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***TE IKA A MAUI and TE WAI POUNAMU: The Land and its People, 1840.* DOSLI Infomap 346-01, Te Ika a Maui, Infomap 346-02, Te Wai Pounamu, Edition 1 1995.**

Two wall maps by the New Zealand Geographic Board depicting Maori place names from 1840; researcher Te Aue Davis, artist Clifford Whiting; published by Department of Survey and Land Information, funded by DoSLI, GP Print, the New Zealand Lotteries Board and the Ministry of Maori Development. The Ministry of Education is donating a set of the maps to all schools in New Zealand as part of its contribution to the 1995 Maori Language year.

Two wall maps of the North and South Island with place names, physical features and pa marked are produced in colour with a selected list, a large number given meanings on the back. The original maps were intended as a centennial publication in 1940 or 1941 and never used. This is the data basis of the present maps to mark the Year of the Maori language.

In themselves the maps are fine productions. One notable advance is the use of macrons to mark long vowels in the names. The importance of these does not need to be stressed to those with a knowledge of the language but cannot be over emphasised for those who know nothing of the language. Perhaps as a result of this map and Hugh Young's work on the pronunciation of place names we will hear less of the ugly distortions some fondly believe are how Maori place names are said.

While these maps are very welcome they also bring with them a number of regrets. The first of these is that the spiritual geography has been almost ignored. Hikurangi is an important name in all of the islands of Polynesia in its various forms and in each of the main tribal areas of Aotearoa because of its association with the first light striking it when Rangi and Papa were separated. It is usually in tandem with Aorangi. Perhaps the most famous of these is Hikurangi on the East Coast which is marked on the map but not its companion Aorangi. In the North, in Ngati Wai territory, Hikurangi is not there nor its companion, the island in the Poor Knights, Aorangi, while the less spiritually important island, Tawhitirahi, is marked.

The four *whare wananga* of Te Tai Tokerau, that is the tribal mountains of which the southernmost is Rarotonga in Tamakimakaurau, now known as Mt Smart, are not marked. Maunga Haumi is the most important mountain in Te Aitanga a Mahaki land near Gisborne; it is not marked. There are quite a few of these names which are left out.

The spiritual markers on the land are paralleled and often overlap with the

tribal identification points, boundary markers. Many of these are names given by ancestors and these are included in some areas but not others. Where for instance is Te Kaihinaki, the food of Hinaki, Hampden beach, or Te Whatapararae, the Moeraki boulders, and the men of the Araiteuru canoe who are the hills at Palmerston, Pakihiwitahi, Puketapu?

Surely one aspect of these maps should be to help locate the tribal boundaries given by the elders. Circa 1840 tribes were identified as living within defined borders but only a few such names are given on these maps. This could be the result of selection in that only a certain number of names can be depicted.

The pa and presumably villages marked are good but somewhat adrift in time. Circa 1840 would not seem to include Te Ngutu o Te Manu which Titokowaru had not finished constructing in 1863 when it was attacked. Ruapekapeka was built by Kawiti and Pene Taui in 1845 as a pa. The other four pa of that campaign are not marked yet Ruapekepeka as a place only became a pa in 1845. There is no sign of a previous pa at that spot.

These maps can be described as a small step. With a lot more thought and research they would become giant strides and like Rongokako's become *tapuwae haruru*, resounding steps, one of which landed at the place where Taupo village now stands.

David Simmons

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Overall the map is clearly expressed and attractively presented, although one may well have opinions about the particular shades of colour used to portray natural grasslands - causing a large part of the South Island to become rather stunningly orange and pink. The maps are intended to be pictorial; specifically they are wall maps, for purposes of display and education. Thus their overall ability to interest the eye is a significant factor in their design; one can imagine that they will enhance a school classroom more than adequately. The dynamic artwork that decorates the maps is in the same category as it adds life and motion in a manner that will catch the attention of children.

One must admire the research effort that must have gone into reconstructing, from whatever sources, a description of the vegetative cover in 1840: not a simple task, by any means. Nor is it an entirely coherent one. There is one category called 'forest' for example, presumably covering everything from Northland mixed forest to southern beech.

The problem I have with the background of the map is that while interesting in its own right, what, exactly, does it have to do with Maori life in the 184Os, and is Maori life even portrayed here? The map title is "The Land and its People" but there is nonetheless a curious dichotomy of information: the

map appears to present a picture of Aotearoa in 1840, but on what terms? Lifestyle? The ocean was perhaps the largest source of food. The fishing grounds are identified by name but are not pictured as banks, shallows, reefs. Lowlands? Does natural grassland cover matter as much as did the location of soil and climate where kumara gardens would grow? On the other hand to make this map in terms of the material resource would have been a stupendous job, as complex perhaps as trying to map the current vegetative cover of New Zealand. In both cases one has, really, only two choices: to simplify dramatically, or to start out on an intensive research project to uncover the actual patterns. There is no middle ground and the result, then and now, would be entirely worthy of a map in its own right.

My feeling of confusion about the map, then, may well originate in just this, that there is both too much and not enough offered - a basis that is not explained and only minimally referenced, and which contains just enough information to raise uncertainty.

In cartographic terms the map has a good choice of type face and symbols for pa and names and it is easy to locate and to read them. One of its main functions is thus served. Stream and river names are too light and thin for a wall map, but the balance of relative sizes seems about right. There is a confusing visual coincidence of cartographic form between the symbols for permanent snow fields and swamp. It is, also, unfortunate that the strength of the blue line used for water edges often confuses type set on top of it. For example the lake names Takapo, Pukaki, O Hau, are insufficient for clarity, and black words, everywhere, are lost where a stream passes right 'under' them: look for example at the way in which a pa name loses itself in the intricacies of the Rakaia. O Takau, the word anglicized into 'Otago', is very hard to find, curving awkwardly through the harbour. I had thought it applied to the upper peninsula as well.

The artwork for multiple channel streams is plainly clumsy. DoSLI and the Department of Lands and Survey have in the past produced many more elegant solutions for constructing this symbol, and the result here is disappointing.

The South Island mountains rise some thousand metres higher than do those of the North Island but on the map, shaded lightly through pale melon colours, they do not rise at all. The South Island, it seems, has been worn down to a stump. The North Island appears to be rugged and high in comparison, the shadowing of its slopes intensified by the predominance of greens overlaying the tone. Some accommodation needs to have been made between constancy of technique and desired visual result.

There should be, by some degree of cartographic magic, a synchronicity between the symbols on the map and what the eye identifies on the ground. This map does not achieve that for the South Island. The intense natural contrast between grassland and forest/scrub is not mirrored here. The categories

seem (in the manner of a watercolour wash) to run into one another, and so the visual language is misleading. The same colours used on the North Island map are much more successful and one can almost imagine that the pink spread of tussocks around the central volcanoes in some way reflects the fiery effect that eruptions have had on their origin.

I have returned to talking about vegetation again. It seems to dominate the map, and is troubling for that reason: which returns me to the point made above. What is this map about? It includes interesting and valuable historical information that is presented more or less without explanation, as a picture: superimposed on another picture (the vegetation) that in some way overwhelms it. Many people will be wholly satisfied to purchase and hang this pair of maps, and will find them quite beautiful. I will probably buy them myself and hang them on the wall, where they will for ever nag at me their mixed message.

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Sorrenson, M.P.K. 1992. *Manifest Duty. The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years*. Memoir No.49. Auckland, The Polynesian Society. 160 pages.

Within the pages of this slim volume one is introduced to the scholars, both amateur and professional, who shaped the development of the Polynesian Society, in New Zealand and the Pacific.

From its humble beginnings in 1892 through to its present existence within the academic establishment, the Society has struggled to maintain its membership and its direction, yet all the while making a vast contribution to the advancement of the anthropological sciences and knowledge of the peoples of the Pacific.

Professor Sorrenson, as a life member of the Society and an historian, has drawn on the papers and manuscripts of the Society to present an account of this struggle for survival. He describes the internal disputes which existed between editors and correspondents and the differring viewpoints and theories which arose as academics began to replace the amateurs. These are explained within their historical context giving an understanding of how the Society has developed from its purely amateur beginnings into the leading journal of its kind in the Pacific and one of the oldest continuously published anthropological journals in the world, despite its paucity of members and sometimes lacklustre Council.

But I can't help comparing this slim volume with the much more substantial work by C.A. Fleming on the Royal Society of New Zealand

(Science, Settlers and Scholars. The Royal Society of New Zealand, Bulletin No 25, 1987), and the comparison makes me feel that there is so much more that could have been written about the personalities who created and sustained the Polynesian Society. Whereas Fleming has taken the time to flesh out his personalities, Sorrenson unfortunately appears to assume that his reader will "know" who he is talking about.

However, the strength of this book lies in its discussion of the debates which were central to the Society - Maori Origins, The Maruiwi Myth, Polynesian Navigation , to list but a few - and in detailing the rivalry which existed between Wellington scholars and those in Auckland.

In his Preface, Professor Sorrenson states, "In 1956 I became a Life Member of the Society. I hope this monograph is a fair return on what turned out to be a very good investment." For the answer to that, I can only suggest that each reader will determine that for him/herself but there are riches to be found within these pages.

Caroline Thomas

Platt, Colin. *Medieval England: A Social History and Archaeology from the Conquest to 1600 AD*. Routledge, London, 1994. 292 pp., 167 Illustrations. $75 (approximate).

This book was first published in 1978 and was reprinted in 1988 and again in 1994. The book is, as Platt emphasises in a new preface, a work of synthesis. His view that history and archaeology are both necessary to an adequate understanding of the social and economic history of Medieval England is well demonstrated by his text and illustrations. That a work of history and archaeology is still in print after 17 years is an indication that it has found a niche in the market.

Platt laments what he sees as a continuing tendency for historians and archaeologists to work in isolation from each other. He recognises that documents and physical remains are different forms of evidence, with characteristic strengths and weaknesses, and have to be employed accordingly, but believes that more interaction would benefit both groups. It is probably in the areas of social and economic history, the focus of this book, that archaeology has most to contribute.

Clearly, it is documentary evidence which forms the basis of most of what is known about Medieval England. The strength of the documentary record lies principally in the areas of crown (central government) and manor records. Government records sometimes offer an invaluable picture of the state of the kingdom at a particular point in time. The Domesday Survey of 1086 and the

poll tax returns of 1377, for example, provide a basis for estimating the size, distribution, and density of the population over much of England. The records are, however, open to somewhat varying interpretations depending on the assumptions made. Against these big pictures can be set the manor records with their very detailed information about particular localities. They too, however, provide great latitude for different interpretations.

An abundance of archaeological traces of Medieval England has been identified: the ruins of the castles, monasteries, parish churches, manor houses, humble dwellings, and the lynchets and ridge and furrow associated with the tillage of the land. This evidence is often used as illustration, but how much does this contribute to the study of the period? Arguably, the major contribution that archaeologists (and historical geographers) have made in recent years is to re-focus study on the landscape: on the relationships between settlement, fields, woods, and the environmental setting, and on changes in material conditions of life through time. This is, of course, an area where documentary evidence also contributes. Archaeology is not just about filling in gaps in knowledge using a different body of evidence.

Platt describes over 500 years of often dramatic social and economic change. Conventionally, the era 1066-1600 is divided into a number of periods starting with a time of sustained economic and population growth. This period of expansion, assisted by relatively benign climate, came to an end towards the end of the 13th century. The 14th century saw increased insecurity, deteriorating crop yields, crop failures, livestock diseases, retrenchment, and the Black Death (1348-9, 1361, 1368-9, 1375). In a century the population fell by between a third and a half - a demographic catastrophe which changed the face of England. Platt seems reluctant to give figures for the size of the population. Current estimates put the population at about 2.5 million in 1086, rising to about 6 million around 1300, falling dramatically in the 14th century, and perhaps reaching 3 million by the early 16th century. Platt tries to put the Black Death in perspective, emphasising that the population was already falling when it first struck, but there is no doubt that it was one of the key events of the period with incalculable repercussions on every area of life.

Platt has little to say about the political and administrative history of the period. Such matters as the Crown's need for money, and the often unscrupulous ways in which it was obtained, figure little in his account. Wars, a common enough feature of the period, are mentioned only in passing. There is also little or no reference to feudalism, an idea which has proved as elusive, and of as little utility, as that of 'traditional Maori society'.

Much of the impetus for change undoubtedly came through the hesitant development of a market economy. Agricultural production and land tenure were much affected by market trends. The profitability of demesne farming declined from about 1300 and new accounting methods demonstrated that in many cases the advantage to the owner lay with renting out land. Most landowners

responded in a predictable way. Later, when wool production became profitable, many landowners were not slow to convert arable land to pasture and dispossess those who stood in the way of their profits. This behaviour looks familiar: the remoteness of the period and the supposed vast differences in values notwithstanding.

There were vast disparities in wealth and power in Medieval England. The Church, in various guises, was a major sponsor or beneficiary of ambitious building projects (not always completed). It is the projects of a very small group of the rich and powerful which has provided the well-known symbols of the period such as the castles and the abbeys. Archaeology has, however, not neglected the more mundane remains from this period and has thus helped illuminate the living conditions of the common people. The excavations at the deserted village of Wharram Percy (Yorkshire), in particular, has clearly had a significant impact on medieval studies.

The group who were comfortably off began to expand in the later medieval period. The general prosperity of the 15th century encouraged the construction of many new buildings and this is particularly evident in areas which had grown rich on the wool and cloth trade. There was an increasing emphasis on comfort, amongst those who could afford it, as time passed. The wealthy monasteries increasingly relaxed their strict rules, and improved both accommodation and food, to attract recruits to their ranks. Platt's final word is that 'of the comforts that a man has once enjoyed, he will not readily let go.' Progress of a sort, perhaps, but for the vast majority of people most comforts remained well out of reach.

Even with the benefit of good evidence, it is generally difficult to establish what caused what and Platt often has to simply underline the fluidity and complexity of the situation. This all produces a picture which is inherently plausible to readers. The book ends at about 1600 AD. This date is within reach, sometimes, of family historians, making the whole period seem less remote. It is a choice which neatly breaks the shackles of the conventional periodisation.

Tony Walton

The Celtic World. **Edited by Miranda J. Green. London, Routledge. 839 pages. Hardback. ISBN 0 415 05764 7. Retail price: £130.**

In recent years some polytechnics in New Zealand have espoused the curious view that Celtic and Maori are the key components of biculturalism in New Zealand. In this magnificent book, informed by scholarship but meant for a wide readership, most of the authors find the defining characteristics of north European Celtic culture difficult to establish - at least in the archaeological record. Of more interest in explaining the views of those polytechnics is the pressure placed to refine and revitalise contemporary Celtic culture in the

modern world, especially in the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom. Indeed, some of the contributors identify this need as far back as the Romanisation of Britain! As the northern societies faced the homogenising and universalising effects of Rome, they may have been deliberately re-established their earlier artistic traditions to assert their opposition to Rome - if so, they did it without benefit of a doctrine of universal human rights.

The Celts were all those peoples, culturally related to the Hallstatt and later La Tène Iron Age cultures of trans-Alpine Europe, who first emerge into the written record only in the accounts in the Classical languages (the Celts of course extended to the northern Hellenic peninsula). The Celtic cultural influence was especially profound in northern and north-western Europe - as *kulturkreis* theorists might predict - and has come to us today in oral form as the languages of Brittany, Ireland, Wales and Scotland. Scottish and Irish Celtic split off the common ancestral language in the millennia of the Bronze Age; the others split off and diversified in the Iron Age.

All of what is now France and England were fully Romanised by the first century B.C. and a living tradition is not to be traced there (except in the west, in Cornwall and Brittany). Of course, there is fertile invention of Druidic religious pastiche today. With the decline of the Roman empire and nascent Christianity with it, the earliest Christianising influences that have come down to us were felt in Ireland. From there we have the only written records of ancient Celtic culture, such as laws about land tenure and inheritance, folk tales and traditions. It is to Ireland, too, that we turn for the essentially Celtic decorative arts found in the first illuminated manuscripts. However, Celtic art and technology, as understood in the wider geographic range and time-depth of archaeology, was more diverse and cryptic than the modern invention of it would dictate.

The book is divided into twelve parts, each with from two to five contributors: Celtic origins (including linguistics and the views of Classical authors); Warriors and warfare; Society and social life; Settlement and environment; The economy; Technology and craftsmanship; The art of the Celts; Pagan Celtic religion; The Celts in Europe; On the edge of the Western [i.e., the Roman] World; Celtic Britain post A.D. 400; and finally, The survival of the Celts [i.e., in Wales and also language prospects].

Many of the authors (including the editor) are clearly regional specialists and only some are widely known - the ubiquitous Megaws, for example. Authors whom one might expect to have contributed but have not include Peter Fowler and Barry Cunliffe. Perhaps specialists in the British Iron Age do not see much merit in a volume exploring the identity of a such a broad entity as the Celts.

The chapters on 'Fortifications and defence' by Ian Ralston and 'Power, politics and status' by Timothy Champion will be of particular interest to New Zealand archaeologists. The archaeological evidence available for such a great

variety and inferred function of fortification evidenced in these pages is remarkable, and points to a relative lack of development in our own thinking on this topic. Surprisingly, no author felt the need to discuss 'settlement pattern'; a paper 'The social implications of Celtic art' by Martyn Jope is a welcome contribution as he looks at within-settlement differentiation in status at Goldberg, near Stuttgart, as is the paper on settlement pattern and hillforts in Wales, by Jeffrey L. Davies. The chapters on 'Rural life and farming' by Peter Reynolds, Director of Butser Ancient Farm, and 'Resources and industry' by Peter Wells are rather deficient in landscape analysis, particularly of the 'Celtic fields' which have so much been a theme of English archaeology even if we now know that some are older and some younger than the period attributed to the Celts. Reynold's confident assertions of data, for example, on crop productivity or husbandry, are nevertheless a welcome review of that material.

Regional chapters on Ireland and Scotland may be of particular interest. In Ireland the archaeological evidence from the Iron Age appears to be poorly documented compared with England, a lack made up by the early appearance of the indigenous Celtic written record. Euan MacKie argues that a late form of Celtic rural life survived in the Highlands until the eighteenth century when it was the subject of 'anthropological' description - much as were Polynesians. The poor Celts of what is now England long practised their language in the shadow of an elite class who spoke Latin. By the sixth century, the demands of a specifically English national identity, manifest in the speaking of (Old) English, drove all speaking of 'Britonnic' (Celtic) under and finally created a cultural divide with Wales and Cornwall to the west and the Scots to the north.

A final chapter by Mark Redknap covers early Christianity and its monuments and includes some ground plans of the early monastic settlements and an analysis of style in Celtic crosses.

This very large source book avoids grand theory. However, it does revisit the scope of work such as that written by Gordon Childe in the 1930s - except that it is singularly weak on Germany and eastern Europe where Childe did so much of his highly original synthesis. This book is imbued with the theme of 'Celtic' ethnicity, evidently a publishable proposition, which Childe in his time may well have found repugnant. In the late twentieth century we may better appreciate the moral dilemmas, if not the political forces, inherent in ethnic nationalism and conserving minor languages in the face of the universalisation of culture. It is a testament to Miranda Green's editing and the unfailing scholarly sensibilities of her writers that the book succeeds.

Kevin Jones