– BOOK REVIEWS –

ANCIENT SITES OF O'AHU: A GUIDE TO HAWAIIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PLACES OF INTEREST

Van James, revised edition 2010.
Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
160 pp., ISBN 978-1-58178-095-6, US$19.95

Reviewed by:
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Van James is the author of a number of guides to Hawaiian archaeological sites: on Hawai'i (the 'big island'), on Maui, Moloka'i and Lana'i, and an earlier edition of this guide to O'ahu. I have some interest in the genre of field guides having written the *Penguin Field Guide to New Zealand Archaeology* (Jones 2007), and having admired the late Margaret Guido's *Sicily: an Archaeological Guide* (1967) and other such works.

Hawai'i is well served with field guides that date back to the heyday of resource management archaeology, such as Cox and Stasack (1970) on the petroglyphs, and Sterling and Summers *Sites of Oahu* (1978) recently reprinted by the Bishop Museum. In addition, there is P.V. Kirch's *Legacy of the Landscape: an Illustrated Guide to Hawaiian Archaeological Sites* (1996). To give me more background on sites on O'ahu, I have referred to Kirch's (1985) *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, a monograph on Hawaiian archaeology.

Some principles should apply to archaeological field guides. Once upon a time, we would have referred to a guide to field archaeology. It is about monuments that can be seen from the surface. The origins of our discipline lie in 16th- and 17th-century field archaeology. Field archaeology therefore has an old sense that is pertinent to Van James' work.

Field archaeology has now shifted in its meaning. With the increasing importance or emphasis on laboratory and theoretical practice, it means basically archaeology as it is practised in the field, outside the laboratory – it is about excavations and survey. This is not Van James' kind of archaeology.

In his guide Van James says simply that his focus is to be: heiau (temple enclosures), pōhaku (stones of traditional significance), petroglyphs, cave shelters and fish ponds. Not covered, 'beyond the scope', are house sites, animal pens, walls, agricultural terraces, irrigation ditches, wells, springs and baths, salt pans, pathways and roads, and pu'uhonua (places of refuge). To this I would add a further range of sites that are not included in his guide: the earliest sites, fortifications, taro ponds and sub-surface sites in general, such as middens. Also, more could be added regarding the B.P. Bishop Museum collections which are pertinent to the sites covered.

This is not simply a matter of lack of interest. Rather, Van James is driven by a conventional and reified view of late 18th-century Hawaiian culture. Inevitably, he dwells on the late prehistoric and early 19th century. This society is briefly analysed as dictated by kapu (tapu), the ali'i (ariki, leadership), and kahuna (tohunga, spiritual and practical advisers to the ali'i). The establishment of the Kamehameha kingship line is covered very briefly in a by-line with a note that on his death in 1819, the rule of kapu ceased altogether, abolished by his wife and son. The book is funded under the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program 'in celebration of the Legacy of Excellence of Native Hawaiian culture'.

Perhaps something of the barriers that Van James faces in his home island is indicated by the use of italics for Hawaiian ordinary nouns. This would not be acceptable in New Zealand editorial practice where Māori is an official language.

The book is organised by region: east O'ahu, windward area, north, central and leeward areas. Some 50 numbered sites or site areas or natural features with cultural associations are covered.

The first of these is the area from Honolulu to the east. It covers standing stones, volcanic features, springs, Pohukaina (the 'Iolani Palace Grounds and burial mound), the Nu'uanu petroglyphs, an historic ruin, the Nu'uanu 'rock notches' (surely, at least to a New Zealand eye, these are the ditches of a fortification?), more petroglyph sites, and the Maunalua and Paikō fish ponds (now wildlife refuges). This is clearly an area with the greatest urban and harbour build-up on the island. I found the detail of the modern history and alteration of the older features such as the burial mound in the palace grounds and the privatisation (in part) and the wildlife usage of the fish ponds to be very interesting.

Part 2 is the Windward Side, or Ko'olau Poko ('short windward side'). This is a big contrast to the Honolulu area. This area includes many ponds and fishponds, coastal stone wall enclosures, springs and lakes, many heiau and an historic sugar mill ruin.

Either this part or the earlier eastern part should have covered the Bellows dune site and Kawainui Marsh. These are among the earliest Hawaiian sites, yet only the most passing of references is made. Hawai'i, like New Zealand and Rapa Nui, was one of the places most in need of a dose chronometric hygiene (Wilmshurst *et al.*), and these sites illustrate the earliest Polynesian arrival at about AD 1200.

Horticulture should feature in this guide. It is covered by a short section in Part 3 Central O'ahu on the Hālawa-Luluku Interpretive Development Project. This was the scene of cultural resource management salvage work in the face of what is now the Moanalua Freeway. (Hālawa is not to be confused with the valley of the same name on Moloka'i.) This area includes horticultural features, and

modern cultivations of traditional style by native Hawaiian practitioners and heiau. Details are given for contact with the project office.

Part 3 North Shore covers excellent examples of fish ponds and heiau. This includes a number of reconstructed features and includes the temple enclosure Pu'u o Mahuka (the largest heiau on O'ahu) and Ahupua'a o Waimea or the Waimea valley. The last is a botanical park with numerous reconstructed houses and horticultural features such as mounds. There are free guide tours and a brochure with a map of the sites and the botanical points of interest.

Part 4 Leeward side covers petroglyphs and heiau in abundance including the Kāne'āki Heiau in the Mākaha valley, 'one of the most captivating temples on the island'. This is a group of contiguous dry stone wall enclosures as figured in Kirch (1985:122). As shown well in a photograph, it has a range of interpretative devices such as reconstructed hale mana ('house of spiritual power'), a wooden lele (offering stand), wood-framed 'anu'u ('oracle towers') and an image of Kū.

Useful appendices cover highly selected sites for visitors, preservation agencies, the two main museums, Hawaiian pronunciation, a glossary and a selected bibliography.

Within the limitations of Van James' *Ancient Sites of O'ahu*, the archaeological details and results of research are given due consideration and the structures are well described. The lack of attention to chronology of sites and the non-coverage of early sites can only be explained by the work being developed within a view of classical native Hawaiian culture. I would refer to it as a useful historical guide to the much attenuated heritage substrate of the Honolulu area. It will be good for visiting other parts of the island of O'ahu, but I would also want Kirch's *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks* in my bag.

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A SHARK GOING INLAND IS MY CHIEF: THE ISLAND CIVILIZATION OF ANCIENT HAWAI'I

Patrick Vinton Kirch, 2012.
University of California Press, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
346 pp., ISBN 978-0-520-27330-6 (hardback), US$45.

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Kirch's latest book on Hawaiian history is an account of how the descendants of a small group of colonisers built an archaic state over the span of some eight centuries. The book is a departure from his previous publications in that it is intended for a general audience, and the same concise and engaging prose that characterises his academic work is clearly present here. Kirch makes his personal connection with Hawai'i manifest, recounting stories of his childhood and fieldwork throughout the islands. By conveying these stories Kirch expresses his love for Hawai'i and his strong desire to share his hard-earned knowledge with the people of the *'aina* (land) and others who might be interested. The book, however, is not a simplified history for the tourist or armchair enthusiast; rather it documents the complexities of Hawaiian history and explores the processes and reasons for change. It is Kirch's command over the detail and his ability to insightfully create, analyse and synthesise data that makes the book such an important contribution to our understanding of Hawai'i's past.

The book relies extensively on the indigenous histories of Hawaiian *mo'olelo* (oral traditions) originally recorded in the 19th century by Kamakau, Malo, Kepelino and Fornander. Kirch does not relay these verbatim but instead recounts them vividly as dramatic tales of love, lust, greed and vengeance. He uses the ideal level of detail, neither too profuse and overbearing nor too simplified and trite. Archaeological remains complement the *mo'olelo*. Interweaving oral tradition and the archaeological record Kirch traces the Hawaiian development of the fundamental traits of most early civilisations: class stratification, divine kingship, state religion, agricultural intensification, territorial land tenure, elite control of surpluses and a wealth economy, royal incest, and human sacrifice. The book covers the evolution of Hawaiian society in three sections, with additional prologue and epilogue.

The first section consists of five chapters, and establishes the ancestral roots of Hawai'i in the Lapita peoples of Near Oceania and the later societies of West and East Polynesia. Kirch explains how the Hawaiians' immediate ancestors were people with robust subsistence capabilities and sophisticated voyaging technologies organised as lineages with relatively low levels of social stratification. In Chapter 3 Kirch offers an interesting twist by creating his own origin myth detailing the voyage of the double-hulled canoe *Mahina-i-te-Pua* from a Marquesan beach to the

shores of Hawai‘i. He complements this story with a discussion of Polynesian interisland voyaging told through the lens of Tupaia, the Ra‘iatean priest who accompanied Cook on the *Endeavour*, the work of various anthropologists, and the experimental voyaging of the canoe *Hōkūle‘a*. The section ends in Chapter 5 with a detailed consideration of the Bellows Dune site in windward O‘ahu, and the challenges and opportunities that would have been faced by the original colonists and settlers.

Section two is where the true character of the book comes into focus, as the *mo‘olelo* are extensively used to detail the action of individuals. In Chapter 7 Kirch relays the story of the great seafarer La‘amaikahiki and how he travelled from Kahiki (Tahiti) to Hawai‘i and then home again. This detailed saga spans several generations and involves La‘amaikahiki's quest to be reunited with his father, travelling throughout the Hawaiian archipelago, siring children with several beautiful elite women, and departing from Kahikinui on Maui to return to Kahiki. It is in Kahikinui that Kirch documents a unique archaeological feature, a *pānānā* or sighting wall. The notch in the wall faces Kahiki, and the feature might have been originally used as a guide to follow the course to Kahiki or as a monument to the exploits of the great voyager.

In Chapter 8, Kirch presents the *mo‘olelo* of Mā‘ilikūkahi, the unifying chief of O‘ahu who came to power in the 15th century. The oral traditions and archaeology document significant changes in social organisation at this time. Whereas land units were once controlled by genealogical lineages (*mata-kāinanga*), with the development of social stratification commoners (who became known as *maka‘āinana*) no longer traced their lineages and worked the land under the direction and control of elites. The consequent rift between commoners and elite was reinforced by sweeping changes in land tenure with the creation of a hierarchal system of *ahupua‘a* and *‘ili* territorial units. The theoretical, methodological, and substantive review of population dynamics in Chapter 10 suggests that these changes occurred in step with significant changes in population distributions and growth rates. By the early 15th century, most windward areas of the archipelago had been settled and expansion was taking place into the drier leeward zones. During the 16th century high population densities were reached in all of the best agricultural lands, with the rate of population growth falling dramatically until it levelled off. By AD 1600, populations on individual islands reached the tens of thousands with intensified agricultural systems producing significant surpluses. It is after this time that a new kind of social and political organisation emerged with the creation of an archaic state and divine kingship.

Section three documents the development of this new form of political system, with a focus on Hawai‘i Island and Maui. In Chapter 11 Kirch recounts the *mo‘olelo* of ‘Umi and his father Līloa, where ‘Umi usurped the rule of his half-brother to become the nominal king of Hawai‘i Island. ‘Umi cemented his political position by marrying the daughter of the king of Maui, reaffirming marriage alliances as an important means of maintaining power. ‘Umi and his successors were noted for developing the economic foundation of their dominions; a process that is archaeologically documented in Chapter 12 with a review of recent collaborative work in the leeward Kohala field system. In this field system there is clear archaeological evidence of changing population dynamics, agricultural intensification, changing systems of land tenure, and the depletion of soil nutrients.

Chapter 13 recounts the history of Maui during this time, with the exploits of Pi‘ilani and his two sons, Lono-a-Pi‘ilani and Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani, who fought each other to the death over the succession of the kingship. The chapter focuses on Hawaiian religion, ideological control, materialisation of ideas and beliefs through the use of physical symbols, and the construction of *heiau* (temples). Kirch has done extensive work on the *heiau* of Maui and makes insightful observations about their morphology and cardinal orientation. He groups the *heiau* into four major architectural types and associates these with the various Hawaiian deities. He notes that *heiau* had consistent cardinal orientations, with east-facing temples for worshipping Kāne the god of flowing water, northeast facing temples being sacred to Lono, the god of rain, thunder and the sweet potato, and north facing temples being dedicated to Kū, the god of war. Uranium-series dating of corals and carbonate rocks samples from the *heiau* suggest that they were all constructed during a thirty to sixty year period around AD 1600. Kirch notes that this period of temple construction corresponds with the independent unification of each island by ‘Umi, Pi‘ilani, and their descendants. Chapter 14 is an excellent summary of socio-political developments until the late 16th to early 17th centuries, and introduces the notion of ultimate and proximate causation, topics that are returned to in the epilogue.

The final three chapters of the third section are some of the most interesting in the book. It is here that the reader learns the details of the political histories of Hawai‘i Island and Maui in the late 17th to early 19th centuries. Kirch effectively highlights the importance of warfare and marriage alliances, and recounts how Maui remained a single unified kingdom from the early 17th century until the early 18th century, whereas Hawai‘i Island followed a much more cyclical history of unification followed by political disintegration. The exploits of the Hawai‘i Island king Alapa‘inui are detailed, including campaigns in which he led warriors from Hawai‘i Island to Maui and then Moloka‘i and all the way to O‘ahu. As elsewhere in the book, these histories of individuals are rooted in archaeology. In this particular instance Kirch discusses Alapa‘inui's activities in relation to battlefields, fighting stages, and *pu‘uhonua* (place of refuge) in Kawela, Moloka‘i, and elsewhere. The final two chapters of the section detail the feats of Kalani‘ōpu‘u, his two sons Keōua

and Kīwalaʻō, and the rise of his nephew Kamehameha who eventually unifies the entire archipelago in the early 19th century. Kirch highlights a complex matrix of factors in these changes including individual ambition, the impact of new European weaponry and foreign advisors, new economic interests, religious ideas, and deadly diseases.

The book does not contain an in-depth theoretical discussion of the causes of social evolution in Hawaiʻi. For that the reader is referred to Kirch's other recent books. However, the epilogue of this book is an excellent summary of ultimate and proximate causation. Kirch situates change within the ultimate factors of demographics in a circumscribed environment, and the linkages between population growth and agricultural production for subsistence and surplus needs. He considers more proximate causation to be human agency, peer polity emulation, and the materialisation of power and ideology. Examples of these can be found in marriage alliances, restructuring the land system, controlling the wealth economy of feathers and featherwork, the construction of monumental architecture, and the all important acts of war. It is by deftly integrating the various strands of data that Kirch is able to tease out the motives and actions of individuals and groups during centuries of change, and provide such an insightful history of Hawaiʻi's past. As such, Kirch has expertly achieved his objective of presenting an accessible Hawaiian history that weaves together the *moʻolelo* and archaeological evidence. The book will be of considerable interest to a range of readers, from Hawaiians to archaeologists, historians and other academics, and even the tourist who picks it up at the airport bookshop.

AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF AUSTRALIA SINCE 1788

Susan Lawrence and Peter Davies, 2011
Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology
Springer: New York
421 pp., ISBN 978-1-4419-7485-3
(hardback) Aus. $198.99, (E book) 51.16 euro

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Synthesising the complexity of historical archaeology as we know it to date in Australia is no easy task. Covering such a wide range of immigrant groups, their social and economic trajectories, the creation of a highly urbanised society and the mythos that has been constructed around 'the bush', as well as the evolution of local, regional and wider traditions demands at once a wide-ranging discussion of complex theoretical ideas, but also a nuanced introduction to the artefacts, sites and landscapes that form the substance of historical archaeology.

I imagine the authors spent a considerable amount of time debating how to structure this book. There are certainly a number of options they could have chosen: arranging it according to key historical periods, the range of different social groups who emigrated to Australia, or via the industries that shaped work and settlement and created different types of historical archaeological sites. Graham Connah's 1988 book *Of the Hut I Builded: the archaeology of Australia's history* – before this, the only overarching synthesis of Australian historical archaeology available – focused firmly on site types, for example, albeit within a chronological narrative that allowed him to tell a story of change and continuity.

Lawrence and Davies have opted for a more complex structure. *An Archaeology of Australia Since 1788* provides in part the familiar chronological narrative that allows them to tell a story of the development of European settlement in Australia from its convict origins through to urbanisation (Chapters 1 through 10). At the same time it reveals a series of changing economic and industrial processes as these have shaped iconic site types (pastoralism, mining, whaling, sealing). But it is also partly thematic, dealing with studies of migration, ethnicity, urbanisation, death and domestic life. Throughout all of this the authors have opted explicitly to interweave the big theoretical issues that underlie all Western development both here and overseas – questions of agency, class, capitalism and colonialism (in their words, 'gender, status, ethnicity and identity', p. 2) – in order to investigate the material patterning of sites and objects across time and space, as well as between groups. Chapters 9–13 ('Migration and Ethnicity', 'An Urbanised Nation', Australians at Home', 'Death' and 'The Twentieth Century and Beyond') thus provide a wide-ranging discussion of key cross-cutting social themes that link to, and extend, the more chronological and site type content.

The book clearly reflects the authors' previous research focuses, with most of the case studies being drawn from across New South Wales, the Northern Territory, Victoria and South Australia. I can't see much of Queensland (apart from the very far north), Tasmania (apart from the tin mines), or Western Australia in here, but this is not necessarily a bad thing, since all of the examples have been well chosen to convey key ideas and current approaches in historical archaeology. While the geographic background of the authors is very south-eastern, their extensive personal work across South Australia, Victoria and N.S.W. allow them to share broader insights into their own projects and how they connect to bigger issues and research questions.

Lawrence and Davies' volume is nothing less than encyclopaedic, integrating as it does information from many sources, including consultancy work and the often overlooked smaller thesis literature provided by years of Honours and Masters coursework research. This allows the authors to draw comparisons between sites in different parts of Australia and across time, presenting useful syn-

theses of otherwise disconnected archaeological datasets. They deepen these insights still further by making regular comparisons between the Australian situation and similar sites and theoretical issues in the U.S., allowing for a much better appreciation of the similarities and differences between the two.

I use the chapter on Australians at Home (Chapter 11) in my historical archaeology class, because it provides in the one place a succinct summary of a range of different domestic assemblages (particularly in terms of their glass and ceramic data) that allows comparisons to be readily drawn to other sites, assemblages and periods. This chapter in particular deals with some of the thornier interpretative problems in historical archaeology as these revolve around processes of social mobility, occupational status and social identity, and changing opportunities for establishing and maintaining family position across the 19th and early 20th centuries. This raises questions about what the material markers of gentility in an archaeological assemblage might be, how such markers might link to changing family and personal status at different times in different places, and the particular contributions that archaeology can make to recognising which households do and don't fit the expected pattern. By comparing data sets drawn from their own and other substantive (usually PhD level) studies, Lawrence and Davies offer an accessible overview of the processes of gentility and respectability that operated in the latter half of the 19th century.

This is the kind of contribution that such a synthetical work should make, since one of the factors that have slowed the development of Australian historical archaeology is the incomparability of data sets and the lack of adequate analysis or ready availability of most data sets generated by consultancy work. The more theoretically informed of these syntheses draw on glass and ceramic analyses, since these artefact classes are both prolific at sites and have been most often studied, particularly in the more theoretically-oriented U.S. context which has generated most of the gentility/respectability/identity models through which we interpret these objects. The overviews of other artefact classes, such as buttons and clothing paraphernalia, educational materials, toys or smoking pipes, are less well theorised, although they still present a range of useful observations from disparate sources.

If anything, the encyclopaedic nature of this volume is both its greatest strength and its potential weakness. Like an encyclopaedia, the volume's broad coverage means that many of the chapters at times read like a thesis literature review – ranging across an eclectic variety of approaches in a highly summary form, and focussing on the key themes or research questions central to previous research. This means that much of the research is discussed in very 'academic' terms and the reader tends only to dip into small pieces of it, reading a section or a chapter as a stand-alone, rather than approaching the whole work as a single narrative. The publisher's insistence on black and white throughout does nothing to help in this respect

Some of the material also seems to have been included for the sake of including it, rather than because it makes a new or better contribution to what we already know. For example, I always wonder what discussions of 'maritime cultural landscapes' (pp.112–114) really contribute to new understandings, since they seem to begin and end with the old realisation that landscape is a concept constructed by people. Brad Duncan's work in this respect, discussed as part of this section, is better than most and contains original insights into the way that watery places are given meaning by the people who use them. A section such as this would have been more useful and insightful if integrated with other discussions of the cultural construction of space in Chapter 6, rather than being separated as something specific because it happens to involve maritime rather than any other kind of historical archaeology. Similarly, I am slightly uncomfortable with the conflation of maritime archaeology and all activities that happen to occur along a coastline, such as the fish curing study carried out by Alister Bowen and discussed as part of Chapter 5 (pp.110–111). This is about Chinese fishers, and would have been better integrated into the discussion of Chinese migration and lifeways that constitutes the bulk of Chapter 9.

All of this suggests that the text will be of more use to undergraduate and graduate thesis-writing students than members of the general public. This volume marks key shifts in the changing research focus of historical archaeology, away from site types or narrow sub-fields, and towards the bigger social questions of class formation, constructions of status and social identity, and relationships between groups, particularly as these were constructed through 19th century attitudes about self and 'other' and the very act of immigration itself. *An Archaeology of Australia Since 1788* isn't the intimate and revealing story of people, places and things that might interest a non-specialist reader, but it will fill a very useful niche on many bookshelves nonetheless.