



NEW ZEALAND  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
ASSOCIATION

## ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEW ZEALAND



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## FIELDWORK AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

### NORTHLAND

We have actually been out in the field toward the end of this long hot summer. Firstly to Tawhiti Rahi, the northern island of the Poor Knights, and just recently to Oromaki ( North East Island) of the Three Kings. We went by boat to the Poor Knights and by helicopter to the Three Kings but there are certain similarities in landing techniques. On Tawhiti Rahi you hop from a small boat to a rock ledge when the swell is at its peak and on Oromaki you drop from a helicopter while it hovers over a rock ledge. Thats O.K. but it's not so easy getting back on if you have short legs, for once I appreciated a bit of male muscle.

Both of these islands are covered with stone features that indicate intensive occupation and gardening activities. However there are fascinating differences. Tawhiti Rahi has superbly built stone walls and facings on pa and terraces, and obsidian flakes are present at almost every site; one contains an obsidian workflow at least 10 m in diameter. And there are adzes lying on the surface!! In contrast the stonework at Oromaki, although it covers almost the whole 10 ha of the island, is in general less carefully constructed. There is an impression that stones have been tossed into huge heaps and facings constructed from whatever rock was closest, unlike the careful selection of boulders of similar size on Tawhiti Rahi structures. Habitation sites are also very different; small hut sites on Oromaki have about the dimensions of a pup tent while the pa of Tawhiti Rahi are spectacular and extensive.

The evidence suggests that occupation on Tawhiti Rahi was of a far more permanent nature. Oromaki was probably visited periodically from Manawa Tawhi, the largest of the Three Kings group, for planting and harvesting crops and for 'mutton birding'.

Motuopao Island lies much closer to the mainland. We dropped architect Dave Pearson off here on our way to the Three Kings for an appraisal of the lighthouse base which we hope can be stabilised in the near future.

And on the mainland itself - we had a few days excavating with Auckland University field school at Butler Point where we were involved some years ago with investigation of a pa on the Ferguson property. Harry Allen, Rod Wallace and numerous students made us very welcome, the food and grog were great and the site of Captain Butler's store produced some interesting artefacts and as usual left many questions unanswered.

Joan Maingay, DoC

## **AUCKLAND**

Quite some time has elapsed since my last report and so much has been happening north of the Bombay Hills that we could fill an entire AINZ issue with our beaverings! Please find below just a sample of the activity that has taken place over the last few months.

### **Department of Conservation**

Auckland Conservancy people have been involved in stabilising the main Kaiarara kauri driving dam at Port Fitzroy, Great Barrier Island. The work will cost \$90,000 and has required replacement of deteriorated structural timbers to prevent the construction from collapsing. A fungicidal treatment is also being administered to minimise further deterioration.

### **University of Auckland**

The summer field school took place this year at Butler's Point, Mangonui. Excavation of Butler's trading post, a site on the foreshore, was led by Harry Allen. The foreshore area had been used for trade since 1810. The Butler store, an ex missionary station, was moved to the point in 1848. Material recovered was a range of 19<sup>th</sup> century pieces, mainly from the 1850's. Students are currently processing the resulting assemblage.

A most important archaeological event at the University was of course the NZAA Conference organised by Dilys Johns and Lisa Matisoo-Smith. It is ten years since the last conference was held in Auckland. While it is more customary to have these gatherings in the smaller centres to facilitate cohesion, it is beneficial to hold the occasional conference in the larger centres especially when a wide range of interdisciplinary contributions are

made. This was an especially rewarding feature of the Auckland conference. Special thanks to Lisa and Dilys for all the effort that was put into ensuring a full, varied, smooth running programme and keeping us together with plenty of social opportunity and glorious food and wine!

Abstracts from papers presented at the conference are published on page 160, this issue of *Archaeology in New Zealand*.



*NZAA Conference participants outside the Auckland University marae.*

Dr Simon Holdaway is back from across the Tasman. He will be lecturing in Archaeology in a variety of courses including New Zealand. Simon will maintain interests in project work in New South Wales, returning there next month for this purpose.

It is good news that Dante Bonica has been granted a Senior Tutorship in the Maori Studies Department after fears that his position would be lost through restructuring. Dante will be tutoring at Rua Te Waihunga for the Material Culture programme.

#### **Auckland Regional Council**

Sarah Ross reports that the usual workload of resource consents, keeping an eye on the local authorities, information requests and budgeting for projects

for the next financial year has kept the archaeology team busy along with these other happenings.

The ARC has been reorganising the way it works over the last six months with a new Heritage section having been formed. This has been undertaken parallel to the development of a 10 year strategic plan. Within six key visions is one to sustain our rich cultural heritage for future generations. Historian Graeme Murdoch has been appointed to the new position of Heritage Director. The new section comprises ecologists and botanists from Natural Heritage, Iwi liaison officers and the cultural heritage staff (two archaeologists).

A mapping project was completed last year by the ARC resulting in the compilation of all the site survey, investigation and excavation reports recorded within the Cultural Heritage Inventory (CHI) on a 1:10,000 cadastral map base for the Auckland region. Cathy Pearson (ex Cornwall Park Interpretation Officer) who undertook the work thanks all the consultants who provided access to results and copies of reports. The map is to be digitised and available as a coverage on a GIS.

The ARC Heritage team, in conjunction with Tangata Whenua and Natural Lines Ltd, produced a poster entitled "Conserving Auckland's Maritime Heritage" as part of a cultural heritage education and advocacy project. The poster features a painting by Chris Gaskin of a reconstruction of the Devonport foreshore at the time of the arrival of the Tainui canoe. Designed to advocate the heritage value, conservation and long term integrated management of significant sites, Devonport was chosen as an example, for its unique collection of historic places reflecting over six hundred years of human settlement and maritime associations.

The Auckland Regional council is preparing a State of the Environment report for the Auckland region. The Cultural Heritage team has been asked to provide some Environmental Performance Indicators. Indicators such as the number of historic places and areas that have been formally protected (through scheduling in regional and district plans or NZHPT registration), and the numbers of archaeological sites that have been destroyed, damaged or modified (through the NZHPT Authority process) will be used with other data on urban growth and development to provide some general statements on the state of this region's cultural heritage resources.

The ARC archaeologists have just returned from a 3 week field investigation at Tapapakanga Regional Park, located south-east of Kawakawa Bay on the Firth of Thames. A section 18 Authority (1999/31) was granted by the NZHPT to undertake archaeological investigation of the beach middens associated S11/119 and S11/825 through excavation of intact cultural layers and eroded debris. The primary objectives were: (1) to determine the archaeological significance of the sites (through excavation, analysis and reporting); (2) to understand the relationship of Maori to the sites through active project support and involvement; (3) to devise a conservation management plan to minimise the adverse effects of the natural erosion processes and damage presently caused by recreation activities; and (4) to implement the best practicable and cost effective means to limit future erosion and site disturbance. They were fortunate to have some fabulous autumn weather and a great investigation team. Sarah and Ian would like to thank the support of the Ngati Paoa Whanau Trust Board and the Hauraki Maori Trust Board and ARC Parks for their financial assistance and field support. They also would like to acknowledge the assistance of all those who helped during the investigations especially Barry Baquie, Graham Thompson, Tu Andrews, Carol Munroe, Alastair Jamieson, Bridget Mosley, Angela Middleton, and Jonathon Welch.



*Left to right: Alastair Jamieson, Angela Middleton, Graham Thompson, Barry Baquie, Jonathon Welch, Bridget Mosley, Ian Lawler, Sarah Ross.*

Sarah reminds you that anyone is welcome to the monthly social gatherings. If you're passing through town in the first week of the new month come and join us (for news with that 'up-to-the-minute' freshness). Thursday evening drinks 5pm onwards at the Merchant Mezze Bar (cnr Queen St and Mayoral Dr) June 3rd, August 5th, October 7th, December 2nd. Friday morning breakfasts (7.30-8am start) at Cafe 39, located at 39 Ponsonby Road July 2nd, September 3rd, November 5th. Call Sarah Ross (09 379 4420) or email [cross@arc.govt.nz](mailto:cross@arc.govt.nz) to be on the email/fax reminder list.

### **Auckland Museum**

Development of five new galleries is the overriding focus of the Archaeology Department. All are scheduled to open by the end of the year so we are absolutely fully occupied! Nigel Prickett has completed a book on Archaic Maori Ornaments, due to appear in a series produced for the museum and available through the museum shop. Natasha Lynch of Auckland University has started work on pulling together as much information as possible on the Waioneke excavation for her Masters dissertation. Les Groube led the excavation in 1968/1969, but the full results, for a variety of reasons, were never written up. The artefactual collection is held by the museum. Jim McKinlay, who also participated in the excavation, has been able to supply the excavation plans, photographs and notes as well as crucial recollections.

Kath Prickett, Auckland Museum

### **BAY OF PLENTY**

Ray Hooker has had an interesting time in the Tarawera Forest lately. He has recorded six new pa sites and one pit site. This was a very rewarding bit of field work but, unfortunately there were some three other pa/traditional sites (based on other sources) which have been totally destroyed. Ray has also investigated a terrace site behind Welcome Bay as an HPT authority condition, which resulted in three storage pits also being documented. This was the second such terrace site to be found to contain storage pits, rather than gardening/domestic activities. Two field inspections for proposed rural subdivisions behind Omokoroa have found that sites recorded in 1982-83 HPT surveys have been totally destroyed (one was possibly of considerable significance - pits, terracing and shell middens on an extensive knoll). This is a very common occurrence in the Bay of Plenty and the number of destroyed sites could be quite high. Ray also filed an SRF on 4-5 pits which were exposed and then destroyed in local authority roadworks, also near Omokoroa. DOC have recently completed interpretation at the Fort Galatea

Historic Reserve. The reserve has had a variety of settlements over time, from seasonal kainga used by Ngati Manawa, to rural community, and finally to historic reserve. This status reflects the fact that between 1869-1875 it served as a military outpost. The armed constabulary built the first redoubt here in 1869 from which one wing of a three pronged attack on Te Kooti and the Ureweras was launched by Col. Whitmore. The second redoubt was built in 1878, for an unknown reason, and appears to have been abandoned in 1875. The barracks was used later as a house for the store owners then the local school teacher, while the officers quarters were used as the school. The barracks/homestead was burnt down in suspicious circumstances in 1969 on the very eve of its centennial celebrations. Five on-site interpretation panels have been developed in consultation with local iwi on the theme "Passages of Time". These panels outline the history of the site, the historical nature of farming (based around implements still remaining on site), the first redoubt and homestead site, the second redoubt, and the officers quarters/school site. Wynne Spring-Rice undertook excavations at the site in 1980-81 for her MA thesis.

And while talking about interpretation panels - one of the new panels, recently installed at the foot of Butlers Incline on the Piako Tramway, was stolen. It was later recovered from Te Aroha, where it had pride of place in a teenager's bedroom !! At the same time, or thereabouts, as the panel was stolen a three-quarter ton brake mechanism from the aerial ropeway was rolled down the hill. On a positive note, however, recent work by students from Te Aroha College, a DOC volunteer day in late March and a CTF gang mean that we are almost in a position to open the entire length of the tramway to visitors.

In November DOC had its annual volunteers day at Te Tapiri and Okupu Pa sites down in the Whirinaki area. These remain from the 1865 campaign when the Pai Marire forces were trying to cross the Kaingaroa Plain to join up with the Kingites in the Waikato. Ngati Manawa and Ngati Rangitahi built these redoubts to stop the advance, which they managed to do with greatly outnumbered forces. The sites of Hinemoki I and II, built by the opposing forces of Kereopa and Ngati Whare and situated in the valley below, are on Fletchers land and we are currently working with that company to implement some proper management for the sites.

The big off-estate news of late was the discovery of a significant tauihi (canoe prow) at Te Puna where a landowner was creating a pond beside the

harbour. The piece is ca. 1.6 m long by 0.5 m diameter and appears to have been carved from totara. The local hapu, Pirirakau, have traditions relating to the burial of canoes in this location so they were very excited by the discovery. It was subsequently delivered to Dilys Johns at the Anthropology Dept, Auckland University, for conserving. It will take 2-3 years to complete that process so, no doubt, we'll hear lots about it over the years.

Rick McGovern-Wilson, DoC

## **HAWKES BAY**

Hawke's Bay has been doing an aerial survey of the coast line of Southern Hawke's Bay in association with Kevin Jones of Science and Research (DoC) in Wellington. Last November Kevin and I and a surveyor spent three days looking at sites and putting control points into some for mapping purposes. Kevin has contracted a Master's student Vanessa Tanner to map the sites off the aerial photographs. Vanessa has made an excellent job of those she has completed so far. She and I spent a day in Porangahau on a quality control monitoring exercise. We walked over a number of sites she has mapped and were very pleased to discover that she has produced a very good likeness without ever having seen the sites on the ground. It is a worthwhile method of getting good quality plans at a good price.

I have completed the draft Conservation Management Plan for Otatara Pa Historic Reserve. Some people may be interested in commenting on it. If anyone would like to read it please email me at [EPishief@doc.govt.nz](mailto:EPishief@doc.govt.nz) and I will send you a copy.

Elizabeth Pischief

## **EAST COAST**

### **Gisborne District Plan Hearings**

GDC hearings on the Cultural Heritage chapter have been completed. There was some opposition to the Heritage Alert layer and a 100 m assessment zone around NZAA sites. Kevin Jones gave evidence on his development of the HA layer and Rick McGovern-Wilson gave evidence from an NZAA perspective and we hope that both these protective mechanisms will be retained in the plan.

The concept of the Heritage Alert layer, an early warning system, which is overlaid with NZAA sites, waahi tapu sites and European heritage places is working very well. Due to the sporadic survey of the district it helps

ensure areas where sites are possible are assessed. Once the area is surveyed, it can be removed from the HA layer. However this places requirements on developers for assessment which is causing a day to day issue due to the fact that Gordon and Victoria have both left town.

### **Waioeka Bridges**

Owen Wilkes has been doing some research with FRI into protection of wooden structures and has taken some samples from the Manganuku and Tauranga Bridges. Initial analysis suggests the Koppers CN is doing okay.

### **Cook Landing Site National Historic Reserve**

Mediation over the Cone of Vision continues. David Mountfort, Regional Planner, GDC and I recently spent 3 days at Botany Bay with the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service discussing issues associated with managing Cook Landing Sites. We met with NPWS staff, the aboriginal community and the local tourism association, to investigate options for working closer together in the management and marketing of these sites.

### **Aniwaniwa Visitors Centre**

The Return of the McCahon! Work is continuing on ensuring the Aniwaniwa Visitors Centre meets museological guidelines for the protection of the taonga which includes the Urewera mural by McCahon. Ian Smail has completed plans for re-developing the first gallery and Detlef Klein has completed a report on environmental requirements. The re-development which includes re-display of the taonga and the McCahon will be completed by Christmas.

### **Onepoto**

In preparation for a conservation plan, Michael Kelly has recently completed historic research into the Onepoto Redoubt, Te Urewera National Park. Although it was established in 1869 by the Armed Constabulary in pursuit of Te Kooti, the majority of structures were built after that period and the constabulary presence was maintained until around 1888.

### **Traction Lorry, Aniwaniwa Visitors Centre**

Jack Fry has completed conservation work on the P. and D. Duncan and Co turbine trailer historically known as a traction lorry. This flat decked lorry was built in the early 1920's to transport machinery for use in the construction of the Tuai power station. The lorry weighs 7.5 tonnes and carried loads up to 25 tonnes. Due to the weight of these loads the road to Tuai had to be totally reconstructed. The lorry is the only known remaining

example of these trailers and stands outside the Aniwanuiwa Visitor Centre. Some original plans have been located by Canterbury Museum which will be incorporated into updated interpretation.

Pam Bain, DoC

### **Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre**

A major exhibition entitled **Ko Tumatauenga**, is due to open soon at the Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre. This exhibition has drawn upon the vast collection of Maori weaponry held within the museum's taonga collection while including other areas of Maori warfare. The exhibition will also include the works of three local artists. **Ko Tumatauenga** will be open to the public from Saturday 8th May until the 20th of June.

Joe Pihema

### **WELLINGTON**

Len Bruce passed away on 17 April 1999 after a short illness. Len and his wife, Bev, were active in the Wellington Archaeological Society from the late 1960s, and excavated with Bruce McFadgen at the Foxton site. More recently, they dug with Kevin Jones at Katherine Mansfield's birthplace. Len was a keen tramper and skier and had a strong interest in the archaeology and in the sciences generally.

Dr Harold Wellman died on 28 April 1999. He was one of New Zealand's foremost geologists and had a long-standing interest in archaeology. His 1962 paper on Maori occupation layers at D'Urville Island provided stratigraphic evidence of gardening in earliest part of the prehistoric sequence. His paper on the stratigraphy of the Holocene coastal sections, also published in 1962, was very influential.

Mary O'Keeffe reports that the first displays for the wreck of *Inconstant* (buried in a reclamation last century) are now available for viewing at refurbished BNZ complex in central Wellington. The in situ bow section of the ship will be open for display shortly.

### **Chathams Island Dendroglyphs**

The Department of Conservation has been involved in a joint project with the Department of Surveying at the University of Otago to record dendroglyphs on Chatham Island. The project was devised and organised by Bruce McFadgen. Fieldwork was carried out in November-December and the

dendroglyphs were recorded by stereophotogrammetry and their precise locations established by survey. The fieldwork confirmed that there had been a substantial loss of dendroglyphs over recent decades with only 185 carvings on 147 trees remaining. A report on the fieldwork has been received. (See Recent Reports, this issue)

### **Waikato Redoubts**

Tony Walton joined 19 others on a tour of Waikato military sites on Waitangi weekend, 6-7 February. The trip was organised by the Defence of New Zealand Study Group and included visits to Pukekohe East church (R12/741), Alexandra redoubt (Tuakau)(R12/141), Eglinton redoubt (S12/204), Pickard's redoubt (S12/22), Suffolk redoubt (S12/238), Meremere pa and redoubt (S13/7), Rangiriri pa (S13/50), Te Whereo's redoubt (S13/3), No.2 British redoubt at Paterangi (S15/75), Orakau (S14/103), Alexandra redoubt (Pirongia)(S15/28), and Pirongia East Redoubt (S15/375)(recently excavated by Warren Gumbley), amongst others. On Saturday evening, a re-enactment group in full uniform gave a display of drill as it would have been done by soldiers of the 65th Regiment in the 1860s. This regiment arrived in 1846 and served for over 20 years in New Zealand.

### **Botanic Gardens Gun Emplacement and Observatory Building**

Tony Walton visited the Wellington Observatory (built 1907) with Richard Nester on 15 January 1999. The Observatory is in the Botanic Gardens and the land is currently an unclassified reserve. Adjacent to the building, the concrete outline of an 1890s gun emplacement is still visible at the ground surface. The associated magazine is underground and lies below extensions to the Observatory built in the 1920s. All the structures have been subject to a series of modifications over the years.

In 1889 it was proposed to mount a 7 inch gun to provide "plunging fire" into the inner harbour area and in 1894 an emplacement consisting of a gun pit, observation post, loading gallery, and underground magazine (about 34' x 24') was built. The gun was apparently stored on site but never mounted. In 1896 the magazine was modified by building a shell store (10' x 7') and cartridge store (about 7' x 6'6"), separated by a lamp passage, within one part of the magazine. A new wall was built through one part of the rest of the magazine in about 1907 presumably to provide foundations for the Observatory being built above. Subsequent changes have included demolition of the 1896 wall between the shell store and the lamp passage and construction of a semi-subterranean structure between the entrance to the

magazine and the gun pit to provide extra space. The magazine at one time held seismographs which were mounted on large concrete blocks set on the floor.

### **Whitireia Park**

Whitireia Park is a recreational reserve at entrance to Porirua Harbour managed by the Department of Conservation. Off- road vehicle use is resulting in scarring of hillsides and damage to archaeological sites. Plans have been drawn up to stop four-wheeled vehicles leaving the sealed roadway by placing bollards or ditches alongside. The work potentially will impact on three terrace sites listed in the New Zealand Register of Historic Places: R26/111, R26/115, and R26/177. The proposed work was discussed on-site with conservancy staff Richard Nester and Wayne Boness on 27 January 1999, a report prepared, and an NZHPT authority applied for and received.

### **Matiu/Somes Island**

Midden material was uncovered by re-piling of the old hospital building on Matiu/Somes Island in Wellington Harbour in February. The nature and status of this material was investigated by Tony Walton and Richard Nester, with assistance from Richard Anderson, on 26 February 1999. A report was prepared, and an NZHPT authority applied for and received. The midden contains shellfish and fish, bird, and dog bone. Tuatara is represented by a single bone.

## **CANTERBURY/MARLBOROUGH**

Our principal summer activity has been the excavation of an early Irish-style cob cottage in the Cust area with the assistance of the Cust and District historical Records Society and other volunteers. The big surprise was finding concrete foundations beneath the cob walls - and concrete floors. (No wonder we had trouble getting the pegs in when laying out the grid!)

We've also continued our involvement with District Plans. The District Planner for the Waimakariri District (our home territory) is not keen to include archaeological sites in the Plan as the Council does not have any legal responsibility for them. This despite the fact that they list classified buildings and show them on District Plan maps.

Conversely, the Kaikoura District Council has not only listed sites and marked them on their maps but has asked us to check out their whole heritage section for accuracy. Kaikoura 1, Waimakariri 0.

Finally, at the request of ECNZ, who are doing some additional work on the Pukaki hydroelectric scheme, we revisited the Lake Pukaki area to check the current status of the sites we recorded there over 30 years ago. Our main observation was that the hills and river terraces are decidedly higher and steeper than they were in 1969 - doubtless a tectonic phenomenon!

Michael Trotter and Beverley McCulloch

## OCEANIA

Following a successful fieldseason in 1998, members of the New Georgia Archaeological Survey returned to the Solomon Islands to resume field activities during January this year. Peter Sheppard and Richard Walter teamed up with their Solomon Island partner, Kenneth Roga, to continue work in Roviana Lagoon. There they undertook the final stages of the mapping of a large fortification and associated religious and residential complexes on the island of Nusa Roviana. In addition, they moved briefly to the nearby island of Rendova to begin negotiations with the chiefs over the possibility of carrying out a site survey on the island later this year. Rendova is attractive because it contains high lakes which should provide a long pollen profile to enable a reconstruction of long term vegetation changes. Rendova also contains uplifted reef terraces which, like those in the Bismarck Archipelago to the west, may contain evidence for Pleistocene occupation. Richard and Peter return to Roviana Lagoon in June, when they will be accompanied by Takuya Nagaoka (University of Auckland), and Matthew Phelan (Radiocarbon Lab, Waikato University). Matthew will be carrying out research into coastal dating issues in the Pacific as part of his PhD research programme. The team will also be joined by John Dodson and Sarah Grmes (University of Western Australia) who are geomorphologists working on the New Georgia Project.

The ANU project on Central Pacific colonisation (directed by Atholl Anderson) continued through 1998 with fieldwork in four areas. The last of the Norfolk Island excavations, aimed at elucidating the landsnail sequence, were undertaken by Peter White and colleagues from the Australian Museum. Research on cave sites continued in Fiji, by Trevor Worthy (Palaeofaunal Surveys, Nelson) and Atholl Anderson, in conjunction with the Fiji Museum. Further evidence was obtained of the pre-human fossil fauna. Fieldwork began in the Southern Margins Project (Atholl Anderson and Gerard O'Regan) with excavations in southern Rakiura and, in mid-winter, an

expedition to the Snares and Auckland Islands, for excavations at Sandy Bay, Enderby Island.

Both the Auckland and Otago University Departments have projects in the State of Hawaii. At Auckland, Thegn Ladefoged is continuing work on the Kohala Project on the island of Hawaii with plans for further fieldwork there in the mid year. This past January and February, Marshall Weisler (University of Otago), along with three students from the Department of Anthropology, two students from Maori Studies and one Ngai Tahu archaeologist, conducted an archaeological survey along a 3 km stretch of coastline on windward Moloka'i, Hawaiian islands. Test excavations were completed at eight sites including a midden deposit, three fishing shrines (ko'a), a heiau, and three residential complexes. The project also provided an opportunity for the three Maori participants to interact with members of the Hawaiian community for exchanging ideas and information on topics of mutual concern and benefit. During an additional week of field work in late March, six residential site complexes were plane-table mapped by Weisler before attending the 12th annual conference of the Society for Hawaiian Archaeology in Honolulu. The conference had symposia on Pacific lithics, site restoration in Hawai'i, and three sessions on the archaeology of O'ahu, other Hawaiian Islands and the western Pacific. Special workshops and discussion groups focussed on archaeological collections management, lithic technology, faunal analysis and archaeobotany.

Richard Walter  
Anthropology Department  
University of Otago