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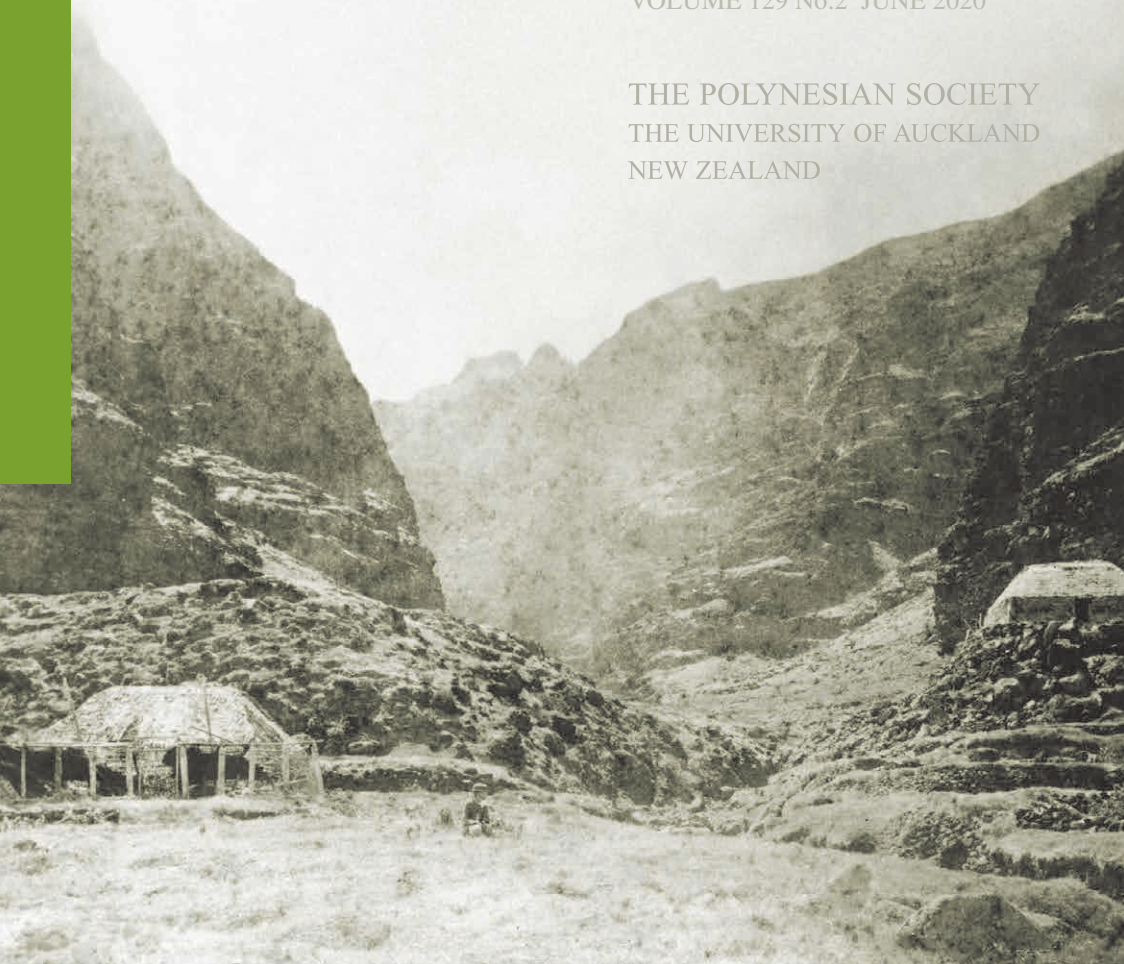

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Cover image: Grass-thatched houses at the mouth of Miloli‘i Valley, ca. 1900. Photograph by W.H. Deverill, Bishop Museum.

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VARIATION AND PROCESS: THE HISTORY, CURRENT PRACTICE AND FUTURE POTENTIAL OF MORTUARY ARCHAEOLOGY IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT: Mortuary archaeology in New Zealand is a tapu 'sacred, prohibited' subject due to the special place that kōiwi tangata 'human skeletal remains' hold in Māori culture. Recognition of Māori rights over ancestral remains led to a near cessation of published studies in recent decades. But kōiwi tangata are frequently uncovered accidentally by development or erosion and, in collaboration with Māori, recorded prior to reburial. The resulting pool of unpublished data presents an opportunity to advance our currently stagnant archaeological understanding of the burial practices of past Māori communities, particularly given that some sites are demonstrating a higher level of complexity of burial process than has hitherto been discussed archaeologically. Although still a highly charged subject, there exist a number of examples of Māori groups voicing support for respectful, collaborative study of burials. As time and tide continue to expose kōiwi, it is time for appraisal of the archaeological literature on this subject. This paper reviews the history and current practice of mortuary archaeology in New Zealand, highlighting how current bioarchaeological perspectives offer valuable potential. In particular, the concept of the burial rite as an ongoing process, the various stages of which can result in different forms of burial, and the application of the principles of field anthropology (anthropologie de terrain) to identify stages of mortuary activity offer new frameworks for exploring the variety evident in Māori burial and the social and conceptual insight this can offer.

Keywords: burial, mortuary archaeology, Māori, Aotearoa New Zealand, kōiwi 'human remains', anthropologie de terrain, archaeothanatology, Polynesia

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The archaeological analysis of burials can provide a direct encounter with the people of the past, illuminating aspects of life and death for both the individual and society while presenting a meeting point for biological and cultural lines of enquiry. In New Zealand, mortuary archaeology has received relatively little analytical attention, despite a history of active archaeological and biological anthropology research. The majority of published discussions of burials date to prior to the 1980s and most are descriptive, with few examples of quantitative or comparative analytical approaches to understanding burial behaviour. From these publications, the general statement that emerges

about pre-European Māori burial practice is: it varied. There has been little research conducted to try to establish pattern within or determinants of this variation. We have, therefore, a vague archaeological understanding of pre-European Māori burial practices—in what forms they arrived from eastern Polynesia and how they changed as Māori society developed, grew and diverged across the country. The lack of research in this area means there is little with which to contextualise the frequent discoveries of pre-European Māori burials uncovered during development or exposed by ongoing—and potentially increasing—coastal erosion.

In common with a number of countries worldwide, the practice of bioarchaeology in New Zealand is shaped by the presence of a living culture connected to the archaeological skeletal remains. Burials and *kōiwi tangata* 'human skeletal remains' are emotionally and spiritually charged in Māori culture. Past archaeological practice in relation to burials has contributed to shaping Māori protectiveness towards kōiwi, and the place of kōiwi in Māori culture has in turn shaped modern archaeological practice. Assertion of the significance of kōiwi tangata and of Māori rights over the remains led to a cessation of research excavation of burials from the 1970s and to a perception that research regarding pre-European Māori burials is not feasible.

The sensitivity of the subject does not necessarily preclude all research, however—if Māori collaboration and support are sought. By working with relevant Māori groups, accidental discoveries of burials or kōiwi tangata are often recorded by archaeological consultancy work. So, although our published mortuary archaeology record largely halted decades ago, there is an increasing pool of grey literature documenting multi-stage burial processes not discussed by the published literature. Added to this, there exist now a number of expressions of interest or support—as voiced by Māori—for research into the subject of bioarchaeology or traditional Māori mortuary practices (e.g., Meihana and Bradley 2018). These show that although this is an intensely sensitive area, there is some potential for respectful and collaborative research into this subject.

Before mortuary archaeology can move forward, there is a need for a critical review of the existing literature and assessment of how new approaches and new data may address current gaps in knowledge. This paper reviews existing New Zealand publications about burials and mortuary archaeology, identifies changing approaches over time, key findings and ongoing assumptions, and proposes explanations as to why this field has seen little analytical study. It goes on to argue that, with support from Māori groups and by applying modern bioarchaeological perspectives to the grey literature, opportunities now exist to better explore the complexities of pre-European Māori burial practice and to better access the social information, the insight into individual lives and the personification of the past that burials can provide.

THE PUBLISHED RECORD I: CHANGING APPROACHES

Despite a number of publications reviewing aspects of New Zealand bioarchaeology (Buckley and Petchey 2018; Clark *et al.* 2017; Gilmore *et al.* 2013; Matisoo-Smith 2004; Ruckstuhl *et al.* 2016; Shapiro 1940; Tayles and Halcrow 2010; Watt 1972), there are no comparable works that review mortuary archaeology or Māori burial practice. Despite restrictions on the study of Māori skeletal remains since the 1970s, there have been more biological anthropology studies published in recent decades than discussions of burial practice (Buckley *et al.* 2010; Cox *et al.* 2006; Hayes *et al.* 2012; Kieser, Dennison, *et al.* 2001; Kieser, Kelsen, *et al.* 2001; Kinaston *et al.* 2013; Murphy 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2005a, 2005b; Te Moananui *et al.* 2008).

Publications that document archaeological burials or discussions of burial practice in New Zealand are listed in the Appendix. The list is extensive but not exhaustive, since further burial descriptions may reside in excavation reports yet unknown to me.[1] Arranged chronologically, these publications span the changes in themes and approaches to mortuary archaeology over time, which reflect trends affecting the discipline as a whole.

To summarise the Appendix, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, archaeologists and ethnographers studied the material culture from burials with a focus on identifying Polynesian connections and establishing culture histories. Meanwhile, biological anthropologists frequently investigated only the crania from burials, seeking evidence of "racial" affinity as part of a "classificatory quest which seeks to understand by systematization" (Shapiro 1940: 1). In many cases little attention was paid to the burials as a whole (Matisoo-Smith 2004). When burial practice was discussed, body position was used as a criterion for identifying peoples or culture groups—for example, distinguishing "Moa hunters" from "shell-fish eaters" (Haast 1874a, 1874b) or identifying the so-called Waitaha people (Adkin 1948, 1950). Related to this was an interest in scattered or broken bone as an indication of the practice of cannibalism, and whether this practice could be regarded as a distinguishing feature of the proposed culture groups (see Barber 1992 for discussion; Haast 1874b).

As the twentieth century progressed, aspects of burial practice remained a focus for distinguishing culture groups, though the nature of those perceived cultures was redefined (Archaic vs. Classic Māori; see Golson 1959). Accompanying material culture was interpreted as reflecting expended "wealth" or "expense" and thus the social status of the individual (e.g., Adkin 1948; Duff 1977; Skinner 1936). This is an approach to mortuary analysis that continues to shape the way burials are used in archaeological interpretations of Māori social organisation (Marshall 2004; Walter *et al.* 2006). During this period, studies appeared that drew on oral tradition for interpretation (Monheimer and Skinner 1956; Sinclair 1940; Taylor

1955) and, though cannibalism was still referred to fairly uncritically as an explanation for broken or scattered bone (e.g., Sinclair 1940; Skinner 1934), one study gives more reasoned attention to the question of how to distinguish cannibalism from burial practice in the archaeological record (Teviotdale 1935). Also from this time bracket is a rare example of an analytical approach to using burial practice to glean esoteric information regarding cosmology (Steele 1931).

The broad shift from culture histories to analysis of economics and settlement patterns in New Zealand archaeology is reflected by the attention to spatial relationships between burials and occupation sites and sequences that developed in the 1970s (Davidson 1970, 1972; Leahy 1970). From that time, there was also a growth of an archaeologically integrated approach to physical anthropology in New Zealand—marked by the work of Phillip Houghton and Doug Sutton (e.g., Houghton 1975a, 1975b, 1977a, 1977b; Sutton 1977, 1979)—which provided more insight into individual skeletal remains and social questions related to health and injury, thereby bringing the study of burials into new focus.

There was an obvious decline in publications concerning burials and burial practice by the 1990s. A key exception is Barber's (1992) critical review of the archaeological and documentary evidence for one specific mortuary treatment—cannibalism. Barber appraises archaeological and ethnographic evidence for cannibalism, demonstrates that burnt and fragmented human bone can result from a variety of practices and illustrates ways that archaeologists have been overzealous in attributing such bone to (to use an oft-repeated phrase) "the remains of a cannibal feast". The dearth of burial publications continued into the 2000s; a few document burials arising from accidental discoveries (Pishief 2002; Trotter 2011), or derive from long-since excavated sites (Davidson 2018; Jacomb 2000), while a more recent series have resulted from a research programmme investigating European and Chinese settlers' graves (Petchey *et al.* 2017; Petchey, Buckley, Hil, *et al.* 2018; Petchey, Buckley and Scott 2018). The last of these reflects the rise of bioarchaeological approaches that bring cultural and physical research together and a new era of mortuary analysis in New Zealand.

THE PUBLISHED RECORD II: KEY FINDINGS AND CURRENT GAPS

In addition to spanning the changes in archaeological approaches to burials, the publications listed in the Appendix demonstrate a key archaeological understanding regarding pre-European Māori burial practice: that there is great variety in the contexts and presentations of documented Māori burials. The range of possible treatments for the dead body described by publications in the Appendix includes variety of position (extended supine or prone, flexed

in various positions, varied orientation), deposition (primary, secondary, incomplete, burnt), accompanying material (with or without grave goods, large stones, red ochre, coffins), context (graves, storage pits, houses, fire features, middens) and location (swamps, caves, sand dunes, burials within or removed from settlements).[2]

To provide a brief quantitative summary, the 70 entries in the Appendix represent approximately 505 individuals, 218 of which have been archaeologically excavated. Forty-two publications (60%) refer to more than one individual. Of those, 18 (43%) describe more than one approach to deposition at the one site or locale.[3] It is not uncommon to find more than one form of burial at any one place with multiple burials. The literature reports a far greater number of primary burials than those clearly described as secondary (Fig. 1), though the vast majority are not detailed or "other" (e.g., scattered in midden, "cremation"). When described, the greater number of pre-European burials were in the flexed rather than extended position, though if post-European burials are included in the tally, this is reversed—a reflection of the adoption of Christian burial practices. No attempt has been made to further divide burial treatments temporally for this paper, as to be of value this would require examination of the chronology of the sites and burials within them.

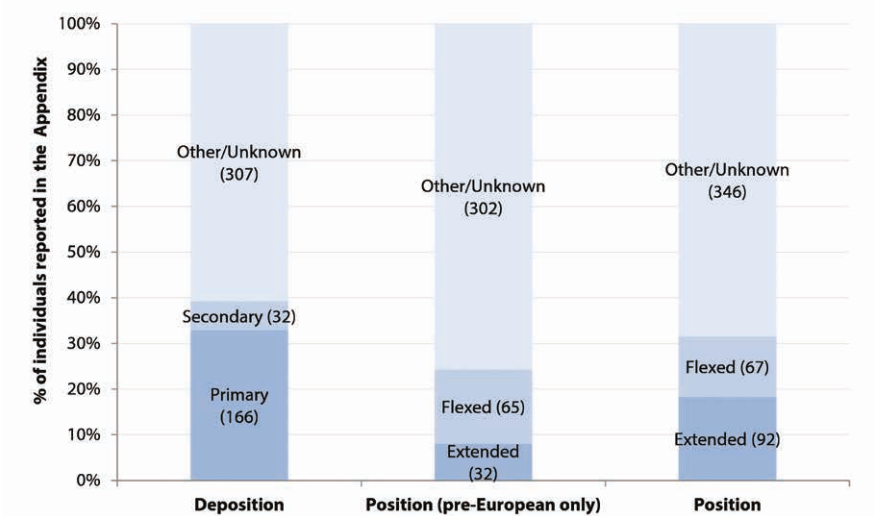

Figure 1. Numbers of individuals referred to in the Appendix divided by deposition and position.

Previous attempts to discuss or summarise the range of burial treatments employed by Māori tend to be categorical, contrasting these binary divisions of extended versus flexed position or primary versus secondary deposition (e.g., Davidson 1984; for discussion of such oversimplification see also Sutton 1974: 159), or categorising treatments in relation to natural features: cave burials, swamp burials, tree burials, sand dune burials (Best 1974; Crosby 2004; Taylor 1984). Few archaeological studies have attempted quantitative or comparative, temporal or regional analyses to consider determinants for the evident variation in burial treatments. Is this, or how is this, variety patterned among people and across landscapes or time? When differences in burial practice have been discussed, variation has often been attributed to differing status of the deceased, frequently on the basis of the provision of grave goods (Duff 1977; Leach and Leach 1979). This is an essentially processualist theoretical perspective which regards the living identity of the deceased as being unambiguously reflected in their treatment at death. It allows for only a narrow, somewhat western-capitalist-centric understanding of the concepts of grave goods and status and cannot account for the items that decay or processes that are not archaeologically visible.[4] Subsequent post-processual stances have pointed out that "the dead do not bury themselves" (Parker Pearson 1999: 9) and that multiple forces can be at play in the process of burial. Suggested determinants of Māori burial variety that are more in keeping with this latter line of thinking include manner of death (Davidson 1984), social context (i.e., at war or peace, Davidson 1970) and season of burial (Steele 1931), though these have not been explored in depth. The laws of *tapu* 'sacred, restricted, prohibited', the influence they might exert over deposition of items in a grave, and how this might affect the appearance of grave "wealth" have yet to be explored, despite the centrality of this concept and its influence over ritual behaviour in Māori culture (Gilmore *et al.* 2013; Salmond 1975: 42).

The literature also shows a number of assumptions that have not been greatly examined or tested. There has been an exclusion of incomplete burials from excavation, description or analyses (see Davidson 2018; Leach and Leach 1979; Walton 1994), simplistic suggestions of cannibalism to explain burnt or incomplete remains (discussed by Barber 1992), and a common assumption that burials would never have been placed in areas associated with food or housing, since this does not accord with modern Māori sensibilities regarding death (e.g., Haast 1874b; Law 2008: 53; Oppenheim 1971: 25). The latter assumption may seem reasonable, given the enduring nature of aspects of the *tangihanga* 'funerary rites' in Māori culture (Oppenheim 1973; Voykovic 1981), but such assumptions left unexamined potentially deny Māori culture the inevitable process of change. This point is also countered by both archaeological examples (Davidson 1970; Law

2008; Leach and Leach 1979: 210; Leahy 1970) and traditional concepts of using burials as *mauri* 'talisman, life force' over garden areas—a former practice that has been communicated to me by tribal elders at two sites in the Bay of Plenty (see also Ngaropo 2013), indicating that the rules of segregation were not necessarily as simple or as rigid as they are sometimes understood to be today. Further, to date there has been little consideration of burial taphonomy (with the exception of Trotter 1975b) or of the concept of the archaeological burial as a moment in what may have been an ongoing process of mortuary rite. These are both matters that are in focus in current bioarchaeology (e.g., Knüsel and Robb 2016), and the ongoing nature of burials has been noted in many regions (see particularly applications of the "*chaîne opératoire*" concepts to ongoing funerary practices—e.g., Sellier 2016; Valentin *et al.* 2016 and others of that volume). This paper will argue that it is the consideration of both taphonomy and process that will be fruitful for advancing our understanding of pre-European mortuary practice in New Zealand.

A number of these points are illustrated by two of the country's most prominent burial studies: Wairau Bar (Buckley *et al.* 2010; Duff 1977) and Palliser Bay (Leach and Leach 1979). Burials from these sites have received much attention and discussion but so far have resulted in little analytical consideration of burial practices and the social or cultural information they may reveal. Because these sites are a primary basis for comparison for all burial discoveries in New Zealand, they have become somewhat archetypal and serve to illustrate New Zealand mortuary archaeology and some of its history and current shortcomings.

Wairau Bar

Wairau Bar is an early period site dated to about AD 1300 (Higham *et al.* 1999) at which burials were, for New Zealand, numerous (42). The site is well known for the rich array of material culture and moa bone discovered there and is referred to as the type-site for early New Zealand culture (Duff 1977: 83; Leach and Leach 1979). Research at the site can be divided into two broad phases: the first based on excavations that took place between 1939 and 1964, and the second since 2008 as a result of repatriation and reburial of the kōiwi excavated by the first phase. While the recent phase of research offers potential for new approaches to understanding the burial practice at the site, the nature of the original excavation, documentation and state of preservation present an impediment to revised mortuary analysis.

The first era of research was reported by Roger Duff in 1950 (1977, 3rd ed.), who described mostly primary burials, often in an extended prone position, and many accompanied by a large number of ornamental grave goods. These features became the nationwide benchmark for designation of

burials as being of the early period (e.g., Edson and Brown 1977; Leach and Leach 1979; Walton 1994). In the wider Pacific, the burials of Wairau Bar have been used to crystallise the notion of what constitutes East Polynesian burial practice (Emory and Sinoto 1964). But the volume gives a descriptive summary of the burials rather than quantitative data or a detailed analysis. Duff's interpretations of the social information the burials provide is not given as the conclusion of a process of analysis but rather as interpretations peppered through his narrative as a series of assumptions that appear heavily biased by the social context of the author's time.

There is an underlying assumption through the work that grave wealth equated to rank and that both were reserved for males. The dismissal of women and children as of lesser social importance than males is overt. The orientation of women's graves was stated to be unimportant (Duff 1977: p. 68) and women were assumed not to be the recipients of grave goods or respectful burial ritual:

> It is generally not difficult in excavating to distinguish between the carefully placed bones of a male of rank, with his burial offerings, including the moa egg water-bottle, and the trussed bones of a woman or a young person of no particular rank, bundled without ceremony into the smallest possible grave. (p. 58)

Children's graves are given no illustration and very little description, and in one case grave goods that were found with a child (B.32) were dismissed by the suggestion that they in fact belonged to the adult male buried nearby (B.30; p. 64), showing again the somewhat circular attitude that grave goods demonstrated rank, which belonged to adult males—and therefore grave goods belonged to males. When Houghton (1975b) conducted an osteological analysis of the kōiwi, published nearly 40 years after the burials were first excavated, he found that eight individuals that Duff had considered male were in fact estimated to be female, indicating that Duff's assignation of sex was influenced by his beliefs about grave wealth.[5]

It was in light of Houghton's osteological findings that Leach (1977) then conducted the only quantitative analysis of mortuary behaviour at Wairau Bar to have been published so far. This was an examination of the relationship of biological sex to grave goods. Leach found that the proportion of males buried with grave goods was not greater than that of females and that there was no simple correlation between sex and grave goods. This study aimed only to examine Duff's assumptions; the implications of the findings were not discussed, and more broad-ranging analyses of the burial practice at Wairau Bar did not follow from Leach or other authors.

Aside from the interpretive biases, the potential for extracting further mortuary information from the site is greatly affected by biases of

preservation and selective excavation. Prior to research excavation beginning at the site, large parts of the site had been extensively ploughed and fossicked, with numerous items being removed by collectors (Brooks *et al.* 2011). When archaeological research began, the approach to both excavation and recording was at times haphazard, making it difficult to establish which parts of the site were excavated methodically (p. 15). The excavation method was somewhat brutal at times: Duff himself used the plough to locate graves, examining the furrows for bone fragments and artefacts as an indication of where to excavate (Duff 1977: 55). Together these facts raise uncertainties regarding the spatial record of the site and the differentiation of Duff's designated burial groups, Groups 1–3. Duff considered Group 1 to be high-status individuals, since they were mostly males provided with elaborate grave goods. But these graves were protected by a greater depth of overburden than the other groups, which were more vulnerable to the intrusions of fossicking and ploughing. Shallower, more fragmented burials, or those already stripped of any accompanying artefacts, may have been overlooked in favour of more complete burials, and it is not clear to what extent the comparative lack of grave goods with the Groups 2 and 3 burials could be influenced by prior fossicking. Selective bias has also affected the skeletal record, as in some cases only crania or single limb bones were collected for analysis (Brooks *et al.* 2011; Buckley *et al.* 2010).

The recent phase of re-analysis of the Wairau Bar skeletal remains, conducted by Buckley and colleagues (2010), is integrative of biological anthropology and the wider archaeology of the site, and therein a modern bioarchaeological perspective is apparent. This study and other chemical analyses of the Wairau Bar kōiwi (e.g., Kinaston *et al.* 2013; Knapp *et al.* 2012) have compared results from Duff's proposed social groupings of burials, and in this way the biological studies offer new potential to investigate a possible aspect of burial practice: spatial segregation on social grounds. Those authors acknowledge that the lack of clarity surrounding group differentiation or temporal differences between groups is currently a limitation to comparisons (Buckley *et al.* 2010: 3, 17), while critics of the isotopic studies of these groups highlight unreliability of the apparent spatial divisions due to the site taphonomy and excavation history (see Brown and Thomas 2015 and response by Kinaston *et al.* 2015).

Wairau Bar will always be an important site in New Zealand's archaeological history and the purpose here is not to detract from that, but rather to highlight that its analytical contribution to our understanding of burial practice is less than might be expected, given its prominence and continued place as a benchmark for comparison of burial practice. New skeletal and chemical data provide opportunities for reconsideration of burial practice at the site, but face the challenge of teasing apart the original record to consider the effects of preservation, sampling and interpretive bias.

Palliser Bay

Mortuary behaviour was also studied at three sites in Palliser Bay, located at the base of the North Island. These sites are arguably the country's second-best-known group of archaeologically researched burials. The discussion of burial practice (Leach and Leach 1979) focused on body position, orientation and the presence of grave goods and large rocks with the small number of complete inhumation burials. A total of 16 individuals from three different sites were excavated, but only six of these from two early sites (Washpool and the Kawakawa site, dated to the AD 1300s) were included in the consideration of burial practice. In this small group, primary and secondary, extended and flexed burials were found, with and without grave goods and with and without large rocks in or over the grave. The authors drew on historic accounts of Māori burial practice in order to interpret aspects of burial activity and gave context to their findings by making comparisons to Wairau Bar and broader East Polynesia. They conclude that these comparisons "show quite clearly that the disposition of the dead was subject to considerable variation in Polynesia and New Zealand" (Leach and Leach 1979: 211), and their comparison challenged a belief that extended burials were characteristic of early East Polynesian contexts.

While their conclusion highlighted variation in burial practice, the chapter left out an important aspect of the variation evident at Palliser Bay. The focus on the more complete individual inhumation burials led to omission of the "cleft burials" discovered at a site inland from the Washpool site and dated 100–200 years later. This group of remains in a rock crevice could have been considered as part of a broader discussion of the array of burial practices observed in the region and over time, but the focus on body position meant that only inhumation burials at the earlier sites were discussed.

Prior to this publication, Doug Sutton wrote of a lack of attention to incomplete or disturbed human remains in the physical anthropology literature (Sutton 1977). This inattention was essentially continued in discussion of burial practice at Palliser Bay by the exclusion of the cleft burials. Similar dismissal of burials of incomplete skeletons is indicated from the field notes at Wairau Bar (Brooks *et al.* 2011) and other examples exist to demonstrate a lack of interest in excavating or recording incomplete remains (see Walton 1994). At Sarah's Gully, an important early North Island site, the 11 burials encountered were dismissed as uninteresting by the excavation director: "Necropolis on Platform E does not really interest me" (Golson, cited by Davidson 2018: 97). This was possibly due to them being incomplete, a matter of some interest now, and lacking grave goods.

To some degree, this lack of attention to the incomplete echoes the former attitude of early archaeologists and ethnographers to material culture: initially only whole specimens and end products were the focus, while it was not

until the 1970s that the influence of manufacture process came to the fore (Furey 2004) and, as a result, unfinished, broken and repaired items and manufacture debris received greater attention as the "life history" of the item was appreciated. The same is reflected in the changing analytical conception of *pā* 'fortified sites': from static, typological entities (e.g., Groube 1970) to dynamic sites that result from ongoing processes of transformation (Furey *et al.* 2003). This paper will argue that it is time now to view burials from this perspective of formation processes and, as discussion below will show, burials of incomplete remains should not be considered as simply "disturbed" and of little importance. On the contrary, they give insight into an array of mortuary processes and behaviour that has, to date, largely gone underreported and unconsidered in the New Zealand mortuary archaeology literature.

SYNTHESES AND OVERVIEWS: TWO KEY WORKS

For the archaeologist attempting to interpret or contextualise burial discoveries, there are few publications that provide overview or synthesis, and to date there is no work that provides broad quantitative data to allow the archaeologist to understand pre-European Māori burial in relation to the "normal" range of archaeological findings. For the interpretation of burials, archaeologists often turn directly to ethnographic descriptions (Best 1974; Buck 1950) or to one of two published overviews: a sociological synthesis of ethnohistoric documents (Oppenheim 1973) and a section in a key archaeological textbook (Davidson 1984).

Oppenheim's 1973 book *Maori Death Customs* has become a key piece of literature, often referred to by archaeologists and historians (e.g., Davidson 1984; Deed 2015; Leach and Leach 1979; Taylor 1984). Oppenheim brought together observations made by European missionaries, settlers and early ethnographers regarding death and burial in traditional Māori life.[6] The work provides references to descriptions of the burial rites, inhumation, exhumation, treatment and display of exhumed bones, and reburial or final deposition. These accounts have archaeological relevance since the processes described could leave archaeological signatures. But overreliance on such sources presents a potential to imprint biased interpretations of Māori burial practice onto the more distant past.

The state of archaeological knowledge of Māori burial practice was summed up by Janet Davidson in her 1984 work *The Prehistory of New Zealand*. In a section of her chapter on social life, Davidson describes burials reported from around the country and tries to draw out general patterns of behaviour and change over time. Davidson notes that diversity in burial practice is evident across the pre-European period and that such burial variation is also found throughout Polynesia. Despite this variation, she suggests that there is a general trend from primary burial near settlements

to secondary burial away from settlements. Davidson considers that this greater segregation indicates a change in the attitude to appropriate location for burials and that this may signal a change in the nature or understanding of tapu or of the tapu of burials over time.

Davidson's summary is a key contribution to New Zealand mortuary archaeology as it attempts to place burials in some wider context in terms of the understanding of pre-European Māori social life. It is, however, a short descriptive discussion that acknowledges that it is "based on a woefully small sample, in which many regions are not represented at all" (1984: 176). Many of the burials or sites referred to are unpublished sites that Davidson is familiar with due to her own experience, meaning that the reader cannot extract quantitative details of the burials referred to. Davidson's proposal regarding change in practices over time has not been tested by subsequent research, and the archaeological understanding of pre-European Māori burial practice has not been revised or developed since her work.

PACIFIC COMPARISONS AND BIOARCHAEOLOGICAL TRENDS

As the region of origin of the Māori people, the central and eastern Pacific provides important context and comparison for New Zealand archaeology and bioanthropology. The burial practices of this region have been evoked for comparison in order to comment on the origins of Māori people or culture change over time (Davidson 1984; Duff 1977; Leach and Leach 1979). Yet, as in New Zealand, Pacific analyses of mortuary practice have generally received less scholarly attention than biological studies of skeletal remains, and lack of overview means that the understanding of what practices Polynesians brought with them to New Zealand is ill defined. The notion of what constitutes typical East Polynesian burial practice has developed over time based on a mixture of archaeological and ethnographic observations and comparisons. It appears to have developed without concerted review of archaeologically documented burial practice and is largely based on artefact types rather than behaviour and processes surrounding burial. When Duff described the "Moa-hunter" burials of early-period New Zealand, the connections to East Polynesia were primarily based on artefact form, though he compared orientation, position and post-burial removal of skulls to ethnohistoric descriptions from the Cook Islands, Chatham Islands, Solomon Islands, Marquesas and Rapa Nui (Duff 1977: 59).

Later excavations at the island of Maupiti, French Polynesia, described burials as representing an East Polynesian burial style, highlighting their similarity in position, orientation and artefact types to those at Wairau Bar (Emory and Sinoto 1964). But Leach and Leach (1979) note that while burial positions and orientations were similar between Maupiti and Wairau Bar, they differed from other East Polynesian sites excavated in

the Marquesas (Hane and Ha'atuatua) and Palliser Bay. Both Leach and Leach and Davidson sum up that archaeologically recorded features of East Polynesian burial practice vary.

These approaches to defining and comparing burial practice refer to end-product traits of burials—the final resting position of the corpse and items with it—and they have a bias of greater attention towards complete inhumation burials and a strong focus on grave goods. Similarly, more recent mortuary analyses from elsewhere in the Pacific have focused on grave "wealth" as in indicator for individual status and social stratification (Leach and Davidson 2008). These are traditional approaches to archaeological mortuary analysis that help to establish links between island groups and social structures within them.

A new approach to mortuary analysis has recently gained ground in the Pacific, however, that holds potential to consider burial practice and variation in practice from a new angle. In worldwide bioarchaeology, a focus on process and multiple stages of ritual has increasingly been highlighted as being an important interpretive perspective for mortuary analysis (e.g., Hutchinson and Aragon 2002; Sellier 2016; Valentin *et al.* 2016). Concurrently, the methodology and principles of field anthropology (*anthropologie de terrain*), an approach developed by French researchers (Duday *et al.* 1990; Duday *et al.* 2009; Duday and Guillon 2006), have been widely adopted by bioarchaeologists. This is an approach that lends itself very well to a focus on process and stages in mortuary ritual. Field anthropology is a method of recording and analysing skeletal remains that considers details of taphonomic changes and the sequence of decomposition and disarticulation of the body to reconstruct mortuary behaviour. Its fine-grained attention to the position and articulation of skeletal elements allows analysis of the timing and processes of deposition of the body, any revisitation of the grave and the presence of any perishable materials that affected it. It offers the possibility of gaining a more nuanced understanding of mortuary behaviour and choices, which can further studies of the more traditional parameters of mortuary analysis (e.g., orientation, grave goods). The methodology has been introduced to the Pacific region by French researchers (Valentin *et al.* 2001; Valentin *et al.* 2008; Valentin 2010; Valentin *et al.* 2010; Valentin *et al.* 2011; Valentin *et al.* 2014; Valentin *et al.* 2016) and uses of the method in both the Pacific and Southeast Asia have been reviewed by Harris and colleagues (2016).

Valentin and colleagues (2010) exemplify the application of field anthropology method in the Pacific and present evidence for the ongoing nature of mortuary rites at the Lapita cemetery of Teouma, Vanuatu. A pattern of post-burial bone removal was identified as taking place at different stages of decomposition for different individuals. The position

and persistence of joints of other burials indicated unnatural manipulation and positioning of the cadaver prior to decomposition in some cases and after complete decomposition of the body in others. The researchers went on to discuss what these archaeological manifestations of different stages of burial process indicate about the ideological view of biological death, differences of behaviour in regards to males and females and the potential for revisitation practices being observed at a communal level.

This study offers a valuable model that could be applied to mortuary archaeology in New Zealand, particularly given that the majority of pre-European Māori burials recorded do not have elaborate grave structures, extensive material culture (with the exception of the early period burials of Wairau Bar) or other coffin "furniture". Field anthropology offers a way to elucidate more subtle aspects of behaviour and pattern surrounding the burial rite. The approach also gives the opportunity to consider a more complex and ongoing process of burial activity, rather than a simple primary versus secondary dichotomy.

CULTURAL CONTEXT OF NEW ZEALAND MORTUARY ANALYSIS

> In the supposed interests of archaeology and kindred knowledge much has been improperly done in the disturbing of Maori burial dead. (Graham 1933)

To return to New Zealand, part of the reason for the paucity of mortuary archaeology analyses is the relatively small numbers of burials documented (Sutton 1977). Indeed, of the 70 publications listed, only 12 (17%) refer to archaeologically excavated burials/skeletons that number five or more. Numbers are only part of the reason, however; it is also a matter of timing. The 1960s–1970s was an era of development for method and theory in archaeological mortuary analysis, which particularly gained ground after the publication of Brown's 1971 volume *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practice.* This book included some key theoretical perspectives, now referred to as the Binford-Saxe programme (Binford 1971; Saxe 1971), and has influenced debate over mortuary archaeology ever since its publication. But this had not had a great deal of time to make an impact on New Zealand archaeology before changes in the cultural and political context of archaeology in the 1970s brought changes in archaeological practice.

The study of Māori burials has an uneasy history that has shaped the practice of New Zealand archaeology, as is the case in many post-colonial countries. Discussion of the trade of human remains, the grievance this caused and the way this has shaped museum practice and the anthropological discipline is covered by literature of the repatriation movement and indigenous archaeology (Aranui 2018; Jones and Harris 1998). In brief, early biological anthropology and archaeology research frequently collected

skeletal remains without regard for their significance to living Māori. These activities caused distress; newspaper articles from the 1930s give examples of objection being voiced to these practices—naming scientists, archaeologists and museums as culpable (e.g., *Auckland Star* 1933; Graham 1933, 1945). Insult was added to injury as the human remains were then often used to bolster racist evolutionary theories or were considered as relics of a "dying race" (Jones and Harris 1998). Grievances felt by Māori in relation to the study of Māori skeletal remains and *taonga* 'treasures, culturally important objects' are therefore relatively recent in New Zealand's history. Older people today may have parents or close relatives who witnessed mistreatment of their own local burial grounds or caves, making these experiences relatively fresh and alive in recent collective memory (see Rika-Heke 2010).

Key to understanding the sense of grievance is appreciation of the significance of skeletal remains on a number of levels. In Māori culture, parts of the body, especially the head and things closely related to it, are held to be tapu, a dead body even more so, and the dead bodies of ancestral predecessors yet more so since they are viewed as the physical remains of the *tūpuna* 'ancestors' (Cherrington and McLeod 2011; Ngai Tahu 1993). Human remains themselves can be viewed by Māori with reverence, discomfort or fear (Rika-Heke 2010), and even the academic study of Māori death rites can be viewed as entailing spiritual risk (Nīkora *et al.* 2010). Add to this the matter of the relationship to the land that the buried dead could confer upon their descendants (Oppenheim 1973: 69) and the interruption to this that colonisation caused and it can be seen that the significance of kōiwi tangata is complex.

It was not until the 1970s and 1980s that Māori control over kōiwi became more widely recognised and enacted. This came as a result of a time of cultural renaissance, protest and social and political change, at the centre of which was the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal (Ruckstuhl *et al.* 2016; Tayles and Halcrow 2010). This movement was connected to a worldwide push for recognition of indigenous rights and out of this era came a change in museum and archaeological practice. As a result, archaeologists have not deliberately targeted known Māori burials for research purposes since the late 1970s (Tayles and Halcrow 2010).

THE IMPACT OF CONSULTANCY

Although research excavations of burials essentially ceased four decades ago, burials continue to be uncovered accidentally by development or erosion. These are increasingly, with the support of Māori *iwi*/*hapū* 'tribe/subtribe' representatives, being recorded archaeologically and osteologically prior to reburial. Such work has resulted in a large and steadily growing body of unpublished archaeological reports that contain osteological and

burial practice data for hundreds of individuals. Archaeological reports that result from consultancy cultural resource management (CRM) archaeology do have limitations when it comes to research, for example budget and time constraints, inter-observer error, and a sometimes limited ability to determine the full extent of a site and proportion of it excavated. What CRM archaeology does offer, however, is a volume of cases from a breadth of site types and environments. Furthermore, data will continue to be generated from this area, presenting both a need for and a means of synthesis of burial practice information.

Legislation relating to human remains in New Zealand has been described by other authors recently (Ashby 2013; Ashby and Hudson 2016; Buckley and Petchey 2018; Cox *et al.* 2006; Ruckstuhl *et al.* 2016; Tayles and Halcrow 2010), but not in relation to archaeological consultancy. These processes will be outlined briefly here in the interests of establishing how bioarchaeology operates in New Zealand CRM archaeology and how the grey literature burial record is generated.

Burials and human remains that date prior to 1900 are included in the definition of an archaeological site[7] by New Zealand's primary heritage law, the Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act (HNZPTA) of 2014, and protected as such. This law requires that an authority be granted from the Crown heritage agency (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga, HNZPT) before a site may be damaged or modified. An authority, if granted, will state conditions that must be upheld regarding excavation, analysis and reporting. It will state who must be notified if kōiwi are discovered[8] and who final excavation reports must be submitted to. A standard authority condition is that archaeological features must be excavated according to "current archaeological practice". In this sense, if burials are to be disturbed in any way, the archaeologist technically has an obligation to excavate, record, analyse and report them. In practice, however, if the mandated Māori representatives oppose archaeological involvement with human remains, then the remains may be treated as exempt from archaeological requirements and iwi representatives may choose to have no archaeological study. This is not stated by law, but the authority of Māori over human remains is made clear by the HNZPT's guideline document regarding kōiwi tangata and the New Zealand Archaeological Association's Code of Ethics (New Zealand Archaeological Association 1993). Such exemption is observed in deference to the special place that burials hold for Māori culture, in keeping with the principles of the HNZPTA, which balance scientific investigation with what is culturally appropriate, the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document, and arguably an eagerness to atone for past offences caused by the archaeological discipline.

The HNZPT's guideline also notes that a burial or human remains may be allowed to be excavated without an authority if the remains are "on their

own and not associated with any remaining archaeological material … provided that detailed recording occurs" (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga 2014: 17). This wording has the unfortunate effect of implying that archaeological burials, graves and human remains are distinct from material of archaeological value, though the intention of this practice is to allow for appropriate cultural practices to be observed in relation to the kōiwi without the delay of the statutory process and recognising the need for urgency when kōiwi tangata are discovered (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga 2015: 12), particularly in cases of kōiwi uncovered by ongoing erosion and in public areas (Bev Parslow, HNZPT, pers. comm., 28 November 2016). Without an authority, however, there is no legal requirement or dictate regarding reporting the burial.

Eagerness to recognise Māori rights over kōiwi tangata means that there is some lack of clarity in the HNZPT's guideline document as to whether remains must be established to be of probable Māori ancestry before the iwi are given control of them (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga 2014: 12, 15, 20). It may be assumed that this will be judged from the context of the remains, but if the remains are "on their own and not associated with any remaining archaeological material" then the context may hold no information on this point. This does leave some potential risk for remains of other ancestry, or those of forensic interest, to be reburied as ancestral Māori (Master 2006).

Sensitivity regarding kōiwi tangata means that once burials are reported, if reported, privacy surrounding that information can mean that it is hard to access. Authority conditions will state that a final excavation report must be submitted to a number of parties,[9] among whom are the interested Māori parties and the HNZPT digital library. The latter has always been publicly accessible, though up until now it has been primarily accessed by archaeologists. This may change with the recent development of a direct download facility, which Heritage New Zealand hopes will widen the range of users (Kiri Sharpe, HNZPT, pers. comm., 18 September 2019). Reports of burials or osteological reports are sometimes withheld from the publicly available digital library. Others will be summarised as chapters within an archaeological report on the wider site and become publicly available this way. Other approaches to balancing archaeological reporting with cultural sensitivity include substituting images of the skeletal remains, regarded as sensitive and to be guarded, with illustrations, or having images blanked out in the digital library version.

The inaccessibility of kōiwi reports has been hailed as a positive for researchers:

> The fact that Māori are able to trust that the stories of their ancestors will not reach the wider public and become public knowledge has helped, at least in the case of the Ngāi Tahu and University of Otago relationship, to build the

> foundations of a solid working relationship between that iwi and academics of the Biological Anthropology Research Group. (Ruckstuhl *et al.* 2016: 633)

On the one hand, limiting access to unpublished information about burials helps to build relationships between researchers and Māori and helps to move archaeology and bioanthropology forward from the past grievances and offences described above. On the other hand, limited access to information presents a barrier to providing synthesis and research and renders this subject, for better or worse, impenetrable to an outsider. Certainly, Māori agency and good working relationships between Māori representatives and researchers is key to development in this sensitive and tapu area of archaeology.

THE RESULTING UNPUBLISHED DATA

Many burial discoveries may not enter the official archaeological record in New Zealand; they may never be reported, they may be reported but not recorded by an archaeologist, they may be excavated by an archaeologist but without an authority and standard report process, or they may be reported but the information withheld from public access. Gauging the number of burials exposed or recorded in any period of time is difficult. The most direct source of information regarding burials is therefore from institutions or individuals currently producing bioanthropological reports: the Anthropology Department at the University of Auckland; independent bioarchaeological consultants; and the Biological Anthropology Research Group at the University of Otago.

Focusing on the North Island, bioarchaeological reports have been produced by these parties for at least 51 North Island sites since 2004, documenting a minimum of 377 individuals—an average of 25 per year. While some of these are reports of unprovenanced human remains, the majority have associated reports of archaeological context and therefore burial practice information. Twenty-nine reports (57%) document more than one individual at a site and 15 (29%) document five or more individuals. This is similar to the total number of reports in the Appendix (2+: n=42, 60%; 5+: n=21, 30%), but something of an improvement—in terms of being able to compare burial practices for multiple individuals in one location—on those among that list that have been archaeologically excavated (2+: n=25, 36%; 5+: n=12, 17% respectively).

Figure 2 shows the regional distribution of reports and individuals reported on by bioarchaeologists working in the North Island, with the addition of 13 reports referred to by Ruckstuhl and colleagues (2016).[10] The dominance of the upper North Island regions reflects the higher density of both the pre-European Māori population and the modern population—the latter leading to greater development and more likelihood for kōiwi to be uncovered by earthworks.

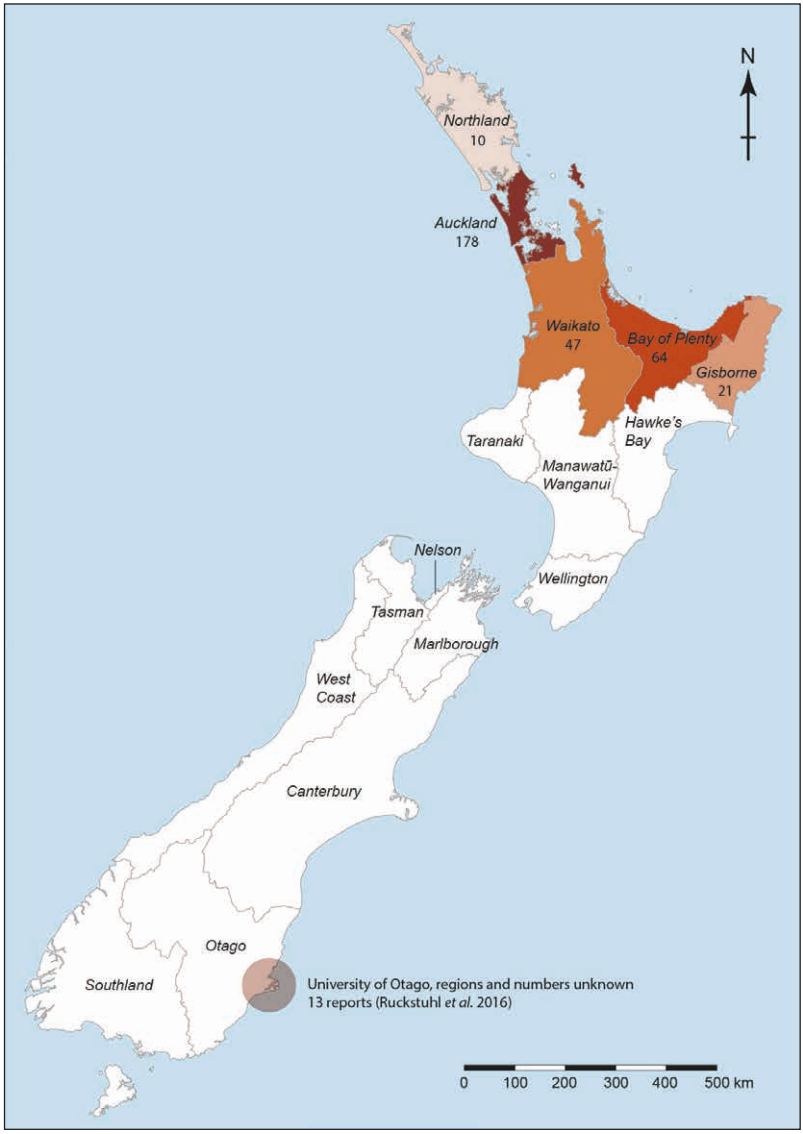

Figure 2. Regional distribution in the North Island of numbers of individuals reported by grey literature biological anthropology reports since 2004.

These numbers do not take full account of discoveries in the South Island and across the country are expected to greatly underrepresent the number of kōiwi discovered since 2004, either by archaeological excavations, police or members of the public. Perhaps in future, a greater proportion will receive archaeological recording prior to reburial—this will depend on the wishes of Māori representatives and the availability of funding to excavate and record remains that are being exposed by erosion each year. At any rate, the current unpublished record certainly can provide the numbers to further quantitative analysis of Māori burial practices across a variety of sites and in multiple regions.

VARIABILITY AND PROCESS

It is not just the quantity of individuals represented by these unpublished reports that offers a good basis for potential study; sites recorded in recent years demonstrate variety in ancient Māori burial practice that represents more than a binary division between primary and secondary burial or a simple categorisation of burial type by the available local environment. Unpublished reports demonstrate multi-stage processes of mortuary practice, differential treatment for different parts of the body and different burial processes for different individuals. Some of these sites are therefore displaying evidence for more complex mortuary behaviour than has been discussed by published New Zealand mortuary archaeology to date.

An example of this is given by the Northern Runway Development (NRD) site, a late pre-European (mid- to late 1600s AD) occupation and burial site on the shores of the Manukau Harbour, Auckland (Campbell 2011; Hudson and Campbell 2011).[11] Eighty-eight burials[12] were identified at the site—the largest number of Māori skeletal remains recorded from an archaeologically excavated site. There was a wide variety of forms of burial, and the final archaeological report identified five different burial "types", each representing a differing degree of manipulation or alteration of the body (Fig. 3). In addition to undisturbed primary burials, a number of burials showed stages of manipulation of the body before decomposition and burial (primary dismembered), some had stages of manipulation after decomposition but before burial at this location (secondary burials), and others had been revisited after burial and after decomposition (primary revisited). One form of secondary burial only included a specific group of small elements from throughout the skeleton: bones of the hands and feet plus a combination of other small elements, such as the hyoid, ossified thyroid cartilage, xiphoid process, patella and often a single tooth or rib. In contrast to those considered "primary revisited", several of these were buried in small hollows that were not sufficiently large to have ever contained

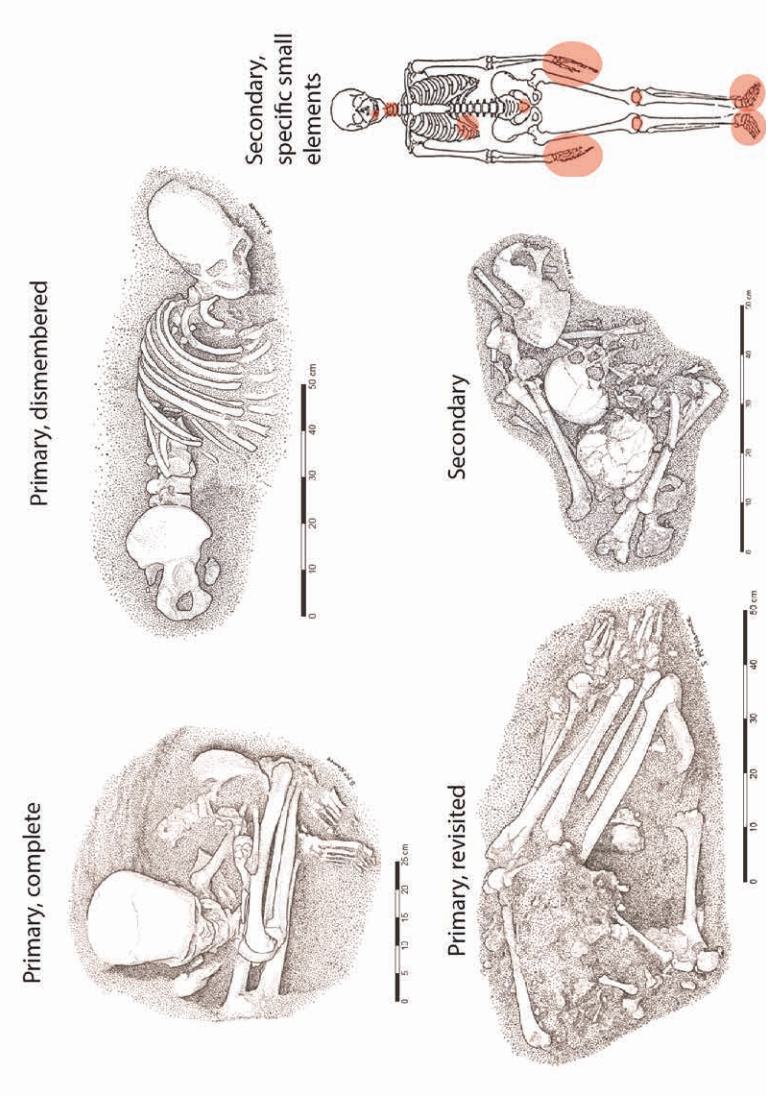

Figure 3. Examples of the different forms of burial discovered at the NRD site.

a complete body. They appear instead to represent a group of small bones gathered up to be deposited together. The fact that these included bones such as the coccyx, hyoid and ossified thyroid cartilage precludes them belonging to the "primary dismembered" individuals, as those individuals were otherwise intact and not lacking such elements. Therefore this last burial type demonstrates a distinct mortuary process that resulted in such a collection, and this highlights the importance of giving analytical attention to burials of incomplete skeletons.[13]

Traditionally these could be regarded as five distinct rites. Alternatively, considered in terms of process and field anthropology, some of these different forms of burial could represent different stages along one mortuary process, while others are mutually exclusive, demonstrating multiple mortuary processes at this site. The crucial questions are what determined the pathway that any given individual received, and what are the possible processes?

This site and others like it present an excellent opportunity for research along a number of lines of investigation, not least of all the ongoing mortuary process, stages of activity and the taphonomy that resulted in these different manifestations of burials. With the application of the principles of field anthropology, there is potential for a thorough bioarchaeological examination of the nature of variation in Māori burial practices and whether patterns emerge within this. This allows consideration of cultural ideas surrounding death, how these are applied to different individuals and how such ideas and practices have developed. Beyond this, information regarding the revisitation of graves for removal of remains also has implications for broader archaeological questions of settlement pattern and sedentism. At some sites with revisited graves from which remains have been removed, it could be that the deceased were only seasonal inhabitants of a site, and therefore presenting those burials as an indicator of sedentary occupation may need to be reconsidered. It is hoped that a current bioanthropological perspective and the field anthropology method will advance our understanding beyond the knowledge that Māori burial practice varied towards greater understanding of how and why it varied.

MĀORI RESPONSES TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF KŌIWI TANGATA

Today, decades after recognition of Māori rights over kōiwi tangata brought changes to archaeological practice, feelings among Māori regarding the archaeological excavation and study of accidentally uncovered kōiwi tangata differ around the country. Certainly, many Māori do not approve of archaeological involvement with kōiwi, but there are now a number of instances of Māori expressing interest in or finding value in research regarding kōiwi and past death rites.

A recent paper authored by members of the Rangitāne iwi note that a positive outcome of aDNA analysis of kōiwi from Wairau Bar has been the iwi's enhanced focus on female ancestors and lineages, thereby inverting the patriarchy that has in part been developed under the influence of colonisation. They also note that the research project has allowed redress of past grievances and reconciliation between Rangitāne and the scientific community (Meihana and Bradley 2018). Ruckstuhl and colleagues (2016) cite another repatriation project for which the University of Otago collaborated with Māori groups to design and undertake bioarchaeological research prior to reburial of kōiwi. They report hapū leaders feeling gratified to have received information about their ancestors. Add to this the number of bioarchaeological consultancy reports discussed above and this further demonstrates that there is a level of approval for the respectful study of kōiwi tangata—provided it is conducted with respect for *tikanga Māori* 'correct Māori protocol, custom'. This is stated formally in at least two policy documents outlining the appropriate treatment of kōiwi tangata that were developed some decades ago by Ngāi Tahu, one of the major iwi of the South Island (Ngai Tahu 1993), and by the Southland Museum (Gillies and O'Regan 1994). These documents, while stressing the high cultural significance of kōiwi and the need for Māori authority over them, also acknowledge the potential benefit to Māori of scientific study of kōiwi.

Māori researchers studying the modern Māori tangihanga name them as a subject that is worthy of careful research since they are "the ultimate form of Māori cultural expression" of both centrality to and endurance within modern Māori culture (Nīkora *et al.* 2010: 400). They note that death and tangihanga have been recognised by Māori researchers as a little-studied area that merits careful study in order to deepen understanding, inform the community and support decision-making among the bereaved. Studies of Māori practices surrounding death also have the potential to inform the current resurgence of interest in practising traditional aspects of preparation of the body at death (Coster 2013).

Taken together, these examples demonstrate that although this is a very tapu subject with a fraught history, there is some potential for collaborative research to take place and move our archaeological understanding of past Māori burial practices and individual kōiwi tangata forward. Attention to and discussion of Māori feelings towards recording kōiwi prior to reburial is particularly timely now, given the current era of discussions about the impact of climate change is raising awareness of the frequency with which kōiwi tangata and *urupā* 'burial grounds' are being exposed by king tides, flooding and erosion (Bell *et al.* 2001; Davis 2018; Parahi 2018; Perera 2019) with little clear archaeological process or funding available to respond.

* * *

This review is written at a time of shifting relationships between Māori and archaeologists regarding burials and kōiwi tangata as well as some degree of resurgence in traditional death practices among Māori. It also comes at a time when environmental concerns are raising awareness of the exposure of coastal burials and the questions surrounding the ensuing cultural and archaeological procedures. These issues reverberate more broadly through a discipline that is reflecting on its colonial past—of which the treatment of the human remains and sacred places forms a central topic—as well as discussing the effect that increased coastal erosion will have on archaeological sites, particularly in many of the vulnerable island nations in the Pacific. Furthermore, for many years now, there has been a call for greater integration of the subdisciplines of archaeology and biological anthropology—for which burials provide a nexus. Now is a good time to reconsider our archaeological understandings of Māori burial practice.

Much of what has previously been written about pre-European Māori burial practices is unquantified and untested and is particularly influenced by the 1950s narrative surrounding the burials of Wairau Bar. Burial descriptions are generally seated within a culture-historical model or a Binford-Saxe-era understanding of grave wealth and status. There has been a focus on burials that could be considered "whole" and a sometimes unquestioned application of modern Māori cultural understandings to archaeological burials. Overall, there is an understanding that burial practices varied but that there was a tendency for those of the early period to be primary, extended and furnished with elaborate grave goods, while those of later times were crouched or secondary, with few funerary items. Data to support this do not exist in the published literature, so the ability for any archaeologist to situate their findings in relation to norms or a suite of documented practices is limited, as is our understanding of temporal and regional change.

These matters are of central importance to New Zealand archaeology, a field that centres on understanding the process of cultural change for the colonisers of a remote Pacific island group. Who was it that made the voyage from central East Polynesia to New Zealand, what aspects of their culture did they bring with them and how did culture change as they inhabited the new land? These questions are at the core of New Zealand archaeology, and one key means for accessing the intangible matters of culture, religion, spirituality and social organisation of past people lies in the study of burials and burial practices.

While there is scope for greater quantitative synthesis of the published data, this review has highlighted that synthesis of the unpublished data also offers great potential and a way forward for the study of mortuary

archaeology in New Zealand, provided this is undertaken with Māori involvement and support. But as with the approach to material culture and pā sites, there is also a movement away from the understanding of burials as a finished product, a static entity, towards one that recognises the sometimes ongoing nature of mortuary rites. This has potential to prove fruitful for untangling pattern and furthering our understanding of the mortuary rites that constitute a central and fundamental feature of human societies generally and modern Māori culture specifically.

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NOTES

1. I welcome correspondence regarding relevant publications not listed in the Appendix. Note that I have not attempted to include all references to fragmented human bone in midden or other deposits or human bone used in manufacture—see Barber (1992) for references and a discussion of fragmentary bone. Not all sources are strictly archaeological; some are ethnographic but have been referred to by archaeologists.
2. In addition to this range, ethnohistoric works also describe the placement of bodies in trees, dugout canoes and mausoleum structures, and the practice of mummification (Oppenheim 1973).
3. The majority of publications relate to a single site, though some describe wider areas that could be defined as a number of sites.
4. Regarding items that decay, cave burials in which woven mats and other organic items have been preserved serve as a good reminder of burial furnishings that may often go unseen by the archaeologist (Hamilton 1892; Trotter 1972). Cloaks and finely woven mats can be highly prized objects and representations of *whakapapa* 'ancestry, genealogy' or *mana* 'prestige, spiritual power' (Tapsell 1997: 356) and could represent considerable value and "expense", as illustrated by the nineteenth-century example of a single fine cloak being traded for a carved war canoe (Coney 1993: 278–79).
5. These revised estimates were later confirmed by Buckley *et al*. (2010) in all but one case.
6. Oppenheim does make some reference to archaeological findings but concluded that archaeological records of burials were "too slender for any worthwhile interpretations to be made" (Oppenheim 1973: 63).

7. A place associated with pre-1900 human activity where investigation by archaeological methods may provide evidence relating to the history of New Zealand (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act, 2014, Section 6).
8. These are the New Zealand Police, the HNZPT regional archaeologist and the iwi or iwi groups named in the authority. The last of these will be the iwi whose tribal area, or *rohe*, the works are being conducted in. In some cases, multiple iwi groups have interests in the area and will be named by the authority and involved in project consultation.
9. These parties typically include the authority holder, the HNZPT regional archaeologist, the central Wellington HNZPT office, the HNZPT digital reports library, the New Zealand Archaeological Association central filekeeper, libraries of the two New Zealand universities with anthropology departments, the local council and all iwi groups named in the authority.
10. This number of reports does not include bioarchaeological reports relating to forensic contexts or any archaeological "community reports". The practice at the University of Auckland has been to produce two reports for any archaeological kōiwi: one technical report and one summarised, plain-language "community report" that is designed to be more accessible to non-archaeologists or non-specialists. This is a practice encouraged by the HNZPT (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga 2014: 21) but that is not always practical for consultant bioarchaeologists since, unless it is specifically required by the authority conditions, the authority holder is not necessarily obliged to pay for a second report.
11. Approval to publish research based on the data collected from this has been granted by representatives of Te Ākitai Waiohua iwi.
12. That is, individuals in burial contexts.
13. A detailed reanalysis of these burial types, adhering to the methods of anthropologie de terrain, forms part of my current PhD research.

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APPENDIX

Chronological List of Published Sources Documenting Burials and Mortuary Archaeology in New Zealand

Abbreviations: Indv. = individuals; Akl. = Auckland; BoP. = Bay of Plenty; Ctb. = Canterbury; HkB. = Hawke's Bay; MnWh. = Manawatū-Whanganui; Mrb. = Marlborough; Nth. = Northland; Otg. = Otago; Sth. = Southland; Wkt. = Waikato; Wtn. = Wellington; Multi. = multiple.

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Haast 1874a	Ctb.	Sumner Burial Ground	M36/22	7	Pre-Euro., early (?)	Found by workmen. Six "crouched" burials thought to have three stone implements each.
Haast 1874b; Skinner 1923	Ctb.	Sumner, Moa Bone Point Cave	M36/25	2	Pre-Euro., early	Example of assumption that current Māori sensibilities regarding burials were also practised in ancient times (Haast).
Thorne 1875	Nth.	Taiharuru, Pataua	Q07/6; and approx. Q07/1198	27	Pre-Euro., early	Various burials along the coast. One interpreted as cremation, and bone scattered around ovens considered "remains of a cannibal feast".
Hamilton 1892	Otg.	Strath Taieri, Middlemarch	Unknown	1	Unknown	The focus of the article is weaving. Mat wrapped around a skeleton in a cave. No other details included.
McLeod 1899	Wtn.	Karaka Bay	Unknown	9	Pre-Euro.	Little description. Not excavated archaeologically.
Cheeseman 1906	Nth.	Waimamaku	O06/139; O06/138	32	Pre-Euro., late; Post-Euro.	Focus on material culture and chiefly people. Initial outcry from local Māori about removal to museum, subsequent agreement. Not archaeological.
Anderson *et al.* 1996; Teviotdale 1924	Otg.	Shag River Mouth	J43/2	3	Pre-Euro., early	Focus on material culture and moa bone, little description of burials. Two close to fireplaces, relationship unknown. See Anderson *et al.* (1996).
Steele 1931	Otg.	Various	Unknown	9	Pre-Euro., early (?)	Interest in burial orientation and relation to cosmology and season of burial.

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Teviotdale 1931	Otg.	Taieri Mouth	I45/14	1	Pre-Euro.	Human bone in midden and items made from human bone.
Teviotdale 1932	Otg.	Little Papanui, Otago Peninsula	J44/1	3	Pre-Euro., early	One carefully arranged secondary burial with red ochre on the skull; two primary burials.
Skinner 1934	Multi.	Multiple (Pūrakanui and Fortrose Bay)	I44/21(?); F47/57	2	Pre-Euro. (?)	Focus on material culture. Mentions burials in passing when necklaces/pendants discovered with them.
Teviotdale 1935	Otg.	Various	J44/3; others unknown	8	Various	Interprets these three cases of burnt bone as 1) cremation to stay disease, 2) cannibalism and 3) ceremonial cremation.
Skinner 1936; Harrowfield 1969	Ctb.	Raupō Bay, Banks Peninsula	N36/75	2	Unknown	Artefacts interpreted in relation to status. Objection by local Māori to disturbance. Damage to skull base related to preservation?
Teviotdale 1938; Lockerbie 1940	Otg.	Papatōwai, Tahakopa River Mouth	Unknown	1	Pre-Euro., early	Skull, hands and feet missing. Right leg later found by Lockerbie 1940. Fragments in midden. Also worked human bone.
Elvy 1939	Ctb.	Mikonui, south of Ōaro	O32/15	1	Pre-Euro., early (?)	Burial mentioned in passing only. Interest in material culture with burial.

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Teviotdale 1939	Otg.	Tarewai Point (Otekihi), Otago Peninsula	J44/3	5	Post-Euro.	Four individuals cremated on pyre (described in Teviotdale 1935) plus single burial.
Sinclair 1940	Otg.	Ōkia Flat, Wickliffe Bay, Otago Peninsula	J44/19	1	Post-Euro.	Breaking and scattering of bones interpreted as cannibalism or desecration and use for artefacts. Draws on oral tradition.
George 1944	Otg.	Kākā Point	H46/12	1	Pre-Euro.	Disarticulated bones around oven feature. Interpreted as "remains of a cannibal feast" (p. 73).
Teviotdale and Skinner 1947; Furey 1996	Wkt.	Ōruarangi, Pāterangi	T12/192; T12/17	55	Pre-Euro., early	Furey refers to 26 burials on Ōruarangi, 29 on neighbouring Pāterangi. Teviotdale and Skinner (1947) do not list.
Adkin 1948, 1950	MnWh.	Multiple	n/a	10+	Pre-Euro.	Focus on craniometry and origins, burial position to determine antiquity, grave goods and status. Many more than 10 individuals.
Dawson 1949	Otg.	Long Beach	Unknown	1	Pre-Euro., early	Assumption that flexed burials not early despite moa bone one-piece hooks and pounamu adze accompanying.
Duff 1977 (1st ed. 1950, 2nd 1956); Wilkes 1959	Mrb.	Wairau Bar	P28/21	44	Pre-Euro., early	Type-site for early period. Variety of positions and artefact types. Wilkes names prone extended as "standard moa-hunter".

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Dawson and Yaldwyn 1952	Otg.	Long Beach	Unknown	2	Pre-Euro., early (?)	Further excavations at same site as reported by Dawson (1949).
Taylor 1955	Nth.	Waimamaku	O06/100	1	Unknown	Not fully excavated—largely uncovered for examination. Oral tradition referred to for interpretation.
Monheimer and Skinner 1956	Otg.	Outram	Unknown	6	Pre-Euro. (?)	Oral tradition (source not cited) referred to for interpretation.
Barrow 1959	Wtn.	Honeycomb Rock	T28/51	1	Pre-Euro., early	Example of focus on the material culture found with a burial. Item removed, burial not excavated.
Walton 1994; Davis 1959	Wtn.	North Pararaki, Palliser Bay	S28/28; S28/70	4	Pre-Euro.	Walton describing work from 1950s. Example of retaining skulls only; dismissal of incomplete remains; near settlements; comparison to Wairau Bar.
Skinner 1960	Otg.	Little Papanui, Otago Peninsula	J44/1	1	Pre-Euro.	Primary interest in artefact. Three described by Teviotdale (1932). Refers to one other found by casual collector.
Davis 1962	Wtn.	Makara Stream Mouth	R27/54	2	Pre-Euro., early	Mentions two burials found at site previously, one with anklet. No further details.

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Smart 1962	Sth.	Paremata	R26/122	3	Pre-Euro. (?)	One prone, knees disturbed. Dentalium beads possibly with child remains.
Shawcross 1964	BoP.	Ōngare Point	U13/8	4	Pre-Euro.	Example of assumption that burials must be separated from living and cooking. Author based chronology on that understanding.
Bellwood and Witter 1967	Wkt.	Coromandel Harbour	T11/28	2	Pre-Euro.	Long bone sections from two individuals disturbed by earthworks, thought to be a disturbed burial. Not excavated archaeologically.
Trotter 1967	Otg.	Kātiki Point	J42/17; J42/38; J42/41	12	Pre-Euro.	Three primary and one group of commingled remains. Considered probably related to pā site at Kātiki Point.
Davidson 1970	Akl.	Motutapu Island	R10/38	1	Pre-Euro.	Era of burial unknown. See also Houghton (1977b).
Leahy 1970	Akl.	Motutapu Island	R10/31	1	Pre-Euro.	Interest in relationship to occupation sequence and settlement. Near storage pits and dwelling. See Houghton (1977b).
McKinlay 1971	Nth.	Waioneke	Unknown	2	Pre-Euro., late	Burials with severe head injuries were some of last activity at site. Suggested as reason for abandonment.

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Oppenheim 1971	Nth.	Ruarangi	Q07/30	110+	Pre-Euro.	Assumes requirement for separation of burial ground from settlement. 110+ estimate from survey, not collection.
Trotter 1972; Simmons 1967a, 1967b, 1968	Sth.	Mary Island, Lake Hauroko	C45/1	1	Pre-Euro., late	Permission to record gained from Murihiku Tribal Committee. ^{14}C of mānuka (*Leptospermum scoparium*) stake to seventeenth century. Detailed in Trotter (1972).
Allo 1972	Wkt.	Whangamatā	T12/2	1	Pre-Euro., early	Interpreted as cannibalism. Interest in meat-weight contribution.
Davidson 1972	Akl.	Motutapu Island	R20/26	2	Pre-Euro.	Interest in circumstance of burials (war/peace). Burials only exposed/excavated to waist.
Dell and Falla 1972; Enys 1871; Trotter and McCulloch 1993	Ctb.	Kaikōura, Fyffe's Place	O31/30	1	Pre-Euro., early	Considered early on basis of artefacts. Example of crouched position also being early. Discovered in 1850s.
Trotter 1974	Ctb.	Takahanga	O31/5	4	Pre- and post-Euro.	Possibly graves revisited for bone removal. Use of red ochre and large stones over burials. See also Houghton (1975a).
Trotter 1975a; Harrowfield 1969	Ctb.	Banks Peninsula	M36/22	2	Pre-Euro.	Two at McCormack's Bay Road (M36/22), discovered 1958. Trotter summarises excavations in Redcliffs/Sumner area.

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Trotter 1975b	Ctb.	Teviotdale	N38/20	3	Pre-Euro.	Taphonomic focus and attention to deposition detail. Different burial types suggested related to status. Evidence of skull preservation.
Calder and Calder 1977	Wkt.	Ōpito	T10/174	1	Pre-Euro., early	Focus on cranial trauma. Assumed beheaded. See also Houghton (1977a).
Coster 1977	BoP.	Kaimai	U14/8	1	Pre-Euro., late (?)	Detailed description of excavated *rua* 'crop storage pit' with primary burial on base.
Edson and Brown 1977	Wkt.	Hahei	T11/326	1	Pre-Euro., early (?)	Focus on grave goods. Comparison to Wairau Bar for designation as early. Several other burials discovered in the area.
Leach 1977	Mrb.	Wairau Bar	P28/21	0	Pre-Euro., early	Statistical comparison of number of grave goods with males and females at Wairau Bar, in light of Houghton (1975b) findings.
Leach and Leach 1979; Sutton 1974	Wtn.	Palliser Bay	S28/49; S28/80	16	Pre-Euro., early	Primary inhumations and secondary rock cleft burials. Consideration of position, orientation, grave goods. Comparison to Wairau Bar.
Bellwood 1978	Wkt.	Mangakaware Pā II	S15/16	2	Pre-Euro.	Example of assumption of cannibalism for incomplete, burnt or broken remains. See Barber (1992) for discussion.

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Olsen 1980	Wkt.	Ōpito	Not stated	1	Pre-Euro., early (?)	Given to Auckland Museum in 1913 along with 14 adzes found buried with it. No burial practice information. Presumed early.
Sutton and Gibbs 1983	Nth.	Ōkahu (Redhead) Island	Q05/139	1	Pre-Euro. (?)	Notes that another burial from this site was found in 1980 and taken by Jan McKay to Otago for study.
Davidson 1984	Multi.	Multiple	Various	0	Pre-Euro.	Synthesis discussion of archaeological findings regarding burial practice.
Taylor 1984	Akl.	Various	Various	0	Pre-Euro., late	Small descriptive regional review. Example of division by natural or man-made feature. Referring back to Oppenheim (1973).
Phillips 1988	Wkt.	Waiwhau	T13/756	3	Post-Euro.	Four subadult graves referred to but only three graves contained skeletal remains. Some incomplete? No further details.
Trotter and McCulloch 1989	Ctb.	Withell's Road	M35/313	12	Post-Euro.	1870s–1890s European cemetery. Comparing documentary records and archaeological findings.
Prickett 1990	Wkt.	Raupa	T13/13	2	Post-Euro., 1820s–1830s	Example of use for burial after site abandonment. Bone in midden argued as cannibalism. Wooden planks in burial. Red ochre.

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Phillips and Green 1991	Wkt.	Waiwhau	T13/756	0	Post-Euro.	Unconfirmed graves. Assumed Christian graves. No mention of skeletal remains in them.
Barber 1992	Multi.	Multiple	Multiple	0	n/a	Detailed discussion of evidence for this specific mortuary treatment.
Jacomb 2000	Ctb.	Panau	N36/72	5	Pre-Euro.	Summarises original 1960s–1970s findings which dismissed incomplete burials. Primary interest in artefacts.
Pishief 2002	HkB.	Waimarama	W22/181	8	Post-Euro.	1840s–1860s Christian-style Māori graves. Oral history used to research. Conversion to Christianity discussed.
Furey *et al.* 2003	Nth.	Pouērua	P05/195	3	Post-Euro.	Example of little focus on burials compared to rest of the archaeology of the house area. Burials after abandonment.
Irwin 2004	BoP.	Kohika	V15/80	5	Pre-Euro., late	Example of burial after site abandonment. Burials not described beyond primary, flexed.
Trotter 2011	Ctb.	Kaka Road, South Bay	O31/111	1	Pre-Euro.	Time pressure to rebury meant light exam only. Another burial found with anklets in Kaikōura referred to.

Source	Region	Location	Site no.	No. indiv.	Era	Notes
Trotter 2013	Ctb.	Waiopuka Stream	O31/80	1	Pre-Euro., early	Sitting crouched upright facing S with egg on chest. Also refers to another burial here with a moa egg, found 1857 at O31/30.
Cruickshank and Campbell 2015	Akl.	Ōtāhuhu	R11/2812	0	Post-Euro.	No excavations of graves undertaken—excavation to uncover memorials (headstones and paving, etc.).
Petchey *et al.* 2017	Otg.	Milton	H45/56	27	Post-Euro.	Predominantly 1860s European settlers' graves. Coffin burials oriented N-S, usually head to S. Biocultural focus.
Petchey, Buckley, Hil, *et al.* 2018	Wkt.	Lawrence	H44/1135; H44/1136	11	Post-Euro.	Biocultural research into quality of life, mortuary ritual and cultural identity. Probably both Chinese and European individuals. 1860s.
Petchey, Buckley and Scott 2018	Otg.	Cromwell	F41/793	2	Post-Euro.	Interest in funerary treatment, identity and bioarchaeology of care. Burials date ca. 1890s. Not Māori.
Davidson 2018	BoP.	Sarah's Gully	T10/167	11	Pre-Euro.	Write-up of much earlier excavation. Example of lack of attention to burials compared to rest of site. Little description.

THE PAST BEFORE US: A BRIEF HISTORY OF TONGAN KAVA

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ABSTRACT: This article examines deep and contemporary history through analysis of the Tongan kava origin story, a kava chant, the rise of the kalapu 'kava club' in the twentieth century and the growing expansion of contemporary kava. It is argued that a key function of past and present kava practices is a ritual liminality of noa 'neutralisation of protective restrictions' that results from mediating mana 'potency, honour' and tapu 'protective restrictions, set apart'. This is supported through ethnohistorical literature, song lyrics and ethnographic data. While the expressions, purpose, material and uses of kava evolve and change throughout time and space, from the titular ceremonies to the social rituals, they are connected through contextually specific mediations that establish noa. The kava origin story indicates a performance of mediations between ancient power relations, while the kava chant describes material culture alongside the establishment of the ritualised chiefly kava ceremony. Kalapu and the expanding contemporary kava practices today maintain connections to past practices while adapting to current circumstances such as global Tongan mobility and cultural diversity.

Keywords: Tonga, kava (*Piper methysticum*), indigeneity, metaphysics, ritual liminality, kalapu 'kava club', Polynesia

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Long ago on the island of 'Eueiki a young woman miraculously transformed into kava (*Piper methysticum*) and *tō* 'sugarcane' (*Saccharum officinarum*). This marks an origin of kava's appearance in what is currently known as the Kingdom of Tonga. However, the origin is a socially constructed one, according to Hu'akau (2018), who argues it was an invention of the foreign chief Lo'au representing the foundation of a newly created social order based on the kava ceremonies he established. Queen Sālote Tupou III shared that Lo'au is known as a *tufunga fonua*, a title which refers to those who are "founders of customs and the regulators of social life" (Bott 1982: 92).

Recognising that kava is an integral and complex aspect of Tongan culture that we cannot cover exhaustively in this article, we argue that a social function of kava rituals is to enter a state of liminality that we frame as being *noa* 'a state of neutralised and suspended protective restrictions'. We argue that the function of kava in creating noa continues in various forms within the diverse spectrum of Tongan kava practices throughout time. We will support this argument with ethnohistorical literature and ethnographic research in Aotearoa, Australia, Utah (USA) and Tonga (2015–2019) as well as auto-ethnographic data from the authors' lived experiences. We will first introduce Tongan ideas and concepts of time–space construction and noa. We will then work through some of the origin story of kava and an ancient kava chant in Tonga. We will analyse some of the historical and cultural implications in this story and song. We will then explore the contemporary adaptations of kava ceremonies, beginning with the rise of the *kalapu* 'kava club' phenomenon in the mid-twentieth century. We conclude by exploring some contemporary variations in kava use, including a war story that reflects the *mana* 'authority, honour, potency' associated with this ancestral tradition. In each era of exploration, we identify the mana of kava to neutralise *tapu* 'set-apart restrictions, danger, sacredness', which potentially yields noa within each temporal-spatial context of Tongan kava.

TĀ-VĀ AND NOA

Māhina (2010) and Kaʻili (2017b) explain that *tā-vā* is a lens through which to view intersections of contextual arrangements of time–space, expressed in Tongan concepts of *tā* 'beat, rhythm' and *vā* 'space, point between'. Certainly time–space intersections are a process that human actors navigate generally across cultures. However, this Tongan perspective is one that is explicitly mindful of temporality, and intentionally arranges time and space with the past in front (Hernandez 2019). Māhina (2010) expresses this idea by stating that "people walk forward into the past and walk backward into the future" where time is mediated in a paradoxical present (p. 170). The present essay is titled "The Past Before Us" to assert our contemporary present position that mindfully faces forward into the past. Kaʻili (2017a) explains tā-vā within the example of one of Tonga's paramount cultural values, *tauhi vā*, which he defines as a performance art of nurturing socio-spatial relationships. In social relations, for example, when connective space is in a common rhythm it is linguistically expressed as *vālelei* 'positive spatial relations—harmony or balance', whereas when in-between space is not effectively mediated it is *vākovi* 'negative spatial relations—disharmony or imbalance' (Kaʻili 2005, 2017a; Thaman 2008). This cultural value is mediated differently across and between Tongan social ranks (Bott 1982; Vakaʻuta 2011). Kaʻili (2017b) argues that being in front and being in back within Tongan philology is a

reference to rank based on time. Those in front represent first-born people or elder titles, whereas those in back represent younger people and/or younger titles, who arrive later in time being "born later", figuratively and literally. The front is thus the past (elder) and the back the future (younger), which are socially negotiated in the present. When relations of both time and space are mediated effectively, positive feelings occur as a result of transcendent and communally participatory performances. For example, a relationship of time can include age, such as with elders or chiefly titled people, as well as historical events that are embodied in Tongan descendants or the time of day an event takes place. A relationship of space can include the distance of time represented in social rank, connective invisible space in between people and things, or specific contexts of physical place, such as the location in which a kava event may take place. For example, during one evening kava event in Aotearoa, embracing a slower pace of nighttime, there were acknowledgments made to the local Māori people of that land, including songs sung about that place and its association with the local indigenous people, which was both a temporal and spatial relationship being mediated by the kava participants—the local indigenous people being higher-ranking on the land in terms of age or time there, and the land itself as an elder authority as well. By relating in this manner, the Tongans and other Oceanians present at this kava event mediated the time and space between each other and the place they were in, a process that facilitated participants entering a temporally common level or state during a kava event. In these social relational performances and mediations between people and place, such as in a *faikava* 'common kava gathering', effective mediation might also be expressed as the phenomenon of "hitting it off". This phenomenon of "having positive vibes" or being "in the zone" with each other emerges when a state of *ngofua* or 'noa' has been reached.

Noa is a complex concept with various meanings that are contextual to people and place across the central and eastern Moana (a revitalised alternative name for Pacific Ocean[1]). However, in order to understand noa, we must engage with the ideas of mana and tapu that are intertwined in a constant process of mediating shifting relationships, potencies, and protections. Mana has a deep history of referring to various supernatural phenomena, such as thunder in the case of Tonga (Blust 2007; Turner 2012). However, as kava spread across the Moana after being domesticated about 3,000 years ago (Lebot *et al.* 1997), Blust and Turner both argued that a linguistic shift in the meaning/idea of mana took place, wherein mana became something that humans could also possess, do or be connected to. Mana became a potency, a generative force, one affecting fecundity, effectiveness, success, authority, honour and prestige that could be inherited, possessed and done, used by people and no longer relegated exclusively to natural phenomena

(Blust 2007; Keesing 1984; Mead 2016; Mills 2016; Shore 1989; Tomlinson and Tengan 2016; Turner 2012). Mana became something that could be channelled in human form, and a particular feature of chiefliness, which is diversely understood and applied in different contexts. Tapu is the protective restrictions, the setting apart and sanctifying of sacredness, which needs to be guarded/protected as potentially dangerous because of the potency of mana (Mead 2016; Shore 1989). Tapu protects mana or protects from mana, and they are inseparable. Something or someone becomes tapu because of possessed, embodied or manifested mana.

Noa is the successful mediation between relationships of mana and tapu, the neutralisation of tapu, a state of balance or equilibrium between mana and tapu, resulting in a temporal liminality of tapu. Noa does not then necessarily remove all tapu forever, and is contextually specific to people, time and space, but by neutralising tapu in a particular moment, a relation, space or object is rendered into a neutralised liminal state and can be engaged with intimately or without restrictive protections. One example is the process of vulnerable openness in talking story within relationally mindful critical oratory known as *talanoa* in Tongan. Talanoa comes from *tala* 'to story' and *noa* 'free/freely', which results when the mana of different individuals and their respective tapu are brought into a balance or commonality with each other (Tecun *et al.* 2018; Vaioleti 2006). This is supported through tauhi vā, which can be expressed by making genealogical connections with each other, gifting, or drinking kava together, which assists in rendering the mana and tapu of interlocutors noa in a particular moment, resulting in more intimate and free, unrestrained closeness in storying. Mills (2016) explains that noa and ngofua are equivalent terms, and there are also other different terms that refer to the release, neutralisation or calibration of mana and tapu. However, in pre-Christian Tonga, "the most common [term] was ngofua, meaning 'not tapu', 'permissible' or 'easy'" (p. 82). The word noa today is more commonly heard in our experience instead of ngofua, popularly meaning 'free or common' such as in talanoa, or the contemporary use of noa as the numerical value of zero. However, in order to reclaim and reposition indigenous knowledge, we contend that concepts must also be revitalised while being treated as living, adaptable and expanding. Thaman (1997) expressed that "as Pacific Islanders, we look for, and often engage in, a shared discourse, and although we may differ about the interpretation of the ideas and values of that discourse, we rarely reject or ignore it" (p. 123). We have chosen to use noa primarily throughout this paper instead of ngofua, recognising they are interchangeable words that are conceptually and theoretically connected (Greenhill and Clark 2011). Thus we argue that to refer to something as noa reflects a suspension of tapu relationships in a particular moment, context or interaction. Kava is a cultural keystone

plant species across much of Oceania, and not only does it correlate with the expansion of mana, it *is* mana, and thus can have the effect of rendering the tapu of individuals noa as they ingest it, while simultaneously making them tapu because they have imbibed mana (Aporosa 2019; Turner 1986). The antidepressant and soporific effects of kava are evidence of mana, as the anxiety levels go down and mental clarity remains, and the state of noa reveals truths otherwise restricted (Gregory 1988; Lebot *et al.* 1997).

This increased state of personal vulnerability in open sharing increases the potency and energy of kava events and rituals where noa is relative to participants within the kava space, which makes them tapu to those who are decontextualised by being outside of the circle/event. These phenomena are contextual to many factors, such as one's relational proximity or knowledge of a particular tapu. Kava events are thus significant sites of inquiry, knowledge production and healing, as realms of relational mediations, and as mediums of revelations of truths in participant behaviours, emotions and words. Truths in this sense does not necessarily mean truth telling, nor does it exclude speaking one's truth directly; it is complex and can also include speaking non-truths in comedic or roundabout ways that reveal truths about personalities or suppressed desires or thoughts. Additionally, the lessened restraints can reveal hidden curiosities of participants through behaviours exhibited outside of everyday tapu or public behavioural conventions, such as speaking profanely. Bott (2003) explains that kava ceremonies are like dream structures in that they reveal the subconscious even when people are not immediately aware that it is happening. This is not to suggest that cognitive function is altered but rather that increased sociability and decreased anxiety results in subconscious revelations of oneself and each other to become more visible and identifiable (Tomlinson 2004). Pollock (1995) adds that "[t]he 'power of kava' lies in its symbolism … it denotes Tongans coming together, where the bonds of solidarity may be enhanced around a shared cultural ethic" (p. 276). Kava rituals of all ranks and statuses share common functions of the potential to reach, establish and immerse within states of noa. Although they may appear to be more formal or less formal, "dressed up" or "dressed down", they are connected by this relational function and purpose (Perminow 1995).

TONGAN KAVA STORY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CEREMONY

One of the earliest mentions of kava in Tongan history was when Aho'eitu went to *langi* 'sky/heaven' to drink kava with his father, who was a Tangaloa (Sky God, Sky God Clan). He was killed and later resurrected out of a kava bowl, and would become the first paramount chief titled Tu'i Tonga (approximately 1000 BP) (Collocott 1927; Ka'ili 2017a; Newell 1947). The Tongan kava origin story is believed by many to have taken place after

this founding ancestral Tuʻi Tonga title was established, with a general consensus that the kava origin story refers to the era of the tenth Tuʻi Tonga (500–800 BP). The kava origin story appears to have been constructed after it already had a place in this society, yet would be transformed into a new ritual form from which the regal and title-bestowing ceremonies of today originated (Ferdon 1987; Huʻakau 2018). The origin story of kava is about the young woman Kavaʻonau, who was leprous, and who was offered up as a sacrifice to the Tuʻi Tonga by her parents (Kaʻili 2017a; Māhina 2017; Māhina *et al.* 2009). Kava was then named after Kavaʻonau, growing out of the *umu* ʻearth oven' that became her tomb after the chiefly refusal of this initial offering (Biersack 1991; Māhina *et al.* 2009). The kava plant grew from one side of the tomb, while tō grew from the other side, after which Loʻau instructed these be given as offerings. The kava origin in this ritualised context has gendered symbolism that represents chiefliness through femininity, and the principles and morals of sacrifice, truth, justice, beauty and love in Kavaʻonau. When kava is ritually consumed, one in a sense opens oneself up to be possessed by the spirit of Kavaʻonau, which includes these values.

The Tongan kava origin story took place with the guidance of the foreign chiefly advisor Loʻau. Queen Sālote Tupou III explained that "whenever a major reorganisation of the country took place, the name Loʻau crops up … The first Loʻau is supposed to have played an important part in the origin of the kava", which has become a vital part of Tongan social life (Bott 1982: 92). It is believed that Loʻau helped restructure and recreate the society of that time during the era of the tenth Tuʻi Tonga, which was in turmoil and abounding in conflict. The new institution of kava practice included the values of dedication, sacrifice, responsibility and conflict resolution in Tongan society and culture (Siosiua Lafitani, talanoa/pers. comm., 2015). Huʻakau (2018) argues that kava is a central feature in Tongan cosmology that serves as a blueprint for Tongan society and culture. Kava shapes Tongan people and gives their culture structure. However, he also commented that modern literal interpretations of the kava origin story overlooks Loʻau's political purpose and intention as author of the kava story. He proposes that Loʻau constructed the story to symbolise the "sense of obligation and duty required to serve as the mode of operation for the society" (2018: 1).

Social values taught in the kava story include sacrifice and duty, which Huʻakau (2018) argues cultivated a Tongan identity based on strict loyalty and dedication to their society. This idea is embedded in the kava origin story, where the grave of Kavaʻonau was a result of both loyalty and sacrifice as an offering by the people and of chiefly refusal to accept such a burdensome sacrifice, demonstrating a value of not exploiting one's own people (Biersack 1991). Chiefly duty and responsibility thus also included making the land fruitful. Chiefly mana includes a responsibility of propagating and generating

life, such as bounteous harvests to fulfil one's chiefly *fatongia* 'sacred duty' (Ka'ili 2017a; Siosiua Lafitani, pers. comm., 2015; Shore 1989; Tomlinson and Tengan 2016). Tongan fatongia is also demonstrated in Kava'onau's parents, Fefafa and Fevanga, who offered the most precious offering they could to the high chief. In addition to mediating fatongia and power between chiefs and the people, kava is also used in some circumstances to resolve conflicts on a smaller scale by asking for forgiveness through presenting kava and engaging in talanoa. It is important to note here that kava has been gendered differently throughout time, and thus also reveals the gender dynamic at a particular time in Tongan history and culture. Prior to European contact, Tongan women of various ranks, such as chiefs, priestesses or even those of "common" rank, are recorded to have participated in various kava practices (Bott 1982; Dale 2008; Ferdon 1987; Latukefu 2014). Anciently there were also goddesses of different realms who drank kava (Gifford 1924). Since the modern national formation of the Kingdom of Tonga, kava has generally come to be gendered as a predominantly or exclusively male activity. However, in contemporary practices in Tonga, as well as in the diaspora, with older and younger generations, we have observed and participated with an increasing number of women who are reconnecting with and remaking the kava tradition.

There is another element of the kava origin story that could be poetic metaphor, not only for the establishment of Tongan cultural and social values but also for the origin of kava in Vanuatu (Luders 1996; Māhina 1992). Drawing from linguistic, genetic and botanic evidence, kava was most likely domesticated in northern Vanuatu, from which it spread west to Papua, northwest to Pohnpei and as far northeast as Hawai'i (Aporosa 2019; Crowley 1995; Lebot *et al.* 1997). Aporosa (2019) explains:

> [T]he *kava* plant was originally found by the Austronesian Lapita culture in northern Vanuatu around 3,000 years ago … [leading] to other narratives. For instance, this tropical shrub is asexual—without seeds and requiring manual propagation—which has led to its status becoming a "plant of the gods", believed to have been nurtured by the gods until the arrival of those first Austronesians in Vanuatu. This link with the gods is argued to imbue *kava* with *mana* (or spiritual power) … [and] its medicinal efficacy, which includes mild anesthetic, analgesic, and anti-inflammatory properties and antifungal, amebicidal, anticonvulsant, antimicrobial, anticancer, and axiolytic activity. (pp. 2–3)

Luders (1996) argues that there are close connections between the kava origin stories of Vanuatu and Tonga, possibly representing the kava trade that took place between them as well as caution by Tongans while learning of kava's effects. Common elements of the Vanuatu and Tonga origin stories

include a young woman's grave as the source of kava and, in some versions, the inclusion of a rat first tasting the kava plant. The versions that include observing Rat nibble on kava result in Rat stumbling about, and after nibbling on tō in the Tongan version, Rat regains unhindered mobility. Alongside this demonstration of balance between bitter kava and sweet tō emerge symbolic meanings and cultural ideals of communion between sacrifice and empathy to resolve conflict and maintain good relations. However, doubts and suspicions between power relations among Tongans also remain in this story's symbolism. In the case of the initial Tongan ceremonies there was a belief that the plant could be poisonous, and therefore *matāpule* 'orators/talking chiefs' were to taste it first, which became part of the ceremonial protocols of the Tu'i Tonga kava ceremony (Bott 1982; Kaeppler 1985, 2010). For example, in the Tu'i Tonga ceremony the first cup of kava was given to a lower ranking chief to ensure it was safe.

Kava Chant and Tongan History

This section will explore some of the symbolic meanings in an ancient Tongan kava chant, which reveal heavy kava-drinking consequences, the early material culture of kava and various historical nuances. The following is a version of this kava chant that was written down and interpreted by Hūfanga 'Okusitino Māhina (pers. comm., 2016):

Laulau 'oe Kava (moe Tō)	*Kava (and Sugarcane) Chant*
Kava koe kilia mei Fa'imata	Kava, the leper from Fa'imata
Ko e tama 'a Fevanga mo Fefafa	The child of Fevanga and Fefafa
Fahifahi pea mama	Chopped and chewed
Ha tāno'a mono'anga	A bowl as a container
Ha pulu hono tata	With coconut fibre as a strainer
Ha pelu ke tau'anga	A fold of banana leaves as a cup
Ha mu'a ke 'apa'apa	A relative as a master of ceremony
Ha 'eiki ke olovaha	And a chief to preside over
Fai'anga 'oe fakataumafa	Where the royal kava is done.

The beginning of the kava chant identifies the leprous daughter of Fevanga and Fefafa, Kava'onau, who would be the sacrificial origin of kava and tō. Tongan linguist Melenaite Taumoefolau (talanoa/pers. comm., 28 June 2016) shared the possibility of her "leprosy" being an exaggerated metaphor for the potential side effect of drinking too much kava for some people. The root word of *kilia* 'leprosy' is *kili*, which according to Churchward (2015) means skin, peel or rind. Kava dermopathy, dry, scaly skin that is painless

and flakes off, is a potential side effect of excessive kava consumption (Aporosa 2016; Norton and Ruze 1994). This condition is easily resolved by ceasing to drink kava for a time. Early Europeans in Tonga observed and recorded that kava drinking was an everyday practice, which would yield kava dermopathy among the older and frequent consumers of kava (Dale 2008; Ferdon 1987; Suren 2015). Forster wrote in 1773:

> They swallow this nauseous stuff as fast as possible; and some old topers value themselves on being able to empty a great number of bowls … The old men who make a practice of it are lean [and] covered with a scaly skin. (quoted in Suren 2015: 218)

There are also some who indicate that the physical appearance of the kava plant can appear to be leprous, which would position Kava‘onau "the leper" as a metaphor for the kava plant itself, which is a symbolic proxy for her body that must be sacrificed (harvested/offered) and buried (planted) (Aporosa 2019; Lebot *et al.* 1997). There is also the issue of the sacrifice that is "leprous", that is, a questionable offering. This part of the story may indicate the caution a chief has in relation to the presentation of kava and the fears of it being poisonous, as well as a potential covert slight by *tu‘a* ‘common people’ to chiefly power (Biersack 1991; Bott 1982; Kaeppler 1985). In this poetic expression, kava reveals a tension between *‘eiki* ‘chiefs’ and tu‘a because the tapu of chiefly relationships is made noa through the mana of kava. Kava is a prized sacrificial offering that honours chiefliness and simultaneously a critique of power, allowing for the potential to temporally balance and reconcile these relationships.

The line in the kava chant referring to kava being "chopped and chewed" refers to older practices in the preparation of kava by young adults (men and women), who had the best teeth and would chew the kava roots before they were mixed with water (Collocott 1927; Dale 2008; Newell 1947). The royal kava ceremonies today pound kava roots with rocks as part of the ceremony, which resulted from European influence that viewed previous practices of chewing as unsanitary. Additionally, Ferdon (1987) argues that early Tongan practices prior to the establishment of the kava ceremony by Lo‘au and the story of Kava‘onau may have consisted of only chewing kava roots without making an infusion with water. The material culture mentioned in the chant also includes *fau* ‘hibiscus fibre’, used to strain the kava, which is still in use today at *taumafa kava* ‘paramount chiefly/regal kava’ and *‘ilo kava* ‘chiefly kava’. Many older men commented to us that fau were still the principal kava strainers used in the common faikava gatherings in the mid-twentieth century in Tonga. The materials of faikava have since expanded to include fine cloth or synthetic strainers, and even nylons or pantyhose. The

banana leaf cup mentioned in the chant, however, seems to be obsolete now in any setting; this was once the primary type of cup used in Tongan kava gatherings. *Ipu* 'coconut cups' were introduced later, and likely by Sāmoans. There are some distinctions made in the historical literature indicating that the banana leaf cup, while still in use after the introduction of the coconut cup, was reserved for more formal occasions (Collocott 1927; Dale 2008; Ferdon 1987; Newell 1947; Suren 2015). Ipu are the more formal vessel used today when serving individuals in a taumafa kava and 'ilo kava, and in many faikava as well. Various vessels are now also used in faikava settings, including plastic cups and metal or glass cups or bowls.

The end of the kava chant refers to the taumafa kava, a designation reserved exclusively for the royal kava ceremonies. Although it is common to refer to any kava ceremony today with the monarch present as taumafa kava, it initially refers to the original bestowing of a Tu'i (paramount chief) title, called *fakanofo* 'receiving title/name'. Additionally, with the adoption of Christianity and its integration within the Tongan constitutional monarchy, a Christian coronation for a new ruler is now also held. The coronation is for the instalment as the head of state, and the taumafa kava is the fakanofo of a Tu'i title (currently the Tu'i Kanokupolu, a younger sibling title in relation to Tu'i Tonga). The taumafa kava also has different protocols according to particularities in lineage and title, as for example between the Tu'i Tonga or Tu'i Kanokupolu (Collocott 1927; Tēvita Fale, talanoa/pers. comm., July 2015; Kaeppler 1985; Newell 1947). A purpose of taumafa kava is to mediate the mana and tapu between chiefs across the *fonua* 'land, heritage, placenta' to make them noa in order for them to collectively authorise the bestowal of a paramount chiefly title such as Tu'i Tonga or Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Tēvita Ka'ili shared that Lo'au as a tufunga fonua created the taumafa kava in order to resolve conflict through fatongia (in Hernandez 2019). Ka'ili further shared:

> Lo'au was an architect who was able to divide the fatongia between the different clans in a way that would create harmony within Tongan society, so that you have an obligation to someone, who will also have a fatongia to you, that there would be a sort of reciprocity that would happen. (Hernandez 2019: 88)

The taumafa kava from ancient times to the present continues to negotiate power through this ritual to create noa between chiefs and people, renewing their relationship and maintaining or changing their status quo (Biersack 1991; Bott 1982; Māhina 1993). The current monarch and head of state, King Tupou VI, in the Kingdom of Tonga is said to have been officially sealed into that position and title only after the completion of the taumafa kava that took

place in 2015, which by establishing noa in the ceremony began a new era of time in place with this new ruler (*Tagata Pasifika* 2017). Another example comes from the late King Tupou V, who utilised the noa between chiefs and the people through taumafa kava to mediate a political shift towards a more "democratic" constitutional monarchy during a time of unrest. For example, during his 2008 coronation period and specifically in the taumafa kava, he addressed the political tensions at the time through a speech given by his nephew, who holds the chiefly title Ata (Statham and Heni-Statham 2017). Statham and Heni-Statham (2017) argued that it was this speech, during the kava ceremony, that reinforced the modern monarchy but also symbolically indicated the beginning of a transformation of its political power. This speech spoke of the Tu'i Kanokupolu lineage through poetry that identified their historical accomplishments, including the contemporary moment of relinquishing the near absolute power previously held, responding to the protests of the people. The point here is that the ceremony of taumafa kava authored by Lo'au continues to be used as a ceremony that reveals and suspends tapu with the mana of kava, creating noa between chiefs and their people, which can potentially and temporally resolve conflict.

KALAPU KAVA AND FŌFŌ'ANGA

The kalapu kava club is a growing phenomenon that began in the mid-twentieth century in Tonga (Sisi'uno Helu, talanoa/pers. comm., 2016; Malakai Koloamatangi, talanoa/pers. comm., 2016). Many previous practices of faikava, such as *tau fakalokua* 'kava at the end of a day's work', evolved into kalapu (Helu 1993; Tecun 2017). Helu (1993) argued that the kalapu is a monetised response to the global capitalist economy. Kalapu vary in their protocols, but are generally associated with fundraising, giving donations or even in some cases membership fees. The *li pa'anga* 'fundraising' has been utilised as a communal response to an intensifying cash economy and the circulation of commodified exchanges. Many kalapu faikava fundraise for community education projects to fund children's school transportation, fees, uniforms and more. In many cases when there is a hardship, kalapu kava is also used to raise funds for a community member in need. Kalapu kava are also generally assumed to be men's clubs, although as we have mentioned previously this is beginning to shift and there are also women's kalapu now, as well as multi-gendered kalapu and faikava events. Kalapu are known by participants as rich sites of camaraderie and community, yet for some frequent male visitors who are married and participate heavily, they can also be a site of tension for their spouses. In this way the function of kava to reveal truth emerges again, both facilitating closeness in some relationships and tensions in others.

Kalapu faikava also marks a political shift in Tonga that challenged the hierarchy and power in Tonga. The early kalapu in the 1950s are reported to have been quite formal, and some kava participants have indicated that they were instituted or supported by the late Queen Sālote Tupou III. However, these early kalapu were transformed within a couple of decades to be more egalitarian: places where people no longer sit in a designated arrangement according to rank and anyone can speak even if chiefs are present (Sisi'uno Helu, talanoa/pers. comm., November 2016; Malakai Koloamatangi, talanoa/pers. comm., April–May 2016). The rise of kalapu sought to make modern political rank noa during a faikava. This adaptation increased communication across political rank and religious divide and even between generations, with boundaries continuing to evolve in noa space. Perkins (2005) explained that students of Tonga's 'Atenisi Institute attended faikava sessions with founding critical educator 'I. Futa Helu. This was a way of exchanging and producing knowledge outside of university walls. 'I. Futa Helu was among the Tongans who were pushing for a shift in kava practices in the mid-twentieth century as well as being heavily involved in pro-democracy political movements in Tonga. He was a significant force in transforming faikava into a forum for community organising, debate and exchanging ideas (Campbell *et al*. 2005; Sisi'uno Helu, talanoa/pers. comm., November 2016). Professor Helu is described as a "young rebel" who through 'Atenisi Institute "pioneered *faikava* for both men and women in the 1970s" (www.atenisi.edu.to).

Many kalapu are established on the basis of village, neighbourhood, work or church denomination. However a different kind of kalapu was established in the 1960s where the usual boundaries of organising as a group do not apply and where everyone is said to be equal, which would come to be called the Fōfō'anga. The word *fōfō'anga* means 'pumice stone' in Tongan and is a reference to when these rocks are seen floating on the ocean surface and scattered across beach shores, coming from various origins. The Fōfō'anga kalapu was so-named because it creates a space for people and ideas coming from every direction to become one in this shared space. Tongans from diverse villages, social statuses and religious backgrounds attend. This kalapu originated in Tonga, but its ethos and network has spread across the globe and its name often has added appendages to locate it, such as one of the earliest kalapu to be established in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland, New Zealand), known as Fōfō'anga 'o Aotearoa (Malakai Koloamatangi, talanoa/pers. comm., April–May 2016). There are many branches and chapters of this kalapu throughout the world today. There is no formal seating arrangement, and if you have a chiefly, religious or elder title you "hang it at the door" when you enter. The Fōfō'anga, being one of the earliest kalapu, has influenced other groups to have members from all walks of life participating. Many faikava groups and kalapu are now not only diverse in rank, village and

religion but also increasingly diverse in gender and ethnicity, especially in diaspora communities (Aporosa 2015).

The innovation of kalapu maintains the function of establishing noa, while the expressions and performance to calibrate such a liminal state have expanded. New Zealand historian Scott Hamilton (2017) wrote in an online article:

> At about the time he was setting up ʻAtenisi, Helu and some friends founded a series of kava clubs where drinkers could sit where they liked, and talk to whomever they liked about whatever they liked … Futa Helu hoped that fofoʻanga would help to change Tonga, by providing a space where the kingdom's problems could be discussed. It is possible, though, that the democratic kava clubs have helped to stabilise Tonga, by letting men shed, night after night, their ordinary identities, and the burdens that come with those identities. Tonga is an intricately hierarchical society. Royals and nobles and priests demand and usually receive respect. A commoner who fails to tithe at church or bring a gift to a noble's wedding risks denunciation and disgrace … The fofoʻanga has become a liminal place, where Tongans can say and do things forbidden outside its doors. Inside the fofoʻanga the lowliest commoner can mock his country's nobility, or joke about his church. In a small, conformist society, the kava club is a sort of safety valve.

The safety valve that Hamilton explains as a function of the modern kava club phenomenon is a revitalisation and transformation of ancestral practices, which function as restorations of balance that can yield openness through states of noa.

Malakai Koloamatangi (talanoa/pers. comm., April–May, 2016) explained that the Fōfōʻanga kalapu was a radical idea in its initiation, and was reinvigorated during the 1970s by his father, Saimone Koloamatangi, and Siosiua Holiday Fonua (who held the title Tauʻatevalu). They were instrumental in the rapid growth of the Fōfōʻanga kalapu in Tonga and its expansion among Tongans living overseas. They are also known for forming string bands as part of their kalapu. Edmond Fehoko (talanoa/pers. comm., 2016) explained that the branch in Tāmaki Makaurau, the Fōfōʻanga ʻo Aotearoa, became an important hub of community organising during the dawn raids era in the 1970s that racially profiled and targeted Pasifika peoples as "overstayers" (assumed to be undocumented residents of New Zealand). Additionally, the Fōfōʻanga ʻo Aotearoa brought with them the tradition of fundraising for school fees, which today has adapted to help with university loans, and even providing scholarships, available to family members of the kalapu and community. When Tecun attended the Fōfōʻanga ʻo Aotearoa, he learned that one of the kalapu mottos is "Ko hoʻo meʻa ko ʻetau meʻa" (What is yours belongs to all of us [material equity]). Latu (2014) reported that at the Fōfōʻanga ʻo Aotearoa they "don't sell kava, it is free to everyone, even

visitors". There is no hierarchy in their organisation, meaning they have no executive body that is selected to run the club; they just have a secretary. They believe this collective authority and autonomous organisational model is why it has remained in operation since its establishment, as these principles of governance have proven sustainable. The ideas of the Fōfō'anga kalapu and their various chapters throughout the globe have significantly influenced the role of kava in the lives of Tongans and in the ethos of many other types of kalapu. Faikava plays a significant role in learning, particularly community-relevant knowledge such as funeral protocols, Tongan language, songs, stories, relational values, humour and genealogy (Fehoko 2014). These knowledges are accessed and shared through the noa space phenomenon that occurs during social kava rituals and gatherings.

CONTEMPORARY KAVA

Although kalapu are still expanding and growing in numbers with young people, new influences are also expanding the variations of kava practices today. For example, Tongan and other Oceanian university students in Aotearoa are discussing their studies and community issues in co-ed and gender-inclusive kava circles. The "funds of knowledge" from ancestral cosmology (e.g., kava stories) have also become transferable social skills of conflict resolution and negotiation of power dynamics, which supports access to and resilience in traversing tertiary education (Moll *et al.* 1992; Rios-Aguilar *et al.* 2011). Whether one is engaged in kava regularly or not, the cultural knowledge of kava can still guide one through new spaces and challenges.

Tongan sibling protocols often include distance or separation between brothers and sisters, such as in kava gatherings, but today even some of the more conservative communities are rendering this protocol noa. For example, some church-based kava events are integrating co-ed kava to include young women in the youth circles that take place in church halls, demonstrating generational shifts in shared spaces. Additionally, along with women, *fakaleiti/fakafefine*, 'in the manner of a lady/woman', *fakatangata*, 'in the manner of a man', and LGBTQIA+[2] folks are also participating alongside their cisgender peers in youth- and student-led faikava. The gendered practices of kava are coming full circle, whereas it is documented in both Indigenous Tongan stories and foreign observations that Tongan kava was not gender exclusive, as we have mentioned earlier (Ferdon 1987; Gifford 1924). The modern nation-state formation and adoption of Christianity marked a shift where women became less visibly present as kava participants and their previous power changed (Gailey 1980; Herda 1987). Women are often still stigmatised if they are kava participants today, but this is increasingly being challenged, subverted and transformed as women and other genders reclaim their place in Tongan kava.

Kava is also currently facing enclosure through global commodification interests by the hipster market, homeopathy and big pharma. Yet, while many "kava bars" are popping up, particularly in the USA, competing for access, distribution and rights to the kava plant, there are some Tongans and other Oceanians claiming their place in this growing popular trend. An example is the Royal Kava Bar in West Valley City, Utah, which was co-founded by the late Tongan entrepreneur Sione Toki, and is run by Lami Vimahi, Sanalio Mahafutao and Fusi Taaga. The Royal Kava Bar is a lounge where instead of being individually focused, some of the communal aspects of Tongan kava are facilitated with a group setting of booths and the purchase of shared basins/bowls of kava. They also often run a karaoke and are frequented by consumers from the local Pasifika community. The Four Shells Kava Room has also recently opened in Tāmaki Makaurau, including a Tongan woman entrepreneur, Anau Mesui-Henry and her husband, Todd, along with three other partners. The Four Shells Kava Room reflects Aotearoa's café culture with a twist, where one can hang out and spend time talking over a shared bowl of kava, and even play cards or board games. One can also purchase a single or double shell of strong kava, like the Vanuatu *nakamal* 'contemporary urban kava bar'. In both the Royal Kava Bar and the Four Shells Kava Room, Tongan and Oceanian women are increasingly found. While the public business approach to kava commodification comes with its own set of complications, some of the women we have engaged with have in their own way expressed it is a noa space to "traditional" gendered tensions that can sometimes limit their participation in community-based kalapu settings. The SquareRoots Kava Lounge in Provo, Utah, appears to be similar and also has a Tongan woman among its owners, Toa Sitaki. Troy Wihongi, a Tongan and Māori (Ngā Puhi) entrepreneur who has lived in both California and Utah and was recently based in Tamahere (New Zealand), has now moved to Thailand, where he is producing new kinds of kava bowls with recycled wood and running a kava lounge. Clive Bourne, a Tongan who is based in Kirikiriroa (Hamilton, New Zealand), has also established the Kava Root Hale, an extension of the Dox Brothers kava group that has transformed to facilitate local entrepreneurship. The Kava Root Hale, in addition to being the home site for the Dox Brothers, also offers corporate retreats where organisational teams can learn and engage with kava culture directly with the community and participate in the benefits of talanoa. These are some of the examples of contemporary kava adaptations.

Kava continues to expand, and as Tongans increasingly find themselves living across the globe, their kava circles are also increasingly multi-ethnic, pan-Oceanic and multi-gendered. Tongans maintain kinship ties while making new relationships with other ethnic groups. Likewise, they are increasingly subject to the global neoliberal political economy and diverse

racial, colonial and gendered politics in the island kingdom as well as in the overseas nation-states in which they now reside. Kava reflects these realities, reveals these tensions and at times mediates them through the potential to discuss difficult truths in the noa space of kava gatherings. During a faikava on a late winter's evening in Utah, Robert Reeves (talanoa/pers. comm., December 2015) shared with Tecun:

> One other thing, you know—traditionally kava is a ceremony, usually happens, weddings, funerals, or other royalty things. But how we've dealt with it here [is something] that I really love … There's been advice given, whenever anyone has moved up, it's just been a great thing. These guys as well they'll tell you exactly what's on their mind, no gloves, just hay makers ['boxing metaphor referring to a heavy blow or punch'], so it's a beautiful thing to have that. You can have so many friends that love and care about you and are honest, because if you are making mistakes they're not afraid to let you know that you're making mistakes and that's helped me kind of stay on the path and helped me to be a better person and community member.

Contemporary kava practices among Tongans and other Oceanians remains a powerful force for building and maintaining community, while being able to "keep it real". However, we also contend that the mana of kava results in various possibilities in common kava events, whatever their truth is, which is dependent on who is in attendance and their purpose.

A Warrior's Tale

Kava practices today also draw from mana to heal and maintain positive well-being. Bringing the past into the present we look to a story of one of the battles that took place in the early nineteenth century that would lead to the construction of the modern nation-state monarchy, the Kingdom of Tonga. The following is an abridgment of what Albert Taufa described to Gifford (1929). Taufa'ahau, who would become King George Tupou I and founder of the national formation of Tonga, was the presiding chief at a kava ceremony that was taking place the evening before invading Tongatapu island's western corridor. Instead of accepting the first bowl of kava, he held it up and asked who was strongest and could first infiltrate the fortress of Kolovai. Whosoever it was would be given his kava, an opportunity to seize mana. Havili stood and claimed it, stating he would do it. As soon as the kava ceremony was completed the sailing began towards the battle shores. The first troops to rush in were driven back and suffered many losses. Taufa'ahau is said to have been startled by this event and turned to call for Havili. When confronted by Taufa'ahau, Havili responded that he had imbibed the kava for this moment. Havili lifted his garment made of *tapa* 'barkcloth' then rushed the enemy facing nine men at the pond close to the beach. He felled all of

his enemy combatants, and the pond where this took place was later named *hiva* 'nine'. The battle continued and the invading charge was eventually victorious. Newell (1947) comments that:

> The turning point in the battle was the gibe [by Taufa'ahau], "Why don't you assist the troops instead of mending sails?" to which Havili replied after the battle, "Have you forgotten the kava that I drank on Atata?" with the obvious implication that if he had drunk the kava under such circumstances, he could not lose the fight. The key to the victory is kava. (p. 406)

We share this story here to demonstrate that although many changes of expression and use have taken place, the past is before us and being reinvented. Like this story of old, contemporary Tongan warriors have also turned to kava and its associated mana in the multiple battles they face.

Robert Reeves shared the following story during a faikava session at the Ogden Kava Boys Kalapu about his service in the US military (talanoa, December 2015):

> We were activated, and we mobilised [stateside first] … we did a little over a year there, [and] while we were there we'd mix [kava] in the Barracks … There was another Tongan kid, Sungalu Lavulavu. Me and him and Mario would always try to faikava any chance we got. When it came to a bowl or cups we had none of it, and so the ghetto way of pantyhose [for straining], a little Styrofoam cooler, and red solo cups was kind of the ghetto way we had of mixing in the barracks. When we did deploy [overseas] … I actually got to fly out to Hawai'i, and got a big cup and a couple bags [of kava] and I actually ended up taking them with me, because I was like, "Ah, you just never know." …
>
> We were living in a GP tent in the desert, and we got our guys together. I mixed [the kava]. We have a triangle bandage in our medical packs that I used to strain, because socks were very valuable at the time and we didn't have anything else that would allow the kava to strain out to the levels that we like … My buddies, they all loved it, you know, and then for the last bag I told 'em, "Hey, when we're coming home, we'll mix this one." …
>
> One of the days when we were about to go back … just a couple of us, we were kind of, you know, in a nice little defensive position, and I was like, "Hey, let's mix that last bowl". When I was finished, I got out and I moved up here [to northern Utah], and I never thought I was gonna stay. I thought it was gonna be a short thing, but I kind of had some problems. I didn't realize it at the time, but I think some of the big things that helped me get through those problems was the community that was up here, the people, you know, the love that I felt when I came back, to know that my brother struggled to sleep, he drank a lot of kava—he was very stressed out about my wellbeing, which I didn't realize at the time. So coming back and seeing that, it was

> just a powerful thing for me that made me feel that this is where I belong … This is my home, these are my family members. I really feel that it helped me deal with my issues … [Kava], it's about bringing people together, it's about allowing people to talk, allowing people to grow … I know kava has helped me a lot in my life.

Reeves reveals the transportation of kava from past to present as well as its power in the lives of Tongans, Oceanians and those they share kava with. His experience also demonstrates how the mana of kava and the state of noa contributed to healing and positive well-being. Faikava was used to mediate pre-battle anxiety as well as the battles that followed after experiencing combat. Mediating mana and tapu and yielding noa led to vulnerability and open sharing, which reinforces long-term meaningful community and relationships.

* * *

The form in which kava is presented, prepared and used is dependent on many factors such as purpose, chiefly rank, participants and more. However, the ritual functions of kava, we have argued, remain constant, which is to yield noa. This includes using kava for the facilitation of conflict resolution (Māhina 2010). We analysed how the ancient Tongan kava story and chant reveals layers of historical nuances. The establishment of the kava ceremony by Lo'au to facilitate a mediation between sociopolitical power relations is now ancestral knowledge remembered in the kava chant. Kalapu branched off from these roots, such as the Fōfō'anga, which represents a legacy of open dialogue, political criticism and community strength that have expanded Tongan kava culture. Common faikava gatherings based in the community adapt in form but maintain the function of calibrating relationships and creating spaces of revealing truths for Tongans, aided by the effects of kava and the social anaesthetics of story, song, comedy and poetry (Tecun 2017). We bring the past before us as we are mindful that what we do now is the past of tomorrow. Kava solidifies, elevates and gives honour and prestige to a particular event as well as potentially neutralises barriers or tensions through vulnerability in the state of noa, resulting in more meaningful communal relationships. Kava kuo heka (The kava is raised, prepared and ready to serve)!

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NOTES

1. The generic term for "deep ocean" in many Pacific languages, including Tongan, is *moana*. More recently "Moana" has also been used as a formal alternative to "Pacific Ocean" (e.g., Ka'ili 2017a; Māhina 2010).
2. LGBTQIA+ is an acronym for Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual, and recognises an expanding understanding of non-heterosexual, non-cisgendered and non-perisex people.

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FOREIGN OBJECTS IN COLONIAL-ERA HAWAIIAN SITES: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NU‘ALOLO KAI, KAUA‘I ISLAND

SUMMER MOORE
William & Mary

ABSTRACT: Archaeologists in Hawai‘i, and Polynesia generally, have often struggled to exploit the interpretive potential of foreign artefacts in indigenous settings. This paper considers a consequential foreign artefact assemblage from Nu‘alolo Kai, a remote area on the Nā Pali Coast of Kaua‘i Island, Hawai‘i. This archaeological assemblage derives from deeply stratified, well-preserved deposits that were excavated by Bishop Museum staff between 1958 and 1964. While these excavations were aimed at identifying early settlement sites on Kaua‘i, numerous foreign artefacts dating from the nineteenth century were also encountered. This article considers how these foreign materials can be used to refine the chronology of site use in the post-contact period and to gain a more robust picture of the Nu‘alolo Kai community during this important period of socioeconomic change. The analysis demonstrates that the boundary between pre-contact and “post-contact” lifeways, as represented in archaeological sites in Hawai‘i and elsewhere in Polynesia, may be blurred. Moreover, the arrival of foreign goods did not have an immediate and “fatal impact” on traditional Hawaiian ways of life but instead denote cultural continuity, innovation and change. Finally, it is argued that trajectories of change in the household assemblages of rural nineteenth-century Hawai‘i may have varied considerably from those seen in more connected areas of the archipelago.

Keywords: colonial-era Hawai‘i, Nu‘alolo Kai, historical archaeology, post-contact period, legacy collections, “fatal impact”

Archaeological studies in Hawai‘i have traditionally been concerned with such questions as the chronology of archipelago settlement (Dye 2015; Kirch 2011) and the emergence of sociopolitical hierarchy (Hommon 2013; Kirch 1984, 2010). Only recently have the complex social dynamics that followed the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778 become the subject of systematic study (Bayman 2009, 2014; Flexner 2012, 2014; Garland 1996; Kirch 1992; Lebo 1997; Mills 1996, 2002; Mills *et al.* 2013). The potential for objects introduced to Hawai‘i by westerners—here referred to as historical artefacts or “foreign” objects—to provide information about daily life in Hawaiian households of the early colonial period remains mostly untapped. Foreign

artefacts at sites with both pre- and post-contact components are particularly poorly understood. Such artefacts have often been considered mere horizon markers, bounding the period "most pertinent" to archaeological research—the pre-contact period. Archaeologists focusing on pre-contact archaeology often describe foreign artefacts only briefly, if at all. Such treatment likely arises from the common assumption that the arrival of foreign objects occurred alongside the rapid alteration of traditional daily practices in domestic settings.

Archaeological studies of indigenous communities in colonial settings initially focused on Native American sites occupied after the arrival of Europeans (e.g., Deetz 1963; Di Peso 1974; Quimby 1960, 1966). These early studies often relied on narratives that emphasised cultural change as a progressive and unilineal process. As argued by scholars such as Deagan (1998) and Rubertone (2000), implicit in such studies was the view that as indigenous peoples incorporated increasing numbers of foreign objects into their daily lives, they experienced a "loss" of traditional cultural traits. Such studies tacitly suggested that the impacts of these changes on indigenous communities were so profound that they rapidly and categorically altered their ability to maintain a distinct cultural identity. In his critique of the archaeological literature referencing post-contact Māori sites, Bedford (1996: 411) has referred to this view as the notion of "fatal impact".

Recent archaeological research on the colonial period has emphasised cultural continuity over transformational change. A growing body of evidence suggests that members of indigenous communities often continued to practise aspects of traditional domestic routines well beyond the early post-contact period (e.g., Hunter *et al.* 2014; Panich 2013; Silliman 2009). Researchers have also explored how indigenous people incorporated foreign objects and ideas in "familiar" ways (Silliman 2014; see also Cipolla 2017) linked into existing cultural and social frameworks (e.g., Bragdon 2017; Liebmann 2015; Oland 2014). In a study of an early nineteenth-century fort at Waimea, Kauaʻi, Mills (1996) argued that the fort's role as a European-style garrison could be best understood through a framework that also considers how its construction intersected with Hawaiian sacred and political symbolism. At a smaller scale, researchers such as Garland (1996), Lebo (1997) and Flexner (2014; see also Flexner *et al*. 2018) have begun to consider how Hawaiian households made use of foreign objects in ways that suited their specific needs.

This paper addresses the use of foreign artefacts in Hawaiian household sites, using a legacy collection from the Nuʻalolo Kai Site Complex (50-30-01-196) on Kauaʻi Island. The complex lies in a rugged and remote area of Kauaʻi Island's Nā Pali Coast. It has been recognised as a possible regional ceremonial centre during the pre-contact period (Major and Carpenter 2007), and the artefact assemblage has been widely recognised for its exceptional preservation and diversity (e.g., Kirch 1985: 17). The collection contains

well-preserved perishable artefacts recovered from multiple buried strata deposited over several hundred years, some of which were potentially associated with high-status or chiefly Hawaiians. Radiocarbon dates from the site indicate that the area was first occupied as early as the period from the fourteenth to early fifteenth century AD (Graves *et al.* 2005). What has been little discussed, however, is that a significant portion of the Nu‘alolo Kai cultural deposits dates to the post-contact period.

Here I present an overview of archaeological findings from Nu‘alolo Kai with an emphasis on the analysis of the foreign artefacts collection. The foreign artefacts shed light on the role of these objects in domestic settings in a remote part of the archipelago. The foreign objects at the site extend from the early nineteenth century, when such items circulated primarily via exchange networks linked to foreign seamen, to the mid-nineteenth century. By the latter time, foreign objects were moving through land-based networks that emerged through the activities of the missionaries and the increasing industrialisation in the archipelago (Carter 1990). The appearance of foreign goods at Hawaiian house sites has been considered evidence of wholesale changes in household economies, and specifically, of increasing engagement in the market economy (Kirch 1992).

THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN HAWAI‘I

When Hawaiians sighted the ships captained by James Cook anchored off Waimea Bay in 1778, they were observing the first recorded visitors reaching Hawai‘i since long-distance voyaging ceased in Polynesia in the fifteenth century (see Hommon 2013: 224). While Cook’s arrival set off a multifaceted set of social and cultural changes in the Hawaiian archipelago, it also coincided with a period of social transformation already underway. Continuing centuries of bloody wars of conquest, by the late eighteenth century the Hawaiian chiefs had greatly intensified their efforts to unify the island chain (Kirch 2010). Over the next few decades after Cook’s arrival, waves of foreigners—fur traders, sandalwood traders and whaling crews—began to reach the archipelago in increasing numbers.

Carter (1990) separated the initial introduction of foreign goods to Hawai‘i into networks based on marine-based versus land-based exchange. This distinction was useful because it differentiated classes of foreign artefacts based on the historical context of their arrival in the archipelago. Ships’ crews in the early post-contact period carried articles intended explicitly for exchange with Hawaiians. These included glass beads, nails and small bits of metal, scrap garments, buttons and mirrors (Carter 1990: 68). As interactions with foreigners became more frequent, members of the ruling class began to incorporate foreign objects into the local political economy. There is a long tradition of “exotic” goods in Polynesia serving as a medium of exchange

among high-status households (e.g., Kirch *et al.* 2012). By 1820, most members of the Hawaiian chiefly class owned a variety of foreign objects, such as western clothing and fine china (Bayman 2010; Sahlins 1992). Archaeologists have most frequently found foreign artefacts in early post-contact Hawaiian contexts at coastal sites associated with elite inhabitants (Carter 1990). Research by Garland (1996) and Lebo (1997) at house sites in downtown Honolulu has illustrated that these households quickly acquired various types of foreign goods and commercial food products.

The arrival of Protestant missionaries on Oʻahu and Kauaʻi in 1820 marked the emergence of a land-based economy that increasingly included the exchange of foreign goods (Carter 1990). The missionaries imported consumer products into their settlements, bringing increasing quantities of goods to the archipelago. They traded foreign objects to Hawaiians for labour and provisions. An 1823 station record from Kauaʻi recorded that Rev. Samuel Whitney exchanged *malo* 'loincloths' and *pāʻū* 'skirts' for labour, and knives, flints and mirrors for various supplies (Whitney 1823). They also encouraged Hawaiians' desire for foreign goods as part of a broad-based endorsement of western ideas such as wage labour, private property and the pursuit of "proper" forms of domesticity (see Grimshaw 1989; Sahlins 1992; Thigpen 2010).

As the nineteenth century continued, foreign goods became increasingly available as the economy became gradually more industrialised. Whalers frequently stopped in the archipelago's port towns beginning in the 1830s. The presence of whalers offered opportunities for farming households to produce surplus goods for market exchange; it also provided young Hawaiian men with the chance to work for wages (Sahlins 1992). Kōloa Sugar Plantation, the first industrial sugar operation in Hawaiʻi, was opened on Kauaʻi in 1835. A plantation market soon followed, where employees and others could barter for a selection of foreign goods such as "knives, needles, flints, calicoes, and all the numerous etcetera of a trading establishment" (Jarves 1843: 104). The use of cash became increasingly common after the mid-nineteenth century. In 1850, the Hawaiian Kingdom began to require the payment of taxes in cash (Linnekin 1990: 195). The formal process of land privatisation, which went into effect about that time, separated many families from the ancestral lands that had supported household economies based on subsistence farming.

Kirch's (1992) pioneering study in Anahulu, a rural valley on the North Shore of Oʻahu Island, shaped how we understand changes in the organisation of Hawaiian household economies in the post-contact period. Early post-contact sites from Anahulu yielded few foreign goods, and these primarily comprised small articles such as gunflints and glass beads. Increasing numbers of foreign objects began to appear in domestic contexts after about

1810; by the 1840s, household assemblages at Anahulu contained large and diverse assemblages of these items. According to Kirch:

> [These houses] now incorporated in their construction iron nails as well as glass windows and doors with iron hinges and locks. Their households possessed a variety of plates and dishes, bottles and jars of various shapes and contents, Western-style clothing, saddle gear, iron cooking pots, axes, razors, scissors, marbles, even cologne from Paris. The ancien régime of the Hawaiian ali‘i did not disappear only with the passage of the Māhele and kuleana acts; it was swept away on a spring tide of the world economic system. (Kirch 1992: 179–80)

Based on Anahulu’s distance from the city of Honolulu, one could easily interpret such dramatic changes as evidence that the archipelago’s emerging market economy had spread uniformly through the archipelago by the mid-nineteenth century. Such a view would suggest that the expansion of the market economy completely disrupted the organisation of household economies across the archipelago, with Hawaiian households having quickly departed from traditional provisioning strategies.

The collection of foreign artefacts from Nu‘alolo Kai offers an intriguing case study of post-contact-era artefacts from a particularly remote part of the archipelago; it allows us to consider how the setting of this community, accessible for canoe travellers but isolated from overland travel, may have contributed to variability in the trajectories along which such items were incorporated into the household. These objects likely arrived at Nu‘alolo Kai through a myriad of interactions that included trade with mariners and, eventually, interaction with land-based exchange networks related to the work of the missionaries and the plantation markets. While opportunities to obtain foreign goods likely increased through time as such items entered the archipelago in increasing numbers, the geographical separation of the Nā Pali Coast from the remainder of Kaua‘i likely shaped these connections in important ways.

Previous research at many Hawaiian house sites in rural areas has shown that by about the mid-nineteenth century, household items made from traditional materials had largely been replaced by foreign items (Kirch 1992; see also Anderson 2001; Flexner *et al.* 2018). This paper examines the foreign artefacts assemblage from Nu‘alolo Kai and how the nature of the assemblage changed over the post-contact period. The analysis highlights the potential for variability in how Hawaiian households interconnected themselves with the market economy during this tumultuous period in the archipelago. It also enables us to reconsider the significance of foreign materials as indicators of change, since in many cases they appear to have been repurposed as part of familiar practices.

BACKGROUND TO NU‘ALOLO KAI

Nu‘alolo lies near the western end of Kaua‘i Island’s Nā Pali Coast, a stretch of rugged coastline on the island’s northwestern edge (Fig. 1; Fig. 2). Nu‘alolo Kai is the coastal section of the Nu‘alolo *ahupua‘a*, a traditional Hawaiian land unit. Sea cliffs rising as high as 1,200 m separate this section of the coast from the island’s interior. Like much of the Nā Pali Coast, Nu‘alolo Kai is not easily accessible via overland routes. While there is an opening in the reef for small boats to land, large swells in the winter months often block sea access.

Immediately west of Nu‘alolo along the Nā Pali Coast is the ahupua‘a of Miloli‘i. Recent archaeological work at several post-contact house sites here has shown that Hawaiians occupied grass-thatched houses into the last decades of the nineteenth century (Moore 2019). In 1901, Bishop Museum staff collected the superstructure from one of the traditional-style Miloli‘i houses that had been built in the mid-nineteenth century (Fig. 3), and it remains on display in the museum today (Kahn 2016; Kahn *et al*. 2016). Like the grass-thatched houses at Nu‘alolo Kai, this house was built on top of archaeological deposits that suggest a long period of previous use.

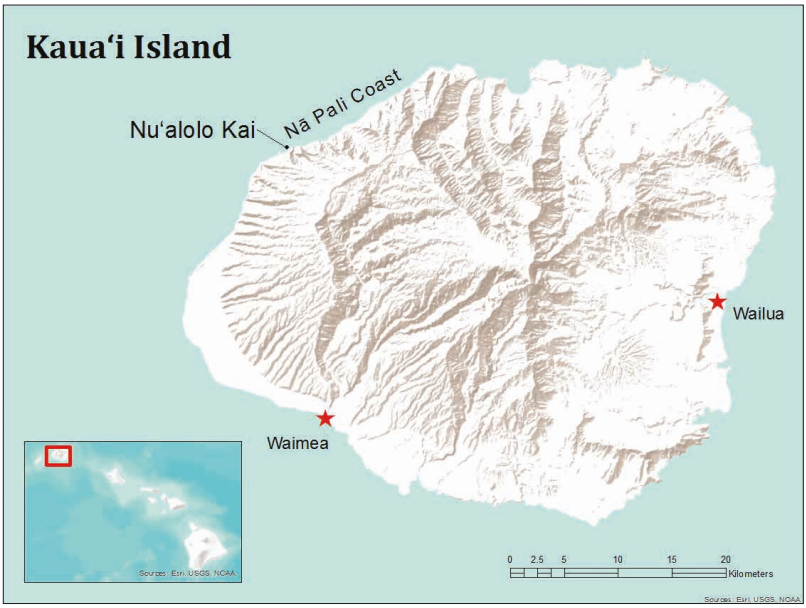

Figure 1. Area map showing the location of Nu‘alolo Kai, Kaua‘i Island, Hawai‘i.

Figure 2. Nu‘alolo Kai and the Nā Pali Coast. The terraces where the houses stood are located at the base of the cliff, flush against the face, near the middle of the frame. Photo: Timothy De La Vega (2020), © TimDeLaVega.com.

Figure 3. Grass-thatched houses at the mouth of Miloli‘i Valley, ca. 1900. The house frame transported to the Bishop Museum is at the upper right. Photo: W.H. Deverill, Bishop Museum.

While Nu‘alolo is geographically isolated, it may once have been a prominent regional settlement. It appears in oral traditions known throughout Hawai‘i (e.g., Pukui 1983: 82, 214, 261). These accounts describe both its renowned *‘ōahi* ‘firebrand-throwing display’ and a wooden ladder that connected the coastal flat with agricultural fields above. The coastal area contains an undated ceremonial complex, which is the largest such complex on the Nā Pali Coast. The reef had a natural pass through which canoes could enter and safely land, and historical accounts from the nineteenth century described Nu‘alolo Kai as a waypoint or “gathering place” for canoe travellers moving along the Nā Pali Coast of Kaua‘i and between the islands of Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau (Gilman 1978: 5).

The missionary Hiram Bingham provided the first written account of Nu‘alolo in a description of his 1821 visit. He described seeing “ten houses of the little village” below the cliff face on the eastern edge of the coastal flat and about “70 men, women, and children” employed in poison-fishing on the reef (Bingham 1822: 248). Censuses of the 1830s offer information about the local population at that time. An 1831 census recorded 43 residents, and 48 residents were counted in 1835 (*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 23 December 1835: 204). In 1845, the Boston merchant Gorham Gilman described a row of “huts” at the same location mentioned by Bingham. One of the most recent descriptions of Nu‘alolo was made in 1858, when several residents were involved in the rescue of six Hawaiians from the schooner *Prince of Hawaii*, which capsized between Ni‘ihau and Kaua‘i (*Ka Hae Hawaii*, 1 September 1858: 85).

During the archipelago-wide transition to private land ownership, a process referred to as the Great Māhele ‘land division’, no land claims were filed from Nu‘alolo. While there have been suggestions in later oral histories that permanent residents remained at Nu‘alolo into the 1910s (e.g., Ching 1967), first-hand accounts from the 1890s (Knudsen 1991: 164) and the early twentieth century (Chapin 1915) described the area as uninhabited. Permanent occupation of the area may have ceased prior to 1875. In that year, Boundary Commission surveyor James Gay mentioned that he asked residents from neighbouring Miloli‘i to show him the location of a Nu‘alolo boundary (Boundary Commission, Kaua‘i 1874: 1: 140–46). Because the account mentions no Nu‘alolo residents, it seems likely that few, if any, permanent inhabitants remained by that time.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT NU‘ALOLO KAI

The grass-thatched houses described by Bingham (1822) stood on a row of stepwise terraces abutting the cliff face on the northern side of the coastal flat. The first archaeologist to investigate the terraces (Bennett 1931) was drawn by the presence of well-preserved artefacts eroding from the slope.

Subsequently, Bishop Museum archaeologists, hoping to find archaeological deposits that would provide information about the early settlement of Kaua‘i, excavated roughly 145 m^3 at the base of the cliff between 1958 and 1964 (Graves *et al.* 2005: 153). Excavations took place within four terraces labelled Features K2 through K5[1] (Fig. 4). Of the four terraces, only Features K3, K4 and K5 were submitted to systematic and well-documented excavation. The most extensively investigated terrace was Feature K3, where the museum archaeologists excavated 83 units 1 yd^2 (Graves *et al.* 2005: 157). Hunt (2005) later excavated another 2 m^2 on the same terrace.

Researchers identified a complex sequence of cultural levels in these terraces that included superimposed house floors, cists, hearths and earth ovens. Exceptional conditions preserved many items that would otherwise have biodegraded. The excavations yielded over 7,600 artefacts. Besides basalt adzes and bone and pearl-shell fishhooks, the terraces yielded artefacts linked to food processing and cooking, games and music, *kapa* ‘barkcloth’ production, ritual practice and adornment. Notable artefacts include a *niho palaoa* ‘whale-tooth pendant’ as well as bone tattoo needles, dog-tooth ornaments, shell beads and basalt mirrors. The site’s perishable assemblage included a unique collection of cordage (see Summers 1990), along with painted kapa and fragments of basketry, nets and woven mats.

Although the multi-year excavations by Bishop Museum archaeologists were never published, Soehren and Kikuchi (n.d.), two archaeologists associated with the museum, prepared a preliminary report. Lloyd Soehren was the field director for the project; William Kikuchi was part of the field crew and maintained a long-term relationship with the museum as a Research Associate. More recently archaeologists from the University of Hawai‘i (UH) inventoried and analysed the site’s vast collection of artefacts and faunal remains (Calugay and McElroy 2005; Graves and McElroy 2005; Graves *et al.* 2005; O’Leary 2005; and papers in Field and Graves 2015). As part of this initiative Graves and colleagues (2005) undertook an overview of the site’s stratigraphy, provenience data and chronology, which I draw on here. They divided the terraces into subfeatures based on the surface stone alignments. Thus, they split the area originally labelled Feature K3 into subfeatures K3a and K3b. Bishop Museum excavations occurred within both the areas referred to as K3a and K3b, although the K3b excavations accounted for by far the greatest area and thus produced the most cultural material. Graves and colleagues (2005: 7) included only Feature K3b in their artefact analysis. They separated K4 and K5 into K4a and K4b and K5a and K5b, respectively; however, excavations were undertaken only in K4a and K5a.

While the Nu‘alolo excavations were originally planned to proceed in arbitrary six-inch levels, in practice the depths of the levels varied widely between units. The arbitrary levels were later amalgamated by Soehren and

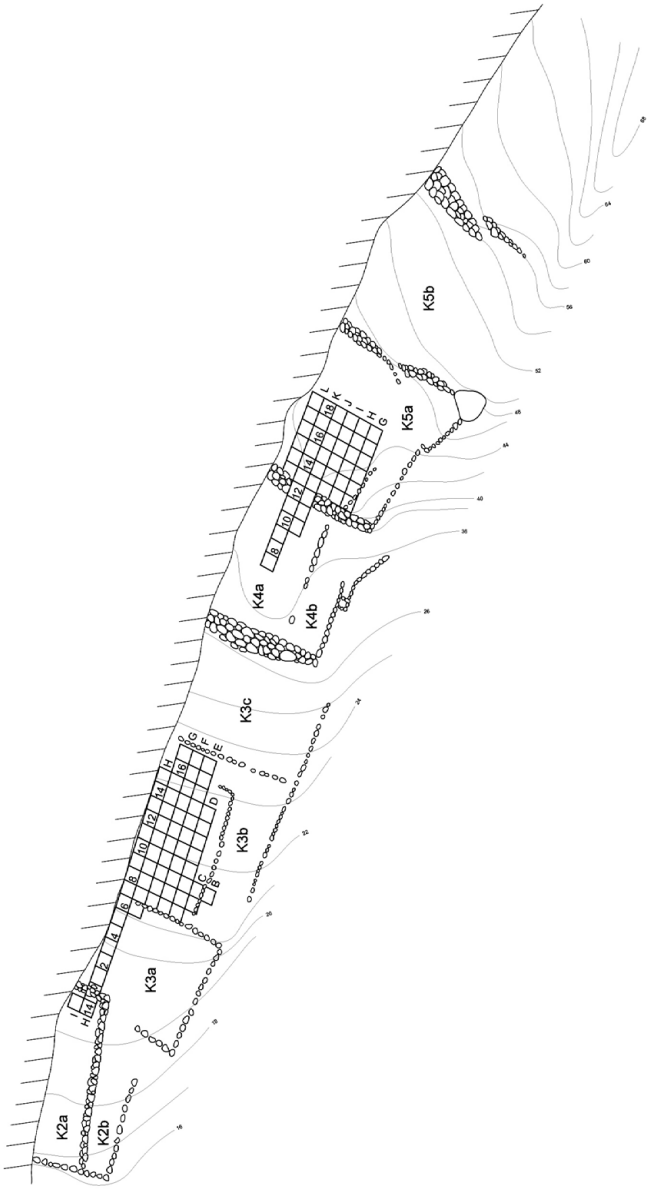

Figure 4. Site map showing Features K2, K3, K4 and K5 at Nu'alolo Kai and excavation grids. Redrawn by Diana Izdebski from Figure 2 in Graves *et al.* (2005).

Kikuchi (n.d.) into what they considered the major units of archaeological relevance, units referred to as "cultural levels" by Graves *et al.* (2005). Unpublished profiles illustrate these post-excavation designations and refer to them by Roman numerals. So, for example, the deposits in Feature K3 (later K3a and K3b) were amalgamated into eight cultural levels, including a Surface level and Levels I to VII. Notably, in several cases Soehren and Kikuchi's cultural levels incorporated more than one sedimentary unit (i.e., strata/layers/facies in contemporary parlance) (see also Graves *et al.* 2005: 36). This resulted in some cultural levels being rather substantial in terms of depth, as for example Level I in the K3 terrace, which is 30.5 cm thick.

Also problematic was that during the field excavation, stratigraphic control was often poor and individual artefacts were often imprecisely located with respect to depth below surface; as a consequence many artefacts cannot be assigned to a specific cultural level. So, for instance, the depth ranges associated with the Bible pages in Feature K5 (later K5a) are quite broad, and consequently they were assigned to the rather general category of Levels I to III.

Graves *et al.* (2005: 1, 35–38) subsequently created analytic zones for Features K3b and K5a "to guide current and future analyses of artifacts and other materials derived from these features". These analytic zones (designated by Arabic numerals) combined cultural levels into larger units with the goal of generating units "whose deposits accumulated over approximately the same duration and which would provide sufficiently-sized samples of cultural materials for analysis" (p. 36; see also Table 8). Because the foreign artefacts are limited to a subset of the cultural levels and because they are relatively few in number in comparison to the remainder of the artefact assemblage, this examination uses the cultural levels, rather than the analytic units presented by Graves *et al.* (2005), as primary units of analysis.

Table 1. Summary of features excavated at Nu'alolo Kai.

Feature	Units	Max. depth (cmbs)*	No. cultural levels
K2	5	91.4	3
K3	93	251.5	8
K4	10	157.5	3
K5	52	177.8	9

* The original investigators (see Soehren and Kikuchi n.d.) reported depths in inches (in.). These depths have been converted here to centimetres (cm) for consistency with Graves *et al.* (2005).

Table 2. Cultural levels and depths (cm) below ground surface by feature, Nu‘alolo Kai.

Cultural level*	K3	K4	K5
Surface	0–7.5	–	–
I	7.5–30.5	0–25	0–26
II	30.5–51	25–56	26–39.6
III	51–76	56–106	39.6–50
IV	76–106.5	–	50–74.5
V	106.5–140	–	74.5–85
VI	140–178	–	85–99
VII	178–239	–	99–113
VIII	–	–	113–125
IX	–	–	125–137

* Although the three features have been listed together in this table due to space limitations, this is not meant to suggest that suggest there is a correlation, chronological or otherwise, between the numbered cultural levels within the three features.

Working from the data produced by the original excavators, the UH researchers modelled the site’s settlement history. Feature K3, the terrace most extensively excavated by the Bishop Museum team, also produced deposits spanning the greatest length of time. Graves *et al.* (2005) interpreted the lowest two cultural levels as “Prehistoric”, dating them to the period between AD 1250/1300 and 1500. Features K3 and K5 both yielded “Late Prehistoric” deposits dated between AD 1500 and 1700. Based on an increasing proportion of domestic artefacts, Graves *et al*. postulated that use of the site gradually became more intensive through time. They suggested that Feature K3, initially used for cooking and tool manufacturing, had transitioned into a space for permanent habitation by Level III (Graves *et al*. 2005: 167). In Feature K5, they argued that Levels I and II both represented “living area[s]” (Graves *et al*. 2005: 180).

From the earliest investigations at the site, which yielded “china dishes” (Bennett 1931: 149), it was clear that the terraces contained a post-contact component. The UH analysis revealed that the terraces were continuously occupied from the pre-contact through the post-contact periods. Based on the presence of foreign objects, the UH researchers considered the upper three

cultural levels in Features K3 and K5 "Historic." Feature K4 was thought to have been the most recently constructed of the three main terraces, although it has not been radiocarbon dated (Graves *et al*. 2005: 185). The draft report produced by the original investigators suggested that the stone alignments visible on the surface were the remains of grass-thatched dwellings, which were presumed to date to the post-contact period (Soehren and Kikuchi n.d.). Thus, the foreign artefacts not only derive from the uppermost surface architecture but also extend into the site's deeper cultural levels.

The site's continuous occupation from the pre-contact into the post-contact period and its remarkable preservation offer a unique opportunity to investigate aspects of change and continuity in Hawaiian households from the early post-contact period to the mid-nineteenth century. While the UH researchers listed historic artefacts with known proveniences in their published inventory (Graves *et al*. 2005), the foreign artefacts from Nu'alolo Kai were not subjected to detailed analysis at the time. The present analysis was aimed at enhancing chronological and cultural understanding of the site's settlement history and investigation into questions relating to the historic activities at Nu'alolo Kai.

REVIEW OF THE FOREIGN ARTEFACTS

The 386 foreign artefacts from the 1958–1964 Bishop Museum excavations are summarised in Table 3. The foreign artefacts from K3 derive from Levels I–IV, while those from K4 derive from Levels I–II and those from K5 come from Levels I–VII. The foreign artefacts comprise a variety of materials, including metal objects, small ornaments, cloth and buttons, glass and miscellaneous artefacts.

Metal Objects

The largest group is metal artefacts, the majority of which are highly oxidised and unidentifiable pieces of iron or ferrous metal. The metal artefacts include 13 iron fasteners, including iron nails, several of which were machine-cut, and a flathead wood screw that appears to have a self-starting gimlet point. Thirteen pieces of copper sheeting were also collected from the site. Copper alloy or brass fasteners include a spike and several small nails or tacks.[2] Several brass fasteners resemble the sheathing tacks used to attach copper sheathing to the bottom of wooden ships, a practice that originated in the latter part of the eighteenth century (McCarthy 2005: 102). Five metal fishhooks were present, four of which appear to be modified iron nails. While highly rusted, these fishhooks resemble the traditional styles and sizes of Hawaiian fishhooks made from bone and pearl-shell. The other metal fishhook was manufactured from copper alloy (Fig. 5). The assemblage also includes two musket balls, one of which may have been reshaped to form a lead sinker, two flint strike-a-lights and one gunflint.

Figure 5. Metal fishhooks recovered from Nu‘alolo Kai. The four on the left are iron fishhooks that may have been manufactured from modified nails. The fishhook on the right is made of copper alloy.

Table 3. Foreign artefacts from Nu‘alolo Kai.

Category	Subcategory	K3	K4	K5	Unknown	Total
Metal	Brass nail/tack	3	2	3	1	9
	Brass spike		1			1
	Copper sheeting	4	3	4	2	13
	Iron chisel	1				1
	Iron knife haft			1		1
	Iron nail, machine-cut	2		3	1	6
	Iron nail, unidentifiable			4	2	6
	Iron slotted-head wood screw		1			1
	Iron (bent-nail) fishhook	2		1		3

Category	Subcategory	K3	K4	K5	Unknown	Total
	Copper fishhook			1		1
	Musket ball			2		2
	Unidentifiable/other copper	2		3		5
	Unidentifiable/other iron	20	4	62	14	100
Flint	Gunflint	1				1
	Strike-a-light	1			1	2
Beads and ornaments	Glass bead, blown	1				1
	Glass bead, drawn	1	28	2		31
	Glass bead, faceted		1	1		2
	Glass bead, unidentifiable	14		1		15
	Glass bead, wound	3	5	17		25
	Unmounted gemstone, leaded glass	1				1
	Comb, turtle shell	1		5		6
Ceramics	Porcellaneous stoneware	1				1
	Porcelain, underglaze blue	6				6
	Porcelain, underglaze blue with red			2		2
	Pearlware, shell-edged			1		1
	Whiteware			2	1	3
	Whiteware, green transfer-print		4			4

Category	Subcategory	K3	K4	K5	Unknown	Total
	Yellowware	3				3
Bottle glass	Amber glass	1				1
	Olive-green glass	10		2	5	17
Flat glass/ mirror parts	Flat glass, assorted	9	1			10
	Mirror fragment?	1		1		2
	Mirror frame, wood	2				2
Buttons	Button, bone	1				1
	Button blank, bone			1		1
	Button, brass with anchor motif	1				1
	Button, ivory?			1		1
	Button, Prosser	1		1		2
	Button, shell	1				1
	Button, turtle shell			2		2
	Button blank, wood/ coconut shell	1				1
Fabric	Cloth fragment, plain-weave	11	8	55		74
	Cloth wick, plain-weave			2		2
	Cloth fragment, twill-weave			4	1	5
	Shoe sole, leather	2				2
Slate	Slate pencil	1		2		3

Category	Subcategory	K3	K4	K5	Unknown	Total
Printed paper	Page, Hawaiian-language Bible	9	1	1		11
	Match wrapper	1				1
Misc.	Glass fragment, unidentifiable	1				1
	Wire insulation, fibreglass?				1	1
	Bottle cap, crown cap				1	1
Total		120	59	187	30	396

Ornaments

Glass beads are another common artefact. Undecorated monochrome beads in wound, drawn and faceted varieties dominate the glass bead assemblage. Five Cornaline d'Aleppo or "white heart" beads are present (Fig. 6). These compound beads, which have a layer of glass overlying a white core, were manufactured in several European beading centres and used as trade beads throughout Africa and North America. They eventually became known as "Hudson's Bay" beads because the Hudson's Bay Company frequently used them in the fur trade (Ross 1990: 44). Thirty-one small beads were collected from a single provenience in Feature K4; several are still strung on fibre cordage. Researchers have hypothesised that glass beads were the focus of an informal exchange economy involving foreign men and Hawaiian women, who strung them as ornaments in a similar fashion to shell beads (Kirch 1992: 181). The assemblage also includes a blue-coloured gemstone identified by XRF analysis as leaded glass, also known as crystal.

Other objects related to personal adornment include turtle-shell combs. Both men and women used combs of turtle shell during the nineteenth century for grooming their hair, and women wore them in their hair as decorative items (Sherrow 2006: 92). A total of six undecorated combs or comb fragments are present in the assemblage. These objects, along with the turtle-shell buttons, may represent foreign trade items. The Nu'alolo Kai house sites yielded pieces of modified turtle shell consistent with the production of turtle-shell items (Graves *et al.* 2015: 68–70). As a result, the possibility exists that at least some of these objects were manufactured locally.

Figure 6. Glass beads from Nu‘alolo Kai. Top: 31 small beads found together; bottom: four Cornaline d’Aleppo beads.

Cloth and Buttons

The cloth fragments represent natural materials such as cotton, wool, silk and bast.[3] Most are plain-weave cloth, although several twill-weave specimens are also present. Several items are stitched, most frequently with cotton thread. While most of the fabric fragments are uncoloured, several pieces are a dark blue, consistent with natural indigo. A small number have simple printed designs. Several fragments decorated with floral motifs were present, as well as one specimen with an open-plaid discharge-printed design (Fig. 7). In the discharge printing method, first used around 1800, fabric was dyed with indigo and then “printed” with a bleaching agent (Brackman 2008: 20). This discharge-printed fragment was stitched to an undyed cotton fragment; the undyed fragment may represent a cotton lining attached to a piece of printed fabric. Because nineteenth-century cloth garments were frequently lined, the presence of the undyed fabric may indicate that this piece represents part of a garment.

While some of the fragments may derive from garments, it is possible that others represent household objects such as blankets or bags. Two pieces of foreign cloth were twisted into a two-ply formation typical of Hawaiian twining known as an S-twist. The original excavators (Soehren and Kikuchi n.d.) suggested these items, virtually identical to 13 kapa wicks also recovered from the site, were used as wicks for traditional Hawaiian stone lamps filled with *kukui* ‘candlenut’ (*Aleurites moluccana*) or *kamani* ‘laurelwood’ (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) oil. Two fragments of a leather shoe or boot sole with small nail holes along the edges are also present. The small size of the leather fragments suggests that this piece of footwear may have belonged to a woman.

Figure 7. Fabric fragments from Nu‘alolo Kai. Top: Discharge-printed fabric with open-plaid design and undyed cotton lining; bottom: wicks made from foreign fabric.

The ten buttons collected from Nu'alolo Kai are of a variety of materials, including bone, shell, brass, coconut shell or wood and what appears to be turtle shell. The collection also includes two Prosser buttons, which are small white porcelain buttons often used as shirt buttons (Sprague 2002). Other buttons are similar in size to pants or coat buttons. One bone button and one button the original excavators identified as coconut shell are blanks or single-hole buttons originally covered with cloth. One two-piece brass button embossed with the image of an anchor was also found. While these buttons may have once been attached to pieces of clothing, loose buttons were also a common trade item in the early post-contact period and served as ornaments in much the same way as glass beads (Carter 1990: 39).

Ceramics

The small number of ceramic sherds represent several ware types, including porcellaneous stoneware, porcelain, yellowware and whiteware (Fig. 8). The assemblage contains one fragment of Kitchen Ch'ing Chinese porcellaneous stoneware that possibly derived from a rice bowl (Susan Lebo, pers. comm., 2019).

Figure 8. Ceramic artefacts from Nu'alolo Kai, including a) porcellaneous stoneware, b–d) porcelain, e) shell-edged pearlware, f–h) whiteware, i) yellowware and j) whiteware with green transfer-printed design. Arrows indicate worked edges.

Seven pieces of Chinese porcelain were present, which have both underglaze blue and underglaze blue and red hand-painted designs. Underglaze designs are painted on the surface of the pottery before the glaze is applied. At least three distinct porcelain vessels are present. Three sherds, including one rim sherd, with blue decoration have a pattern that resembles the "Allah" plate. The "Allah" plate, produced between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, often had chrysanthemums surrounded by an undulating freehand design. The wavy lines are thought to represent a stylised form of the word "Allah"[4] (Willets 1981: 3). The small porcelain fragments from Nu'alolo Kai, while of indeterminate vessel form, are consistent in shape with a plate. One sherd with a red-and-blue peony design is a thick, flat sherd that probably derives from the base of a plate or serving bowl.

The ceramic assemblage also includes several fragments of refined earthenware, including pearlware, whiteware and yellowware. One sherd of blue shell-edged pearlware was found. At least three whiteware vessels are present, which included four pieces of a whiteware bowl with a green transfer-printed design and one additional undecorated whiteware sherd identifiable as a bowl fragment. Three sherds of at least one large, flat-bottomed yellowware bowl are also present. The yellowware bowl is oval or irregular in shape.

The ceramics assemblage also shows evidence for the reuse of these items for purposes other than those for which they were originally intended. One of the blue-on-white porcelain sherds shows prominent flaking along one margin, suggesting someone used it as a scraping tool; a whiteware sherd also shows marks from use as an implement and red staining of uncertain origin.

Bottles and Other Glass

Glass artefacts include both bottle glass and fragments of flat, clear glass. The bottle glass assemblage consists of 17 pieces of olive-green glass and an amber glass fragment. At least two round-bodied, mould-blown olive-green wine or ale bottles are present. While most of the glass fragments are too small to have diagnostic characteristics, the assemblage includes one partial hand-applied finish and two bottle base fragments, one of which is slightly indented and one that exhibits a steep kick-up. The term finish refers to the "mouth" or top of the bottle; hand-held finishing tools were commonly used by manufacturers in shaping this part of the bottle during a period lasting from approximately the 1820s to the 1920s (Jones *et al*. 1989: 43). The two base fragments show moderate wear, possibly associated with long-term use. The applied-finish fragment has been reshaped by flaking and shows wear on its margins (Fig. 9). Four additional bottle glass fragments show apparent evidence of sharpening or use-wear.

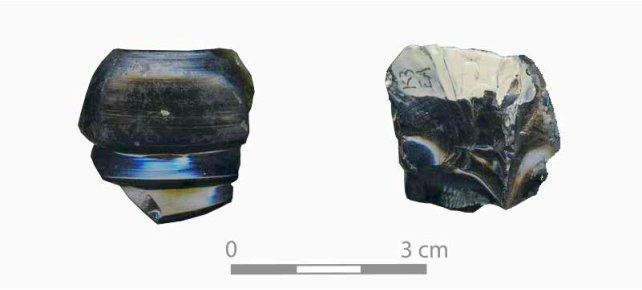

Figure 9. Modified hand-applied bottle finish fragment recovered from Nu‘alolo Kai. At left: exterior of finish; at right: modified interior.

One flat glass artefact has a bevelled corner and a narrow band along the edge that appears to have been left by a frame. Two flat glass fragments have a metallic residue shown by XRF analysis to contain traces of tin, suggesting that these glass fragments represent parts of mirrors. Two wooden objects identified by the original excavators as mirror “holders” or frames were recovered from Feature K3. Historical accounts suggest that mirrors, frequently brought to Hawai‘i in the early post-contact period as trade items, were highly prized by Hawaiian women (Linnekin 1990: 175).

Slate Pencils and Printed Materials

Several artefacts may have connections to the work of the missionaries in Hawai‘i. While mission-based studies are uncommon in Hawai‘i, archaeologists have studied the work of missionaries across Oceania (Flexner 2016; Lydon 2009; Middleton 2009). Three slate pencils were found at Nu‘alolo Kai, two of which are encased in feather quills (Fig. 10). The pencils each show wear on one end, suggesting they may have been used. Slate pencils and writing tablets have previously been linked to the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1820 (e.g., Kirch 1992: 181; see also Rosendahl and Carter 1988: 51). Because slate pencils were used aboard ships, however, it is possible they were exchanged with Hawaiians prior to the missionary period.

The assemblage also includes ten fragments of paper printed in the Hawaiian language. A search of recently digitised Hawaiian-language texts shows these pages, which contain Biblical passages from the Old Testament books of Joshua and Judges and the New Testament books of Matthew, Acts and Hebrews, are pages of the Hawaiian-language Bible. While the Hawaiian-language version of Matthew was first published in 1828, the entire New Testament, including Acts and Hebrews, was not printed until 1832. The complete Hawaiian-language Bible (*Baibala Hemolele*), including

Figure 10. Slate pencils recovered from Nu‘alolo Kai. The two pencils on the left are encased in feather quills.

the Old Testament, was first printed in 1839 (Lyon 2017: 132–33; see also Day and Loomis 1997: 16). By the 1860s, many Hawaiians could read and write, and missionaries had widely distributed copies of the Bible and other religious tracts in the Hawaiian language (Anderson 1865: 259).

One final artefact in this category is a fragment of paper printed with an image of a six-storey city building. The front of the building has the lettering “BOSTON MATCH COMPANY ESTABLISHED 1835/BYAM CARLTON & CO’S FRICTION MATCH MANUFACTORY”. The paper appears to represent a match wrapper produced by Byam, Carlton and Company and clearly postdates the founding of the company in 1835.

Summary and Implications

Analysis of the foreign artefacts from these layered household contexts, which represent multiple successive occupations, allow us to envision how the residents of Nu‘alolo Kai incorporated foreign goods as part of a few, selected everyday activities between the early post-contact period and the latter half of the nineteenth century. The artefacts suggest that the people of Nu‘alolo Kai adopted some elements of European-style dress, including shoes and possibly shirts or other garments. Glass beads and other ornaments, such as the cut-glass gemstone, would have been used by women

for personal adornment. Crockery and perhaps glass bottles appear to have been incorporated into household food service, while the presence of flint and musket balls may suggest the use of firearms. Matches, and perhaps flint, would have been used to start cooking fires. Metal implements, such as the chisel and knife, may have been used for various tasks such as woodworking or cutting; nails appear to have been reworked as fishhooks. Finally, the slate pencils and Bible pages are notable because they are potential indicators of literacy among the residents of Nu‘alolo Kai.

FOREIGN ARTEFACTS AND SITE CHRONOLOGY

Foreign artefacts provide chronological data that can help to date the site’s post-contact deposits. The Nu‘alolo Kai foreign artefacts assemblage included several artefacts with temporally diagnostic characteristics. The unique characteristics of Nu‘alolo Kai, however, challenge conventional methods of using historic artefacts to date contexts. For example, the dating of archaeological components in historical archaeology often rests on multiple artefacts with chronologically diagnostic features. Techniques such as mean ceramic dating (MCD), a method that averages the ages of pottery fragments recovered from a specific context (South 1978), allow investigators to assign dates to individual contexts based on periods of ceramic manufacture. The Nu‘alolo Kai assemblage, in contrast, yielded few diagnostic artefacts. Another difficulty lies in the potential for these objects to have an associated time lag. One estimate for time lag between the production and deposition of ceramic artefacts in urban settings is 15 to 20 years or more (Adams 2003). Time lag in rural or remote areas such as Nu‘alolo Kai would likely have been considerably greater. For example, studies have suggested that residents of outlying areas often obtained “odd lots” containing out-of-date, mismatched vessels (O’Donovan and Wurst 2001).

As a result, I have focused on establishing *terminus post quem* (TPQ) dates for the post-contact cultural levels (see Garland 1996), with the assumption that the actual dates of occupation were likely somewhat later. Many of the site’s artefacts, including mould-blown bottle glass and porcelain artefacts, for example, were consistent with an early- to mid-nineteenth-century period of occupation. Foreign artefacts from the assemblage with temporally diagnostic attributes are summarised in Table 4. Artefact depths were originally recorded in inches; for consistency with the analysis by Graves *et al.* (2005), however, I have converted these measurements to centimetres (cm).

A summary of chronological information pertaining to the cultural levels in the three primary features at Nu‘alolo Kai is shown in Table 5. This table includes data drawn from both the radiocarbon dates reported by Graves *et al.* (2005) and diagnostic foreign artefacts, which allow us to refine the radiocarbon chronology. The dates are presented in the table as TPQ dates, meaning that they

represent the earliest possible date for each level and, by extension, subsequent (higher) levels. The cultural levels with the clearest temporal associations are the uppermost proveniences in each feature. In Feature K3, the Surface level and Level I are considered together. The uppermost cultural levels in all three features contained artefacts providing TPQs in the late 1830s or the 1840s. However, the deposition of these items in the terraces may have been significantly later than the 1840s, given the potential time lag between when these materials arrived in the archipelago and their arrival in the hinterlands of Nu‘alolo Kai. I estimate that the 1860s to early 1870s is a likely time span for the residential activities represented in these cultural levels. This timeframe is consistent with historical information suggesting that the cliff-side terraces were no longer used as permanent residences by the mid-1870s.

Based on the presence of increased quantities of foreign artefacts, the UH team considered the first three cultural levels of Feature K3 and Feature K5 (Graves *et al.* 2005: 183, 184) as post-contact in origin. As shown in Table 5, additional foreign artefacts were recovered below those levels; when items spanning multiple cultural levels are considered (Table 6), this number increases. While Graves *et al.* (2005) interpreted the small quantities of foreign items below the “established” post-contact levels as intrusive, the presence of these artefacts lends some ambiguity to the identification of these proveniences as solely pre-contact. Besides signalling intrusion or disturbance, small numbers of foreign artefacts might indicate an initially slow period of introduction.[5] Thus, it may be productive to consider additional lines of evidence, such as floral and faunal remains or spatial data, in assigning a given cultural level to the pre-contact or post-contact period.

Even for the earliest cultural levels, considered by previous researchers (i.e., Graves *et al.* 2005) as definitively post-contact, the lack of artefacts with specific temporally diagnostic features unfortunately makes it impossible to date these proveniences precisely. Yet, the deep post-contact deposits at Nu‘alolo Kai offer insight into the chronology of these cultural levels. Cook’s arrival in 1778 offers a TPQ date for the arrival of foreign artefacts in the archipelago,[6] although it was not until the 1790s that ships began to visit Hawai‘i with regularity. In Feature K3, the uppermost three cultural levels account for 30 inches of soil deposition; in Feature K5, the top three levels account for 20 inches. These levels include multiple floors and occupation surfaces. The significant depth of these deposits allows us to infer that the arrival of foreign artefacts occurred several decades before the deposition of the uppermost cultural levels, which securely date to the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, the introduction of foreign artefacts is likely to have occurred relatively early in the post-contact period, i.e., by the early nineteenth century. Foreign objects continued to be used in small quantities until about the 1860s, or slightly later, through successive occupations of the site.

Table 4. Diagnostic foreign artefacts by feature.

Artefact type	Date range	K3	K4	K5	References
Wood screw, gimlet point	1846+		0–20 cm (I, *n*=1)		Miller *et al.* 2000
Prosser button	1840+ (widespread 1860s)	0–15 cm (I, *n*=1)		86 cm (VI, *n*=1)*	Sprague 2002
Pages of Hawaiian-language Bible (Old Testament, e.g., Joshua and Judges)	1839+		0–10 cm (I, *n*=1)	25–46 cm† (I to III, *n*=1)	Lyon 2017
Match wrapper	1835+	Unprov.‡ (*n*=1)			none
Pages of Hawaiian-language Bible (New Testament, e.g., Matthew and Hebrews)	1832+	0 cm (Surface, *n*=2) 10 cm (I, *n*=4) 15 cm (*n*=2) 20 cm (I, *n*=1)			Lyon 2017
Brass button with anchor motif	ca. 1830–1865	0–46 cm (Surface to II, *n*=1)			Olsen 1963
Cornaline d'Aleppo bead	1830+	0–43 cm (Surface to II, *n*=1)	0 cm (I, *n*=2) 10–15 cm (I, *n*=1)	8 cm (I, *n*=1)	Francis 1988
Green transfer-print design	1828+		0–15 cm (I, *n*=4)		Aultman *et al.* 2003

Artefact type	Date range	K3	K4	K5	References
Yellowware	1825–early 20c.	Unprov. (*n*=1) 0–15 cm (Surface to I, *n*=1) 30 cm (I, *n*=1)			Aultman *et al.* 2003
Whiteware	1820+			Unprov. (*n*=1) 15–20 cm (I, *n*=1)	Aultman *et al.* 2003
Machine-cut nail	1810+	0–23 cm (Surface to I, *n*=2)		25–46 cm (I to III, *n*=2) 36–46 cm (II to III, *n*=1)	Wells 1998
Shell button with sunburst design	ca. 1800–1865	20 cm (I, *n*=1)			South 1964
Shell-edged pearlware	ca. 1800–1830			0–36 cm (I to II, *n*=1)	Aultman *et al.* 2003

* The field notes show this button as being recovered adjacent to a "soft hole"; thus, this artefact is considered to have been moved from its original context.

† Some artefacts were provenienced to quite general depth ranges and could not be assigned to specific cultural levels (see discussion of excavation methodology above); the Roman numerals in parentheses indicate the cultural levels associated with a given depth range.

‡ The "unprovenienced" designation signifies that no information regarding vertical provenience (depth) of the artefact was recorded by the original excavators.

Table 5. Estimated terminus post quem (TPQ) dates for cultural levels in each feature, based on diagnostic foreign artefacts and radiocarbon dates reported by Graves *et al.* (2005).

Cultural level	Feature K3		Feature K4		Feature K5	
	No. foreign artefacts	Estimated TPQ	No. foreign artefacts	Estimated TPQ	No. foreign artefacts	Estimated TPQ
I	43*	1840 (ca. 1860s)	51	1846 (ca. 1860s)	27	1839 (ca. 1860s)
II	14	Early 19c.	2	Late 18c.–early 19c.	5	Early 19c.
III	17	Late 18c.–early 19c.	–	Undated	6	
IV	1	**AD 1482–1815†**	–	Undated	8	Late 18c.–early 19c.?
V	0		–	Sterile	2	**AD 1634–1890†**
VI	0	**AD 1297–1431†**	–	n/a	1	
VII	0		–		2	
VIII	–	Sterile	–		0	
IX	–	n/a	–		0	**AD 1645–1889†**
–	–		–		–	Sterile

* The shaded boxes indicate the cultural levels interpreted by Graves *et al.* (2005) as representing cultural intervals that date to the post-contact period. Note that in five cases, levels with small amounts of historic material were assigned by Graves *et al*. to the pre-contact period. While Graves *et al.* (2005) placed Level IV in the pre-contact period of their chronological model, elsewhere they note that it may have spanned the mid- to late seventeenth century, i.e., the period of European contact.

† The calibrated radiocarbon date ranges (in bold) are from Graves *et al.* (2005: Table 7). The samples from Feature K3 were collected from units within Feature K3b. The calibrated ranges provided in the text have no accompanying information such as the calibration curve used or calibration error. With the exception of a date from Level VIII in Feature K5, conventional radiocarbon ages (CRAs) are not included. The sampled material consists of unidentified wood charcoal.

Table 6. Foreign artefacts with depth ranges incorporating more than one cultural level.

Associated cultural levels	K3a	K3b	K5a
Surface	–	2	–
Surface to I	1	15	–
Surface to II	1	6	–
Surface to III	2	1	–
I	1	21	27
I to II	–	5	27
I to III	1	6	15
II	2	12	5
II to III	–	1	16
II to IV	–	–	16
II to V	1	–	–
III	–	17	6
III to IV	–	1	3
III to V	–		4
IV	–	1	8
IV to VI	–	–	1
V	–	–	2
V to VII	–	–	1
VI	–	–	1
VI to VII	–	–	3
VII	–	–	2
VII to IX	–	–	1

CHANGE THROUGH TIME

Feature K3, the most extensively excavated terrace, most clearly demonstrates an increase in the frequency of foreign artefacts through time (Table 7). As noted above, the only foreign artefact recovered from Level IV was a glass bead. Levels II and III of Feature K3 contained slightly higher numbers of foreign artefacts, with little difference observed between the two. The Surface and Level I, considered here together, yielded a significantly higher number of foreign artefacts. Yet, the percentage of foreign artefacts compared to the total artefact collection remains below 10 percent. This proportion is quite small, particularly in comparison to similar data from Anahulu Valley, where house sites first occupied after the 1830s were dominated by foreign artefacts (Kirch 1992).

Table 7. Foreign artefacts from the top four cultural levels of Feature K3b.

Cultural level	Depth (cmbs)	Estimated TPQ	Foreign artefacts	Percent total
Surface	0–7.5	1840	39	9.2
I	7.5–30.5	1832		
II	30.5–51	–	12	3.9
III	51–76	1778	17	4.2
IV	76–106.5	1778?	1	0.3

It is also possible to examine changes in the foreign artefacts from Feature K3 in terms of the types of objects represented in the assemblage. Table 8 shows the artefacts collected from discrete cultural levels. While the sample of artefacts is small, a few patterns are noticeable. The objects recovered from the earliest post-contact deposits in Feature K3 included glass beads, lengths of plain-weave cloth, porcelain fragments, a copper nail, a slate pencil and several unidentifiable iron fragments. Such objects are roughly consistent with the types of objects that sea traders carried in the early post-contact period specifically for trade with Hawaiians and other indigenous groups. It is notable that Carter's (1990) review of early post-contact sites showed that such trade goods were best represented at sites associated with high-status Hawaiians.

Table 8. Foreign artefacts by cultural level (Surface/I–IV) in Feature K3.*

Artefact category	Artefact type	Surface/I	II	III	IV	Total
Glass	Bottle glass, olive-green	2	–	–	–	2
	Flat glass	1	2	–	–	3
	Unidentifiable glass fragment	1	–	–	–	1
Ceramics	Yellowware	1	–	–	–	1
	Porcelain, underglaze blue	–	1	1	–	2
Metal	Nail, iron, machine-cut	2	–	–	–	2
	Nail, copper alloy	1	–	1	–	2
	Sheeting, copper alloy	3	–	–	–	3
	Bent-nail fishhook, iron	–	–	1	–	1
	Unidentifiable iron fragment	5	2	7	–	14
Beads	Bead, glass	6	2	1	1	10
Cloth	Plain-weave cloth	5	–	3	–	8
	Shoe sole fragment, leather	–	2	–	–	2
Buttons	Button, Prosser	1	–	–	–	1
	Button, shell	1	–	–	–	1
	Button, bone	1	–	–	–	1
	Button, coconut shell	–	1	–	–	1
Ornaments	Gem stone	–	1	–	–	1
	Turtle-shell comb	1	4	–	–	5
Writing tools and paper	Hawaiian-language Bible page	9	–	–	–	9
	Slate pencil	–	–	1	–	1
Total		40	15	15	1	71

* Artefacts from both K3a and K3b are included in these totals.

The assemblage of foreign objects collected from the uppermost deposits of Feature K3, in contrast, included certain objects that may have represented a new, emerging version of the trappings of the Hawaiian household in the mid-nineteenth century. Ceramic artefacts from Level I included yellowware, an inexpensive utility ware, rather than porcelain. The presence of several types of buttons in Level I and Level II may relate to the increasing incorporation of western-style clothing. Because Level 1 contained several glass beads, it appears that residents of Nu‘alolo Kai continued to integrate such items into their wardrobes, along with other ornaments such as turtle-shell combs. The presence of Hawaiian-language Bible pages, together with slate pencils, suggests that despite living in a rugged and remote part of the archipelago the occupants of this house site may have been among the vast majority of Hawaiians who had acquired literacy by the mid-nineteenth century.

It is also informative to consider the types of traditional artefacts that are present in the post-contact cultural levels of Feature K3. There was little decrease in the frequency of artefacts made from traditional materials, even in the deposits from Level 1. Stone adzes continued to be present in the uppermost cultural levels, suggesting that the residents of Nu‘alolo Kai continued to use traditional stone tools for woodworking (see also Bayman 2014), along with several types of fishing equipment. Fishing gear from the upper levels comprised fishhooks and fishhook blanks of bone and pearl-shell, sinkers made from multiple materials, and octopus lures. Numerous coral and sea urchin spine files were also recovered, indicating that fishhook manufacturing also persisted. Numerous fragments of perishable materials, such as cordage, gourd containers and kapa, items used for various household purposes, were recovered from these contexts. Shell beads and dog teeth, pig teeth and niho palaoa (interpreted as pendants) from the upper cultural levels indicate that such materials also continued to be used for bodily ornamentation.

DISCUSSION

The Nu‘alolo Kai legacy collection allows us to examine a well-preserved, stratified residential site that Hawaiians occupied continuously from the pre-contact period until the latter part of the nineteenth century. While scholars have recommended that we eliminate false distinctions between so-called “prehistoric” and “historical” archaeology (e.g., Lightfoot 1995), this task has often been challenging to accomplish in practice. The materials from Nu‘alolo Kai provide an important case study for investigating material change and continuity in early post-contact Hawai‘i. Nu‘alolo’s unique position as a remote community makes it possible to investigate questions about the variability of local responses to widespread social transformations in the archipelago.

Introduction of Foreign Goods

Foreign objects likely arrived at Nu‘alolo Kai through multiple types of circulation networks, including those furthered by the actions of both men and women. While Hawaiian elites initially tried to control the circulation of foreign goods, the frequent interaction between ships’ crews and Hawaiian women made such regulations difficult to enforce. Ships’ crews traded various types of objects for provisions, and, over time, many farming households began to produce surplus crops specifically for this purpose. It is possible that some items, particularly the copper alloy tacks and spike, may have been salvaged from shipwrecks, such as the *Bering* and the *Ha‘aheo o Hawai‘i*, that foundered off the coasts of Kaua‘i. Nu‘alolo Kai’s status as a “way station” for canoe travellers, moreover, may have presented unique opportunities for its inhabitants to receive foreign goods in trade.

The uppermost cultural levels in the habitation features at Nu‘alolo Kai showed that foreign goods became increasingly available throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, perhaps due to the expansion of land-based exchange networks in which they could circulate. The arrival of the missionaries in 1820 and the opening of the sugar plantations in the 1830s made foreign goods significantly more accessible to the people of Kaua‘i, including those of Nu‘alolo Kai. Following the emergence of a land-based exchange network for foreign goods, these items could have arrived at Nu‘alolo Kai through trade with local missionaries or via barter at markets associated with the plantations or the ports. After entering intra-island exchange networks, such objects may have circulated widely; as a result, it is not clear whether residents of Nu‘alolo Kai obtained them directly through such interactions or via participation in informal exchange networks.

Foreign Goods in Nu‘alolo Kai Households

The earliest foreign artefacts were non-essential household goods such as glass beads and other small sundry items. These objects likely represent the products of trade with ships’ crews, whether obtained directly or through intermediaries via local trade networks. It is possible that residents assigned the small foreign trade items that arrived at the site in the early post-contact period a high symbolic significance, recontextualising them as exotic luxuries or curiosities within the local sociopolitical structure. Some objects identified at Nu‘alolo Kai, including Chinese porcelain and porcellaneous stoneware, are associated with elite sites occupied during the early nineteenth century elsewhere. Carter (1990) demonstrated that during the early post-contact period foreign goods appeared primarily within the habitations of elite Hawaiians. The presence of such items in early post-contact contexts at Nu‘alolo Kai may suggest that if there were, in fact, high-status individuals or households here, their association with the community might have fostered the availability of foreign goods through various methods of exchange.

In contrast to the novelties and luxury items present in earlier contexts, the presence of inexpensive yellowware and whiteware ceramics in the uppermost deposits suggests that residents began to incorporate ceramic vessels into the household as domestic staples rather than luxury goods. Fragments of wine-style glass bottles also appeared in the most recent deposits. Yet, the presence of foreign objects in the site's uppermost cultural levels provides little evidence to suggest that foreign goods were being used or viewed in a manner consistent with that of a Euro-American household. While ceramics and glass bottles are typically the most common artefacts at most historical archaeology sites, both in Hawai'i and elsewhere, at Nu'alolo Kai, these items comprised only 38 artefacts, or 9.9 percent of the assemblage. The use of these items occurred as part of a distinctive framework for consumption, in comparison to that typically associated with historical artefacts. Whereas items such as bottle glass and ceramic artefacts are often found at historic sites in large numbers, as items easily purchased, at Nu'alolo Kai such objects may have played a more specialised role.

Rather than restructuring household activities, foreign items were in many cases fit into existing practices. In the nineteenth century, for example, ceramic vessels began to be used alongside wooden and gourd bowls to serve and store *poi* 'cooked and mashed taro root' and other liquid-based foods (see Garland 1996: 393; Kirch 1992: 182); Nu'alolo Kai residents may have used the vessels found in the upper layers for similar purposes. Other objects have visible evidence of secondary use. Both porcelain and glass fragments, for example, show wear from use as cutting or scraping tools, while two pieces of foreign cloth were twisted to form kukui or kamani oil-lamp wicks. While a small number of nails were present, the quantities were too small to suggest they were used as building materials; instead, they may have been collected to produce bent-nail fishhooks such as the four iron hooks also recovered from the site.

Comparisons to Other Post-Contact Hawaiian House Sites

This study demonstrates that foreign objects arrived at Nu'alolo Kai early in the post-contact period. While such goods increased over time, by the latest period of occupation, ca. the 1860s–1870s, they only comprised a small proportion of the assemblage (i.e., less than 10 percent). This pattern contrasts with that seen at other Hawaiian residential sites in outlying areas, where a marked increase in foreign goods around the mid-nineteenth century was evident. Kirch's (1992) landmark Anahulu study, for example, showed that the integration of foreign artefacts into Hawaiian households expanded sharply after the 1830s, as the spread of the market economy in Hawai'i increased the availability of these objects across the archipelago. Rural Hawaiian house sites from the mid-nineteenth century and later have yielded a wide range of consumer goods, from metal implements to specialty food products, perfumes,

hair oil and pharmaceutical medicines (Anderson 2001; Flexner 2010, 2012, 2014; Flexner *et al.* 2018; Goodwin 1994; Kirch 1992; Mills *et al.* 2013).

Rather than showing a dramatic increase in the presence of foreign goods, the Nu‘alolo Kai assemblage suggests that residents of these house sites continued to use foreign goods in minimal numbers for nearly a century after the first arrival of Captain Cook in Hawai‘i. In contrast, the nineteenth-century residents of Nu‘alolo Kai sustained many traditional provisioning strategies such as small-scale fishing and farming (see Field and Graves 2015) and may even have continued to use stone adzes and bone and shell fishhooks, despite the availability of newly introduced foreign alternatives. Nu‘alolo Kai’s rugged and isolated setting created an unusual opportunity for Hawaiian households to preserve connections to ancestral lands without competition from industrial agriculture. Continuing to reside at Nu‘alolo Kai and maintaining subsistence ties to nearby lands while acquiring foreign items in limited quantities, these households chose to put many foreign goods to traditional purposes.

An important contribution of this study is that it demonstrates how minimal the representation of foreign goods can be at Hawaiian house sites occupied into the mid-nineteenth century. The cliff-side habitation terraces at Nu‘alolo Kai contained exceptionally well-preserved cultural deposits, where the excavators recovered many fragile objects in excellent condition. The small quantities of foreign goods in these deposits call into question the common practice in Polynesia of relegating sites that lack foreign artefacts to “pre-contact” and excluding portions of calibrated radiocarbon date ranges based on the absence of “historical” artefacts. As we have seen at Nu‘alolo Kai, sites may be post-contact in age but contain relatively few or no historic materials. This trend may be particularly problematic where preservation conditions are poor or sampling is especially modest. At post-contact Hawaiian sites with small sample sizes, it is quite possible that archaeological testing might not produce significant quantities of foreign artefacts until at least the post-1840 period, and possibly later. Rather than relying exclusively on the presence or absence of foreign goods, a multifaceted approach that considers artefacts in conjunction with changes in architectural styles (see Ladefoged 1991; Kirch 1992), or faunal and floral assemblages, might differentiate deposits from the post-contact period more reliably.

Further, this study also shows how critical it is to identify and describe foreign artefacts in detail, rather than simply noting their presence or absence. As many foreign objects have well-defined dates of production and/or introduction to the islands, including specific information on the characteristics and age of these artefacts can help to date deposits and, in some cases, to well-defined periods. Such information can assist archaeologists in dating site components; it can also enhance the comparability of these sites by placing them within a known historical context.

* * *

While Nu‘alolo Kai is one of the most well-known archaeological sites in Hawai‘i, its potential for providing information about the early post-contact period has received little attention. The diverse and well-preserved assemblage of foreign artefacts in the Bishop Museum collection offers important information about the way the residents of Nu‘alolo Kai situated themselves in relation to the far-reaching changes of the nineteenth century. While regional variation in Hawai‘i has become an important topic of research (e.g., Kirch 1990; Kirch *et al.* 2004), we still understand little about how transformations unfolded in diverse ways across the social landscape of post-contact Hawai‘i (Flexner *et al.* 2018; Kahn *et al.* 2016). At Nu‘alolo Kai, small numbers of foreign goods, potentially obtained through a variety of exchange networks, were incorporated into household routines. Yet, their impact on domestic practices appears to have been minimal. Rather than exclusively signifying cultural change, these objects were, at times, incorporated into local routines in ways that signal a complex amalgamation of change and continuity.

Understanding the historical context of the Nu‘alolo Kai assemblage helps to counter the perception of change in Hawaiian culture in the post-contact period as a universal phenomenon and one that saw a transformation between two mutually exclusive cultural affiliations—pre-contact and post-contact. It allows us to consider instances of transformation, such as the use of foreign consumer goods, as resulting from the choices of individuals in unique circumstances. It suggests, moreover, that substantial variability in the presence of foreign artefacts may exist between household assemblages at post-contact Hawaiian house sites.

While the appearance of foreign goods at archaeological sites in Polynesia has often been interpreted as an indicator of sudden sociocultural transformations, the case of Nu‘alolo Kai demonstrates how the process of acquiring these objects could instead be gradual and complex. This unconventional trajectory of change highlights the potential for archaeologists to find complexity and diversity in processes of colonial-era transformation in Hawai‘i and, potentially, the broader Pacific. Studies of post-contact-period habitation sites offer researchers the opportunity to emphasise the unique circumstances of local settings and to consider how these conditions shaped individuals’ and households’ incorporation of certain types of objects into daily routines.

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NOTES

1. The “K” numbers were originally site designations assigned by Bishop Museum. Subsequent researchers have considered the complex as a single site, with the K numbers retained as feature numbers.
2. Thirty-two artefacts, comprising primarily copper alloy artefacts, were submitted to Peter Mills at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo’s Geoarchaeology Laboratory for X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis. Eleven copper artefacts are “near-pure” copper, a material commonly used in the early nineteenth century, while nine copper artefacts were identified as tin or zinc alloys more typical of the mid- to late nineteenth century (e.g., McCarthy 2005: 115).
3. The foreign fabric assemblage was analysed in collaboration with the Textiles Conservation Laboratory of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF) in Williamsburg, Virginia. Textile identifications were made by Gretchen Guidess and additional historical information was supplied by CWF Associate Curator of Costume and Textiles Neal Hurst.
4. This design has also been referred to as the “Starburst” design (e.g., Ball 1995: 115).
5. With the exception of one artefact recovered from Level VI in Feature K5, temporal characteristics of the artefacts recovered from the site’s lower levels are consistent with an early post-contact chronology. The one exception is a Prosser button, an item that clearly dates to the mid-nineteenth century or later (Sprague 2002). The original excavators described this item as being collected from a “soft hole”, which explains it being out of sequence.
6. There is evidence that foreign objects, predominantly iron, reached Hawai‘i before Cook’s arrival, either in the hands of unrecorded previous visitors or as flotsam (e.g., Stokes 1931). Still, Cook’s 1778 visit is the earliest date that such objects are likely to have arrived in numbers great enough to be captured in the archaeological record.

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REVIEWS

KAEPPLER, Adrienne L. and Jo Anne Van Tilburg: *The Iconic Tattooed Man of Easter Island*. Melbourne: Mana Press, 2018. 64 pp., biblio., illus., index, notes. US$19.95 (softcover).

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There is something delightful about a slim volume devoted entirely to one subject—in this case the identity and context of an iconic figure from the Pacific past—and the connections that can be made by experts in their field. Here is a book that tells stories of Rapa Nui, Rapanui tattoo practices (the authors' convention is to use Rapa Nui as a noun and Rapanui as an adjective), what they record and how they have been recorded, in a lavishly illustrated and beautifully packaged monograph by scholars with considerable expertise in precisely this area of enquiry. Adrienne L. Kaeppler is curator of Oceanic ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, especially well known for her work on collections from Cook's voyages into the Pacific. Her areas of study include connections between social structure and the visual and performing arts, and she has conducted extensive fieldwork in Tonga and Hawai'i. Jo Anne Van Tilburg is an archaeologist and director of the Rock Art Archive, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA. She heads the Easter Island Statue Project, an inventory and analysis of over 900 Rapa Nui statues (*moai*). Together, they bring more than 100 years of experience to their analysis of "the Tattooed Man".

Their book aims to "reveal who he was, who illustrated him, and how he transcended the tragic events of nineteenth-century Rapa Nui to become one of the best-known, most iconic faces of the Polynesian past" (p. vii). On the first page of text the authors state their choice to call him "the Tattooed Man", despite his baptismal name, Tepano (Stephen), being known to the Swedish ethnographer Dr. Knut Hjalmar Stolpe, through whose 1899 publication he first came to prominence beyond Rapa Nui. Tepano, Kaeppler and Van Tilburg explain, was a name given to many newly baptised islanders (p. vii) and is now the surname of a large Rapa Nui family (p. 1). Moreover, a contemporary of the Tattooed Man named Juan Tepano Rano (born ca. 1876) was a "famous ethnographic consultant" (p. 1); his identity has been mistakenly conflated with this book's subject. The somewhat objectifying moniker is presented as a way to overcome this confusion and brings an element of mystery to the volume as it unfolds. It is also recognisable as a device used to delineate the emergence of identity from the archives, where so often the official term populating fields of reference is simply "unknown".

The authors give immediate shape to the Tattooed Man by uniting within the first six pages of the volume two photographic engravings by Wilhelm Fredrik Meyer and Carl Olaf Sörling, both held at the Smithsonian Institution, with two photographs by Hjalmar Stolpe and Oscar Elkhorn (ca. 1884) now at the Etnografiska Museet, Sweden, and a further photograph from the collection of the Peabody Museum of

Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. The documentation of the first two refers to "Tattooed Man known as 'Tepano' " while the remaining three refer only to "Tattooed Man". Where the photographic engravings depict the bold facial and neck tattoos for which he is iconic, in the photographs these are difficult to discern. This may be due, endnote 73 explains, to Polynesian tattoo fading after several years. Another possibility has recently come to light: nineteenth-century wet-plate collodion photography barely picks up blues and greens, especially on darker skin tones. It would be interesting to know if this were the technology used to photograph the Tattooed Man; we may surmise that the photography of this era cannot be relied upon to indicate whether or not an individual was tattooed.

About that term, tattoo. The authors clarify that Rapanui tattoo is called *ta* or *takona*, and give the indigenous names for motifs and tools. Tattoo is used here in its generic sense, the European catch-all for the Polynesian face and body markings first described in 1595 by Pedro Fernández de Quirós, in Fatu Hiva, Marquesas. Wonu Veys has identified, among the earliest depictions, Tongan *tā tatau* in a drawing made by Gilsemans on Abel Janszoon Tasman's voyage ca. 1643 (pers. comm.), contradicting Kaeppler and Van Tilburg's claim that Westerners first depicted Polynesian tattoo during the voyages of Captain Cook.

Kaeppler and Van Tilburg attribute Dutch explorer Captain Jacob Roggeveen as the first European to visit Rapa Nui, when he landed near Miru in 1722, and associate the first depictions of Rapanui tattoo with William Hodges, in Rapa Nui some fifty years later on Cook's second Pacific voyage in 1774. They document depictions made since and describe their contents, elaborating and filling in gaps. This includes a comprehensive unpacking of information contained within artefacts, comprising texts, illustrations and photographs, and barkcloth sculptures collected from 1839 and 1840 that are also records of tattoo. Context is fleshed out by a succinct summary of the history of Rapanui tattoo by experts (*maori*); links are made to island geography, and analysis of the artistic license of artists reveals changes made to field drawings before the publication of expedition and ethnographic accounts. The Tattooed Man is revealed in an engraving made by Émile Bayard in 1877, depicting "Explorer Alphonse Pinart meeting with Pua 'Aku Rena ko Reto, the so-called Rapanui Queen, at Mataveri" (Smithsonian Institute), while other painstaking research connects him to further historic figures both of and visiting Rapa Nui.

Through a tattoo on his arm, the Tattooed Man is linked to the removal in 1868 of Hoa Hakananai'a from Orongo by the crew of the HMS *Topaze*—the first of 79 moai statues and figurines taken from Rapa Nui and now held in civic and private collections. This "roughly incised" line drawing appears to show a moai statue being dragged by ten men pulling on ropes. The tattoo itself was not photographed—and may not have been visible had it been so—but was drawn and described by Stolpe, who made the connection to Hoa Hakananai'a based on the timeframe in which the tattoo was applied and the Tattooed Man's recognition of the name Palmer; Dr J. Linton Palmer was the physician on the *Topaze* and described the bringing of Hoa Hakananai'a to Europe. Hoa Hakananai'a resides at the British Museum and has been the subject of many and ongoing requests for return to Rapa Nui.

Kaeppler and Van Tilburg describe the drama they perceive in the application of this tattoo, extrapolating that the Tattooed Man was present when the moai was

removed and must have had a meaningful connection to it. They assume that the Tattooed Man tattooed himself. The tattoo being on his right forearm, they assume he was left-handed. Such are the assumptions made in order to draw together the threads of the archive and weave a story. It is precisely such informed assumptions that can lead to advances in scholarship and the reforging of connections.

Yet two of the authors' observations appear to take a leap too far, and both depend on visual analysis. The first is the photograph from the collection of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, that they reunite with their subject in the opening pages of the book, a depiction of a man in profile. Despite tantalising contextual support it seems highly unlikely that the man in question was the distinctively eagle-nosed Tattooed Man (see the montage on p. 41). The second is a stylised frigatebird tattoo discovered at the outer corner of the left eye of *Young Rapanui Man with Elaborate Body Art* (watercolour, unknown artist, HMS *Portland*, 1853). This bird is used as a bridge, along with his *pora* 'bundle of reeds', to establishing the subject's role as a participant in the important "birdman" rituals of Rapa Nui (p. 11). The tattoo seen by the authors is surely the crinkled corner of an eye in a smiling face, delineated in red-brown, as are all of the subject's facial lines. In contrast, the tattoo lines in this illustration are very clearly depicted in a dark blue-black and include, beyond the parallel vertical lines on the chin that the authors discuss, extensive body markings and marks above both eyes and in the inner corner of the right eye as well as a suggestion on the upper lip and looping beneath the nostrils.

But these are small things in a book that offers much rich detail and is a thoroughly good read with a sense of "yarn" about it—snippets of history retrieved from archives and collections worldwide, extrapolated to tell the story of a man whose countenance is iconic but whose identity has long been obscured. The authors succeed in returning to him a possible identity, Vaka Ariki of 'Anakena, born ca. 1835, and a biography that is animated by the recollections of Rapa Nui people today with whom they have worked.

CEA, Alfredo: *Ika Rapa Nui*. Translation to English by Linda Craddock. Santiago de Chile: Rapanui Press, 2016. 252 pp., illus. CLP42,000/US$59.00.

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This is an absolutely stunning publication, the most lavish yet from the specialist Rapanui Press, managed by the redoubtable Eduardo Ruiz-Tagle Eyzaguirre, a designer by profession, who has outdone himself in putting together the late Alfredo Cea Egaña's life work. There is a much plainer and less complete version of this material from 2011, when Cea and the late John ("Jack") E. Randall published *Shore Fishes of Easter Island* (University of Hawai'i Press).

The text of *Ika Rapa Nui* is in both Spanish and English and features reproductions of Cea's astonishing watercolours and notes, making it as much an art project as a scientific one, although Cea himself modestly characterises his volume as a "travel

book". As he wrote in his introduction, *Ika Rapa Nui* is "the unassuming, simple attempt to bear witness to a personal experience, lived intensely and illustrated in my own way". So, it does begin with Cea's first 1967 travel to Rapa Nui, for a "short two-month mission" that, well, lasted a lifetime, until his death in 2016. Even last year, when I was on Rapa Nui and asked people about "Taote", as he was known locally by a word for "doctor" borrowed from Tahitian, people remembered his visits, kindnesses and work. The book features well-framed photographs of the Rapanui who helped him to understand the fauna in the sea around the island, including one of the young doctor poised with his notebook consulting master fisherman Domingo Pakarati.

Cea's enthusiasm and diving expertise matched those of his islander informants, and Taote became well-known on the island through his many visits as well as assistance given to Rapanui who turned up at his door on mainland Chile, or "the Conti", as the Islanders say. In documenting his enthusiasm for the sea around Rapa Nui, Cea included in his illustrations and notes "[t]he vernacular identifications … linked with tales of legends, stories and traditions related to each drawing and string games (*kai-kai*), arts, talismans and fishing places, all provided by the audience during the evening meetings, together with occasional recordings of the marvellous sea songs that Kiko [Pate] gave us each evening" (p. 25). The late "Kiko" Pate is the best-known singing voice of Rapanui, appearing on numerous recordings sold in Chile, North America and Europe.

The introductory text setting Cea's work in context is by Juan Carlos Valle Lasserre, just before Cea's own "Introduction: Drawings and Notes From My Travels; Easter Island 1967 to 2012". After the glowing watercolours in the main text, there is an appreciation of Cea's legacy by Michel Garcia, once part of the team of the famous French underwater explorer Jacques Cousteau. Garcia, with his brother Henri, collaborated with Cea and ran the first commercial dive shop on Rapa Nui. Closing the volume is a short piece by Carlos Gaymar, of the Catholic University of the North (Chile), in Coquimbo, to where Cea retired, where the physician and diver founded an underwater research institute. When Cea died in May 2016 Taote's ashes were scattered on the sea, as he requested in his will. Those short essays that surround the work are in both Spanish and (mostly) well-translated English.

Where the Spanish reader has an advantage is in being able to read Cea's notes, over which his ichthyological illustrations are centrally placed. These commentaries, written in a clear, elegant hand, are from Cea's notebooks and capture his knowledge of the habits and meanings of the animals he has so carefully portrayed. The notes and watercolours together are a powerful infusion of what Cea had learned from his Islander informants.

The launch of the book in 2016 at the luxurious Hotel Explora on Rapa Nui is on YouTube and worth a look to see the quality of the publication, although the commentary is entirely in Spanish (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8OPj2PPhlnM).

The Rapanui Press is a specialised Chilean publisher of old and new works about Rapa Nui. The Press publishes reprints of famous volumes by European figures such as Métraux and Routledge, as well as Chilean works such as Campbell's *Herencia*

Musical de Isla de Pascua (Musical Heritage of Easter Island), with texts in English and others in Spanish. Books published in Chile are hard to order outside that country and Rapanui Press is no exception, but orders may be placed directly on their website or by contacting the publisher: http://museumstore.cl/tienda/, tel. +56 2 22024312, email: tienda@museumstore.cl.

Ika Rapa Nui is a superb volume and, owing to Cea's decades of observations and study, very useful for comparative studies. Obtaining a copy will not be easy, but a Google search turns up some possible sources. Any library that pretends to have a comprehensive Polynesian collection should have Alfredo Cea's *Ika Rapa Nui*.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED*

April to June 2020

CROSSEN, Teall, *The Climate Dispossessed: Justice for the Pacific in Aotearoa?* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020. 160 pp., notes. NZ$14.99 (softcover).

ELKINGTON, Bianca, Moana Jackson, Rebecca Kiddle, Ocean Ripeka Mercier, Mike Ross, Jennie Smeaton and Amanda Thomas: *Imagining Decolonisation*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020. 184 pp., notes. NZ$14.99 (softcover).

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