed **kobti.**

This multifaceted comprehensiveness will make the Kalam dictionary an invaluable resource for many more specialised projects aimed at various audiences, whether readers of Kalam or of English. Before their deaths, Majnep and Bulmer produced such works of cultural documentation as *Birds of my Kalam Country* (1977) and a multivolume series titled *Kalam Hunting Traditions* (1990–1991). Other such manuscripts are in the works (p. 86).

The dictionary and a 2007 book by Majnep and Bulmer, *Animals the Ancestors Hunted,* were launched in a colourful ceremony in November 2012 at the Divine Word University in Madang attended by about 200 people, including Madang Province Governor Jim Kas (a Kalam), representatives of the families of each of the Kalam contributors and other Kalam people living nearby. It was a long-awaited moment well worth celebrating.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED*

December 2012 – March 2013

Ewing, Michael and Marian Klamer: *East Nusantara: Typological and Areal Analyses*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, ANU, 2010. viii + 311 pp., bib., figs, maps, tables. n.p. (paper).

Hooper, Antony and Iuta Tinielu: *Echoes at Fishermen's Rock: Traditional Tokelau Fishing.* Paris: UNESCO, 2012. xi + 120 pp., bib., figs, glossaries, maps. n.p. (paper).

Kaeppler, Adrienne: *Lakalaka: A Tongan Masterpiece of Performing Arts.* Nuku'alofa: Vava'u Press, 2012. 64 pp., colour and b/w photos. NZ$43.50 (hardcover) and NZ$31 (paper).

Kirch, Patrick V.: *A Shark Going Inland is My Chief: The Island Civilization of Ancient Hawai'i.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. xvii + 346 pp., appendices, bib., colour plates, figs, indexes, maps. US$45 (hardcover).

McClean, Rosalind, Brad Patterson and David Swain (eds): *Counting Stories, Moving Ethnicities: Studies from Aotearoa New Zealand.* Hamilton (NZ): University of Waikato Press, 2012. xi + 254 pp., bib., ill., index, tables. NZ$23 (paper)

Moyle, Richard: *Takuu Grammar and Dictionary*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, ANU, 2011. x + 428, DVD-ROM, figs, tables. n.p. (paper).

Ross, Malcolm, Andrew Pawley and Meredith Osmond (eds): *The Lexicon of Proto Oceanic: The Culture and Environment of Ancestral Oceania Society, 4: Animals.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, ANU, 2011. xxvi + 576 pp., appendices, bib, figs, indexes, maps, tables. n.p. (paper).

Rubel, Paula and Abraham Rosman: *Collecting Tribal Art: How Kwakiutl Masks and Easter Island Lizard Men became ART*. West Conshocken (PA): Infinity Publishing, 2012. iii + 196 pp., bib., figs. n.p. (paper).

Tomlinson, Matt and Deborah McDougall: *Christian Politics in Oceania.* New York: Berghahn, 2013. xix + 235 pp., bib., figs, index, maps. US$90 (hardcover).

* The inclusion of a publication in this list neither assumes nor precludes its subsequent review.

LETTER TO THE EDITORS

Dear Editors,

In the introductory section of Michael Goldsmith's *The Colonial and Postcolonial Roots of Ethnonationalism in Tuvalu* (JPS 121 :129-50) there are a couple of oversimplifications which, if left uncommented on, may well contribute to the perpetuation of significant inaccuracies in the depiction and understanding of the details in question concerning the attaining of independence by Vanuatu.

The first oversimplification is the claim (p. 131) that Vanuatu "had the added burden of enduring two parallel systems of colonial administration". The implication here is that any attempt to gain independence in what in those days was The New Hebrides Condominium had merely to deal with two colonial governing powers rather than one, with those powers operating in parallel as unfettered entities.

The situation was considerably more complicated than that, as in the Condominium the indigenes were confronted not simply with two unfettered colonial powers, each of which could do whatever it wanted to, but with two would-be colonial powers, locally termed the "metropolitan powers", each of whom was uniquely constrained by the Condominium Protocol from unfettered unilateral action.

The consequent manoeuvring between the metropolitan powers, a manoeuvring which affected their dealings both with each other and with the indigenous population, had both negative and positive consequences when the notion of independence came on the scene after the Second World War.

On the negative side any moves towards attaining independence were certainly made more difficult by having to deal with a unique colonial administration in which two metropolitan powers with markedly differing attitudes to aspirations for independence on the part of their colonies were yoked in a relationship as complex as that of the Condominium.

On the positive side the complexities of joint government by the metropolitan powers unintentionally provided a significant political education for emergent young indigenous radicals, education which contributed to the political sophistication and tactical know-how that marked the campaign for independence which developed during the 1970s.

I first became aware that this political education was occurring when in Auckland during 1966 and 1967 I had the opportunity for frequent informal conversations with the young Walter Lini, future leader of pro-independence activity and future first Prime Minister of the Republic of Vanuatu. He was at that time completing his clerical education at St. John's Theological College, and he and I were collaborating on some study of narrative texts in the Raga language.

When our conversations touched on matters political it was apparent that his thinking had benefitted considerably from observation of the interaction between the metropolitan powers and of the ways in which this interaction affected their dealings with the indigenous population.

Further discussions with Walter and others at various times between the late 1960s and 1980 on matters relating to the attaining of independence confirmed my earlier impression of the value of the political education unintentionally provided by the Condominium.

From around 1970 onwards Walter and several like-minded politically educated contemporaries guided the formation of The New Hebrides Cultural Association which soon became The New Hebrides National Party and then The Vanuaaku Party, and the political lessons involuntarily provided by the Condominium powers were applied by that Party with considerable success.

The second oversimplification consists of the implied acceptance by Goldsmith of the views of Pareti (p. 131) and Jourdan (p. 132) that Vanuatu had to "fight" for its independence.

Unless the contrary is indicated the notion of "fighting" for independence implies armed struggle. The American colonies, Ireland, Algeria, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and Vietnam all had literally to fight for independence from their colonial masters, but in the Vanuatu case it needs to be specified that the "fight" was metaphorical, that it did not involve armed conflict.

The people of Vanuatu, organised and led by the pro-independence activists of the Vanuaaku Party, certainly had to engage in a decade of sophisticated, and often intense, political struggle in order to attain independence, but armed conflict with the metropolitan powers was not part of the agenda.

The only armed confrontation in Vanuatu in 1980 was not between Ni Vanuatu and the colonial powers, but occurred in response to an attempt at secession from the newly created Republic of Vanuatu by factions on the northern island of Espiritu Santo.

After independence had been negotiated through political struggle, and was in the process of formal implementation, this confrontation, detailed by Walter's Press Secretary, John Beasant (1984: 109-48), began when, shortly before Independence Day, 30 July 1980, crack British and French troops were deployed in Santo township but, because of the Condominium Protocol, characteristically were not substantively activated.

Soon after Independence Day the British and French troops were withdrawn and the secession crisis was resolved by the exemplary deployment, and judicious activation in a few very minor skirmishes, of troops from PNG brought in at the request of the new Vanuatu government.

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Beasant, John, 1984. *The Santo Rebellion: An Imperial Reckoning*. Honolulu and Richmond, Victoria: University of Hawaii Press and Heinemann Australia.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

The publications listed below are available to members of the Polynesian Society (at a 20 percent discount, plus postage and packing), and to non-members (at the prices listed, plus postage and packing) from the Society's office: Department of Māori Studies, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92012, Auckland. All prices are in NZ$.

Some Memoirs are also available from: The University Press of Hawai'i, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822, U.S.A., who handle North American and other overseas sales to non-members. The prices given here do not apply to such sales.

MĀORI TEXTS

1. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 1). New Edition of 1958 edition, 2004. xxxviii + 464 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2004. Price $69.99 (hardback).
2. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 2). New Edition of 1961 edition. xxxviii + 425 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2005. Price $69.99 (hardback).
3. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 3). New Edition of 1970 edition. xlii + 660 pp., audio CD, genealogies. 2006. Price $69.99 (hardback).
4. NGATA, A.T. and Hirini Moko MEAD, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 4). New Edition of 1991 edition with English translation. xviii + 380 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2007. Price $69.99 (hardback).

MEMOIR SERIES

14. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 192pp., including 104 plates. 2004. Price $30.
15. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 268pp., including 138 plates. 2004. Price $35.
37. DE BRES, Pieter H., *Religion in Atene: Religious Associations and the Urban Maori*. 95pp. 1971. Price $4.10.
38. MEAD, S.M., Lawrence BIRKS, Helen BIRKS, and Elizabeth SHAW, *The Lapita Pottery Style of Fiji and Its Associations*. 98pp. 1975. Price $7.00.
39. FINNEY, Ben R. (comp.), *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging*. 148pp. 1975. Price $8.00.

41. McLEAN, Mervyn,. *An Annotated Bibliography of Oceanic Music and Dance*. 252pp. 1977, with 74pp. 1981 Supplement. Price $12.30.

43. BLUST, Robert, *The Proto-Oceanic Palatals*. 183+x pp. 1978. Price $12.00.

45. HOOPER, Antony and Judith HUNTSMAN (eds), *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*. 226+viii pp. 1985. Price $35.00.

47. SIIKALA, Jukka. *'Akatokamanāva. Myth, History and Society in the South Cook Islands*. 153+xi pp. 1991. Price $29.95.

49. SORRENSON, M. P. K., *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years*. 160pp. 1992. Price $32.50.

50. BROWN, DOROTHY (comp.), *Centennial Index 1892-1991*. 279pp. 1993. Price $30.00.

51. TE ARIKI TARA 'ARE, *History and Traditions of Rarotonga.* Translated by S.Percy Smith. Edited by Richard Walter and Rangi Moeka'a. 216pp., genealogies and song texts. 2000. Price $70.00.

52. REILLY, Michael P.J., *War and Succession in Mangaia—from Mamae's Texts.* 112pp., geneaologies and maps. 2003. Price $16.00.

53. BIGGS, Bruce Grandison, *Kimihia te Mea Ngaro: Seek That Which is Lost.* 80pp. figs. 2006. Price $30.00.

54. REILLY, Michael P.J., *Ancestral Voices from Mangaia: A History of the Ancient Gods and Chiefs*. xiv + 330 pp., maps, drawings, genealogies, index. 2009. Price $40.00.

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