

PĀKEHĀ SETTLEMENTS IN A MĀORI WORLD:
NEW ZEALAND ARCHAEOLOGY 1769–1860

By Ian Smith. 2019.

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Reviewed by

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I read Ian Smith's *Pākehā Settlements in a Māori World* with mixed emotions, sad that this past year has seen the deaths of both Angela Middleton and Ian Smith, but glad also that Ian was able to see the production of this book through to its launch, a fitting memorial of nearly a lifetime's work to bring historical archaeology to the attention of both New Zealand Pākehā and Māori.

The book is in seven parts with a conclusion, and I found the early parts to be the most engaging. Chapters 2 & 3 deal with the almost invisible shreds of evidence left by the first Pākehā, other than the sea explorers, to visit New Zealand, largely in pursuit of its natural resources. This was firstly in the sealing outposts established on the southern South Island and Auckland Islands, where there was little interaction with Māori and later in the timber camps and whaling victualling ports of the northern North Island, where Māori were the sellers of resources. They were also the providers of labour, and of the food necessary to allow the northern whaling fleets to sustain themselves for 18 months or more in the South Pacific whaling grounds.

The following two chapters deal with the permanent settlements of the missionaries, the southern settlement at Codfish Island, and the increasing number of Pākehā settlers drawn to New Zealand to establish industries and to create trade. Amongst the most interesting are the shore-based whaling stations along the east coasts of both islands, where Māori and Pākehā formed single, close-knit communities. There, and in the north, were Pākehā-Māori, who married into often chiefly Māori families, in order to act as go-betweens between Māori enterprise and the wider Pacific trading world. There, a society emerged where Māori and Pākehā were not the separate entities that they were to become. Interestingly, in excavations of the faint traces that these settlements have left, artefacts from both the Māori and Pākehā worlds are present.

Ian Smith avoids the now sterile debate concerning the status of historical archaeology vis-à-vis the archival record, where it is claimed that archaeology is incapable of providing much additional information. The records of these early settlements are scant and, beyond missionary history, have not been the subject of a great deal of historical investigation. It is largely the history of individuals who have left few written records.

One of the great strengths of the book is the presentation of much original work by the author and Angela Middleton, who between them, and often together, provide extensive research into the historical archaeology of the Bay of Islands and into the early sealing, shore-whaling, and settlement on both the North and South Islands.

By necessity, the later chapters on Colonial governance and settlement are more selective of the information they provide. Shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, settlements were set up in Dunedin, Christchurch, Nelson, Wellington, the Hutt Valley and in New Plymouth. Between settlements, clashes and wars, the historical archaeology of this latter period is difficult to cover in just a few pages. The author, however, does a very good job in summarizing the work of other historical archaeologists, such as Caroline Phillips, Nigel Prickett, and others.

This book is largely about origins, the archaeology of starting points of interaction between Māori and Pākehā, the beginnings of what the country was yet to become. Archaeology is a historical science based on the interpretation of the material remains of the past. Ian Smith provides a glimpse into the material basis of both Māori and Pākehā settlements, providing many photographs, maps and illustrations of the material on which his archaeology has been based.

Bridget Williams Books is to be congratulated on the very high production values achieved in this volume. It is a fitting companion to another Bridget Williams's production. *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*. Both volumes deserve to grace our bookshelves as excellent examples of writing that raises issues for both academics and a wider audience making a contribution to important public debates.

HEIAU, 'ĀINA, LANI:

THE HAWAIIAN TEMPLE SYSTEM IN ANCIENT
KAHIKINUI AND KAUPŌ, MAUI

By Patrick Vinton Kirch and Clive Ruggles
(with the collaboration of Andrew Smith)

University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu. USD\$75.00.

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Reviewed by

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This nicely published book with the title '*Heiau, 'Āina, Lani*', which roughly means *Temples, Land, Sky*, is all about archaeology and astronomical observations on Hawaiian temple structures, the *heiau*. This combination generally called archaeoastronomy is sometimes questioned and debated, but often useful when applied to monumental architecture all around the world. In this book the authors

take a large step towards a useful approach of archaeoastronomy in Hawai'i and beyond.

The book consists of two distinctive parts. Part I is a detailed study of the *heiau* of Kahikinui and Kaupo on the island of Maui, based on observations of ethnohistory and archaeological inventories, excavations and analyses. Part II consists of field studies with observations and measurements of 78 *heiau* sites described in detail.

The ethnohistory (i.e., observations by early visitors and native historians, genealogies) deals with the religious system concerning Hawaiian gods and specialist priests, different kinds of *heiau* temple structures and shrines, including the great Luakini war temples, fertility temples dedicated to the god *Lono*, smaller fishing and household shrines, and upright stones. The ritual cycle defined by lunar months was clearly an astronomically based calendar that set out the times of fertility rituals, as well as harvest periods on land and at sea involving different gods. The rising of the Pleiades was traditionally the definitive starting point of the year. These astronomical calendrical observations, named by all main native Hawaiian historians such as Malo, Kamakau and Kepelino, were also known and mentioned across all Polynesian cultures.

The archaeology of these temple structures deals with their typology, chronology, site distribution, and functions. Archaeologists have long discussed *heiau* typologies (for example Bennet 1931), since these temples exhibit a large variety of shapes and combinations of terraces, platforms and stone walls. These early classification attempts are, however, difficult to use in a general way, nevertheless similar features and types are used in this study. These *heiau* features used are the following: Notched Enclosures, Square or U-Shaped Enclosure, Elongated Double-Court Enclosures, Platform or Terraced *Heiau*, Fishing Shrines (*Ko'a*), Agricultural Shrines, and finally a special group called Unusual or Unique *Heiau*. The chronology of dated sites is discussed in some detail, based on high precision ^{230}Th (Thorium) dating of beach coral heads brought to the site as dedicatory offerings in the *heiau* building phase. The chronology of these temples mainly falls in the timeframe AD 1550–1700, (there were probably smaller temple structures some time before this development) which is the time of the establishment of the archaic Hawaiian state (Kirch 2010), and which also perhaps needed a development of larger monumental structures with specific orientations.

A discussion on how to determine the main direction of the orientation of temples is then undertaken. The *kapu* (sacred) side of the monument is indicated by certain walls and platforms which are used to make this distinction. I fully agree with this approach; however, another important direction may also be the opposite orientation. I personally tested this in my own inventories of *ahu/marae* sites in Rapa Nui and Huahine (French Polynesia) (Wallin and Solsvik 2002). In Rapa Nui, the rear side is generally oriented towards the sea, but the statues and the priests/chiefs overviewed the land and the people tied to the structure.

The sea, the back, the dead (indicated by crematories) were all located on the rear side of the temple, and the land, the interior, the living all on the front side. In Huahine the orientation varies in different directions tied to different elements in the landscape. For example, the rear *marae* side may be oriented into the lagoon water (to control it?), however often the other direction offers a great view of the land, a mountain or another feature. Both were probably of importance in controlling the elements as well as the people tied to the structure. Of course, the sun and stars may also have been of significance in some sense. When visiting the great *marae* at Taputapuata in Raiatea, French Polynesia, which is located on a spot of land called *Te Po* (darkness), I experienced it as a truly spectacular place to be during sunset. When the sun dropped in the sea, the place really felt like *Te Po* or darkness, when combined with the light of a full moon the place is magic; I mention this to clarify the difficulties when studying a place using archaeoastronomical methods alone.

Of course, the authors clearly discuss the difficulties in archaeoastronomical studies: for example they point out the problems in using the moon and the planets because of their nightly movements. For this reason, the sun and stars are more useful: of their relatively fixed positions used in correlation with high-resolution ^{230}Th datings give a narrow time frame for the construction and use of the monuments. Their approach is to make a systematic analysis of orientation to identify general trends of *heiau* orientation in relation to celestial bodies, and in addition to this, the authors make observations of other possible landscape features and district borders to get a fuller picture of the orientation phenomenon.

This allows the authors to make a possible connection between *heiau* orientations and the Hawaiian pantheon. Their analysis indicates that the majority of temples studied fall into three main orientations clustered around north, east-northeast and east, a pattern detected mainly in the upland located *heiau*. Of 66 *heiau* with determined orientation 54 (82%) face one of these directions.

The deities tied to these different directions indicated by ethnohistorical observations are the following: *Ku*, the god of war, canoe building and sorcery is associated to north, east and right directions, as well as high mountains and forests. *Kane*, represents male power, agriculture, the sun, and has an association to east and right. *Lono* was the deity of dryland agriculture (sweet potato), birth, fertility and the rising of the Pleiades, and has associations to east-northeast and right. A fourth god, not much connected with the study area, is *Kanaloa*, and is associated with west, south and left. *Kanaloa* was the god of the sea, the underworld, the setting sun and death. The authors make a convincing case for the correlations and explanations of main orientations in the selected study area.

Part II of the book catalogues detailed information of individual *heiau*. Each site is allocated a site number, followed by descriptions of a variety of categories: Location

and topographic setting, Architecture, Dating and chronology, Archaeological context, Viewshed, Orientation and Additional remarks. Many of the sites are documented with excellent plan drawings as well as with photos. This section is a rare 'goldmine' of information, which will make many archaeologists dealing with Polynesian temple structures happy, and the data will also be very useful for future archaeological analysis.

I strongly suggest any person interested in archaeology and monumental structures to read this book: it is a good combination of deep knowledge in the fields of Polynesian archaeology and ethnohistory as well as astronomy.

I want to end this review with some words on the Polynesian navigators (which the authors also mention in their Epilogue), the specialists that safely took large canoes over the Pacific Ocean and populated this vast area. The skills of the master navigator consisted of their knowledge of the stars in the sky, but that was not their only skill. They also knew about winds, currents, waves, clouds and other signs that led the canoe to known and unknown lands beyond the horizon. In the same way, the temple builders had similar skills, and for sure, the important stars in the sky were also considered when the control of land was a part of temple construction. However, as on the sea there were other factors of importance, and I think that the temple structure in a way can be compared to the canoe. The temple was the place where the priests and the leaders of society navigated their people in the right direction, with a little help from signs of the stars, landscape features, and their different gods.

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