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REVIEWS

Anne Salmond. *Between Worlds. Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773 - 1815.* Viking, Auckland. 1997. 590 pages. \$69.95

After the two short phases of initial contacts explored in *Two Worlds* (Salmond 1990), exchanges between Maori and Europeans intensified and expanded beyond their restricted initial locales. They also became more complex and profound, and it is these dynamics that Anne Salmond explores in this book. The four decades prior to 1815 saw Cook's second and third scientific voyages, the beginnings of commerce in seals, whales, timber and flax, and Marsden's first missionary ventures. They also saw journeys by Te Weherua and Koa into the Pacific, Te Mahanga, Teina and Maki, and **Ruatara to London and numerous Maori visitors to Port Jackson, Norfolk Island and elsewhere in the burgeoning maritime trade network of the South Pacific. New worlds were being encountered and old certainties challenged.**

Whereas its predecessor highlighted the differences between Maori and European worlds at first contact, *Between Worlds* emphasises their growing interconnections. Its central thesis is that the events of the period in question are best comprehended as taking place in a middle ground between these worlds, where working understandings were negotiated by trial and error. From this borderland new ways of living began to emerge.

Between Worlds explores the events and consequences of inter-cultural exchanges from both Maori and European perspectives. An impressive array of primary and secondary accounts drawn from documents and oral histories are employed to clarify details of what happened and tease out the intricacies of their implications. At the same time deeper anthropological issues are addressed. Thus, treatment of Cook's voyages explores the contrasting ways

of seeing and knowing the world provided by European science and Maori whakapapa; the commercial voyages highlight conflicting approaches to resource ownership and use, and the social obligations that they imply; while the evangelical voyages bring into focus differences in Maori and Christian cosmologies, and how they influenced both the actions of participants, and their perceptions and judgements of others.

There are immense difficulties in this kind of research, not the least of which is the vastly different natures of the source material - on the one hand, detailed first-hand European accounts written at or soon after the time, on the other, much later recordings of oral history. While this might be seen to create imbalance, the real issue is how the material is used and it is here that Salmond makes her greatest contribution. This is mature New Zealand scholarship, assured in its handling of both Maori and European sources, cognisant of the contexts from which they derive and confident in subjecting each to appropriate critical analysis. It is also written with a clarity and verve that is seldom encountered in scholarly prose.

Between Worlds offers much for New Zealand archaeologists. We have a long tradition of using the accounts of early European visitors to inform our understanding of prehistory, and while there is never a substitute for original sources in such studies, this book sets them in a dynamic context and emphasises the dangers of too literal or generalised readings of any one text. It also highlights the early contact period as a subject of study in its own right, rather than solely as a window into a deeper past. It is notable how little archaeology appears in Salmond's narrative - only the recent work of Caroline Phillips on the Waihou makes a significant contribution - not because she has ignored it, but because so little of it has focussed on the period and places in question.

If there was a disappointment for me in coverage of the early contact period in this book, it was in the treatment of the southern South Island, which is confined to one chapter on Cook's visit to Dusky Sound and another on sealing in the south. This is not because there were few contacts. As demonstrates in the Appendices, visits by European vessels to the southern sealing grounds during the period in question were almost as numerous as those to the rest of country, and elsewhere it is noted that cross-cultural contacts in this theatre were frequent and far-reaching. Detailed treatment of these matters has been constrained however, by the paucity of historical accounts, both Maori and European. As Salmond comments (p. 313) "when

the documents fall silent, history can be a baffling business". It is precisely these situations in which archaeology has a contribution to make.

There is much more that this book has to offer. Reading it as debate over the meaning of Iwi and distribution of fisheries resources highlighted the contemporary relevance of this crucial period of our past, and the importance of seeking to understand the dynamics of the new worlds it has created. *Between Worlds* adds significantly to this understanding. It should be widely read.

Reference

Salmond, Anne. 1990. *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. London, Penguin.

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Marshall I. Weisler, editor. *Prehistoric Long-distance Interaction in Oceania: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 21. 1997. 237 pages, figs, tables. Price: \$28 (members), ** (non-members) plus postage.

One of the most important developments in our understanding of Polynesian prehistory in recent years has been the growing realisation that even the smallest and most remote islands, once settled, were not completely isolated. The growth of experimental voyaging has shown what might have been possible; the documentation by archaeologists of the physical transfer of artefacts and raw materials between islands has shown that certain things actually did happen. This volume is a timely review of some of this work. It grew out of a 1993 workshop on the sourcing of basalt artefacts and a conference symposium the following year. It is thus primarily concerned with techniques for sourcing basalt and what has been learned from their application. Some of it is quite technical, but woven through it are many important and stimulating ideas about what it all means.

Three introductory papers set the scene. Weisler's introduction provides a background to exchange and interaction in Oceania, and to the volume. Green

and Kirch review the Lapita exchange system in its various transformations as a basis for understanding later developments in Polynesia. Finney, drawing on his long experience of experimental voyaging, produces some important insights into possible reasons for voyaging and, most importantly, emphasises the fact that some voyages were simply much more difficult than others and consequently likely to have been undertaken much less often.

The second and largest section presents work in progress in various areas. Some of it is quite preliminary, highlighting possibilities as much as results. Micronesia, as usual, is represented by only one paper, all the other studies being concerned with various parts of Polynesia. Ayres and others review the potential in Micronesia and then present preliminary results of a project attempting to identify the sources, within Pohnpei, of the huge basalt dyke stones used in the construction of the monumental site of Nan Madol. Although this study is not concerned with interisland exchange, it is highly relevant to the deeper issue with which all this work is concerned: seeking to understand the nature of the society that could mobilise its members to undertake the transfer of stone.

The remaining papers in this section concern portable artefacts, particularly basalt tools, in various parts of Polynesia. Clark and others highlight the increasingly complex picture emerging from the numerous quarries on Tutuila in American Samoa. Two papers deal with basalt in the Cook Islands: Sheppard and others, sampling a large number of adzes and as many potential source rocks as possible, demonstrate the ability to source adzes and document inter-island movement, and Allen and Johnson show imports from a variety of different places to Aitutaki over a long period. Rolett and others offer preliminary but important results indicating transfer of both phonolite and basalt within the Marquesas. Lastly, Weisler, in a paper that seems to show some evidence of hasty cut and paste, reviews his evidence for interaction between Mangareva, Pitcairn and Henderson.

Four papers then consider techniques more specifically. Weisler and Sinton present a general review of the issues and techniques involved in basalt sourcing; Sinoto and Sinton describe a geochemical database for Polynesian adze studies; Parker and Sheppard review past and present adze geochemistry studies at the University of Auckland; Woodhead and Weisler show the value of radiogenic isotope analysis in distinguishing between certain specific sources that cannot be separated by other techniques.

Lastly, to revive the flagging spirits of those readers not passionately interested in the specifics of stone sourcing, Earle provides a stimulating concluding discussion that brings the data of exchange of stones right back into the big picture in which exchange can be imbedded "within the social institutions and their evolutionary dynamics". Earle asks us to consider what could explain variability in the significance of exchange and how it related to the historical chiefdoms of the Pacific and suggests there is a real possibility that external interaction was of little significance in Eastern Polynesia.

The volume is well designed and produced and this initially masks the fact that there are some editorial slips: a few typos, works cited in the text missing from bibliographies and so on.

For people interested in stone sourcing, this volume is important in several respects. It brings together papers by people working in the field, acknowledges the deficiencies and problems, and makes a strong plea for standardised reporting, checks on interlaboratory variability, and establishment of standards. It outlines sensible approaches to the use of a combination of inexpensive and expensive techniques and points the way to more work on intra source variability and more sampling of potential sources.

For readers not directly involved in stone sourcing there is also a lot of food for thought. If we are to use the results of this kind of work in discussions of Oceanic prehistory, we need to understand something of the techniques and their limitations, and to be aware of and contribute to the archaeological aspects of the work: concepts such as settlement and provenance environments, the distinction between sources and quarries, and the interpretation of the human realities lay behind the appearance of rocks from one island in the archaeological sites of another.

My main regret in reading this volume was that New Zealand was hardly ever mentioned. It is not considered part of the 'provenance environment' from which basalt tools might have been procured. Of more serious concern is the fact that many of the wheels already invented to cope with obsidian studies in New Zealand are slowly being reinvented. Only Weisler and Sinton mention the lessons of obsidian studies and refer to the important paper by Leach and Manly (1982). To anyone at all versed in the long history of obsidian sourcing in New Zealand, it is no surprise to find that when more

sources are sampled and intrasource variability better documented, previous results are found to be wrong and previously 'distinct' sources can no longer be readily distinguished. It is at this point that the involvement of statisticians as well as geologists and archaeologists becomes essential.

Reference

Leach, F and Manly, B. 1982. Minimum Mahalanobis distance function and lithic source characterisation by multi-element analysis. *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 4: 77-109.

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A. Mark Pollard and Carl Heron. *Archaeological Chemistry*. RSC Paperbacks, Royal Society of Chemistry, Letchworth, UK. 1996. 375 pp. £22.50

In *Archaeological chemistry* Mark Pollard and Carl Heron present a thematic discussion of chemical analysis within archaeological science. They do not attempt to give a detailed description of every chemical analysis that could possibly be applied to archaeological investigation, nor do they propose a "cook book" on how to answer particular archaeological questions. Rather their focus is on providing an insight into how archaeology and archaeological chemists can work together. They successfully achieve this and as a result their book is probably as interesting as a book on archaeological chemistry will ever be.

Pollard and Heron write with the view that archaeology and archaeological science are separate but interrelated disciplines (which is not something that I necessarily agree with), and in keeping with this develop a concept of archaeological chemistry as a discipline in its own right. As they conceive it, archaeological chemistry is more than the simple application of chemical knowledge to help solve archaeological problems, it involves the development of new analytic approaches to help answer the often unique questions posed by archaeology. This view is reflected in the structure of the book which begins and ends with a discussion of the role of archaeological chemistry. Chapter one is an historical review of the development of archaeological chemistry and the book finishes with a discussion of the future for archaeological chemistry as a field of research in its own right.

While this is a useful discussion, of more interest are the central eight "core" chapters (chapters 2-9). These deal with aspects of applied archaeological chemistry, and begin with an excellent overview of arguably the most archaeologically relevant analytic techniques from the chemical/physical sciences. As a general overview of the type of technology that may be applied to archaeological questions, this chapter is the best that I have seen anywhere. Following this, Pollard and Heron present seven thematic chapters dealing with, obsidian characterisation; geochemistry of clays; chemistry of archaeological glass; metals; resinous substances; amino acid racemisation dating and Lead isotope geochemistry. Each of these chapters present the topic in a detailed yet not overly technical manner and are focussed by a relevant archaeological case study. My only reservation is the matter of fact writing approach adopted by Pollard and Heron. Many of the themes they present are areas of current research and some of the models they present are far from universally accepted. This is not immediately apparent from their presentation. This aside *Archaeological chemistry* is an excellent reference resource.

While Eurocentric in it's focus *Archaeological chemistry* is successful as a general text on archaeological chemistry. In addition to highlighting the potential role of archaeological chemists within archaeological research, this book presents a comprehensive overview of a number of chemical applications within archaeology. This will be of particular interest to any one making use of chemical analyses within archaeology, though is also an excellent general reference resource for what is becoming an increasingly important line of archaeological enquiry.

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Kohl, P. and C. Fawcett (eds). *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1995. pp. 329. Maps 4. A\$36.95.

When first asked to review this book I hesitated, expecting another post-modern breast-beating exercise. Fortunately the many contributions from friends and colleagues in this volume made me look to see what they were on about. I'm glad I looked. This is one of the most interesting books I have

read in some time as it deals, in a very hard edged, practical fashion, with fundamental issues of modern archaeological practice. In short, how do we evaluate archaeological constructions/interpretations when peoples lives may depend on the result?

The subject matter is the political use of archaeology by nationalists, although as the cases from the USSR and China (and the West, although it is not discussed) illustrate, internationalist ideologies also make use of archaeology to support their causes. The book consists of 16 chapters in 5 sections. An introductory chapter is followed by sections on Western Europe (Spain, Portugal, Germany, Indo-European archaeology), Eastern Europe and Eurasia (Balkans, Soviet Union, Caucasus), East Asia (Korea, Japan, China) and a concluding section with summaries by N. Silberman and B. Trigger.

The basic issue is best illustrated by a quote from the chapter by Kohl and Tsetskhladze on 'Nationalism and archaeology in the Caucasus' describing an All-Soviet archaeological conference where an Azeri archaeologist read a paper which argued that all the carved stone crosses in Azerbaijan were Albanian and distinct from crosses attributed to Armenian ancestors.

"The rest, as they say, is history. The Armenian archaeologists were upset and threatened to walk out *en bloc*. Protests were filed, and even Russian scholars from Leningrad objected to this blatantly political appropriation, posing as scholarship. No participant in this debate would have predicted that within two years the contest over the ancestral claims to Nagorno-Karabagh would flare up into one of the bloodiest and most significant ethnic conflicts raging within the former Soviet Union. Yet it can not be forgotten that agitation over the status of Nagorno-Karabagh in Armenia was initiated by intellectuals, including archaeologists, familiar with and incensed by this specific insult to their cultural heritage" (p. 154).

It should come as no surprise that diggers of old dirt and fellow travellers will often be at the front of nationalist movements as Chernykh reports (p. 140) in his chapter on 'Russian archaeology after the collapse of the USSR'. It is the effect, if not the uniformly perceived job of archaeology, to bring the past to life by creating a modern image of the past. But the process is both shaped by present philosophies, interests and fears and made hazy by our often blunt methodologies.

Almost by definition archaeologists glorify or sanitize the past but the past was often a nasty place. Or was it? For this is the crux of the problem raised by this book. If we adopt the relativist position found within most post-modernist thought which denies our ability to have objective knowledge of the past and more fundamentally denies a positivist or realist philosophy, then

all 'readings' of the past are relative and equally valid. Referring specifically to critical and hermeneutic approaches Anthony (Nazi and eco-feminist prehistories: ideology and empiricism in Indo-European archaeology) notes that: "Neither approach has yet matured sufficiently to provide firm guidelines that define how any particular archaeological interpretation should be evaluated, in the absence to claims to objectivity. It is in this ambiguous space recently vacated by objectivism that nationalism, bigotry, and even silliness are now freer to flourish than ever before in archaeological interpretation" (P. 83). Anthony along with, I believe, most archaeologists, agrees that good science is in a way like a poetic discourse depending "... upon a recursive and creative hermeneutic between data, thought, experiment, experience, intuition, more data, more experiment, and so on ... Thoughtful empiricists are fully aware of the importance of experience and intuition even in a physics laboratory, and consequently coach their explanations in terms of probability, not Truth." (P. 84) The real problem is a lack of standards by which accounts are judged to be adequate and Anthony provides an interesting example involving reviews by prominent archaeologists of Ian Hodder's *The Domestication of Europe* ("an important and original book... these are productive lines of argument...a decisive step..." [Sherratt 1991]; "300 pages of the most unfounded use of archaeological data recently seen between hard covers... preposterous... snake oil... fiction [O'Shea 1992]). Anthony then goes on to argue that "If we can not agree among ourselves on how to distinguish the adequate from the in-adequate, are we not responsible for encouraging the kinds of popular social abuses represented by the myth of the Aryan super-race? Nationalist or racist agendas are only encouraged in an intellectual environment where the "real" world is visualized as a web of competing ideologies, all of which are equally true and all of which are equally false" (p. 85). This theme is found throughout the book and is taken up and discussed in a very balanced fashion by Trigger in the concluding chapter where he reminds us that idealist and materialist views of human behaviour are complementary. He calls our attention to the theoretical position of V. Gordon Childe, an archaeologist who wrestled long with questions of race, language and ethnicity and nationalist interpretations of Indo-European archaeology. He notes that the committed materialist Childe "...argued that the world human beings adapt to is not the real world but the world as they imagine it to be." "At the same time, Childe argued that no cultural system will survive for long if there is no reasonable congruence between the imaginary and the real worlds" (P. 264). Trigger goes on to argue that:

"In terms of archaeological practice, Childe's epistemology suggests that there can be a productive dialogue between the conscious and unconscious beliefs of the archaeologists and what Alison Wylie (1982) and others (Watson 1990:683) describe as the resistance of the archaeological record. Even though the preoccupations of archaeologist play a major role in determining such basic matters as what they do and do not perceive as evidence and the ways that they classify such evidence, the very fact that archaeologists must take account of material that they did not create themselves imposes significant limitations on their imaginations. It is absurd to maintain that there are no empirical limits to the manner in which archaeologists can responsibly interpret their data (P. 265).

Like many, perhaps all, of the authors in this volume, Trigger is calling for a realist archaeology and in particular he cites the work of Alison Wylie whose brand of convergent realism guards against the plasticity of 'facts' by exploiting a web of constraining inference. "Interpretive inferences based on quite different interpretive principles can be counted on to be mutually constraining, even self-correcting, i.e. error in one is unlikely to be replicated in parallel errors in all the others; the likelihood that they will all converge on a single test hypothesis dwindles very quickly as the range of sources on which they are based expands (Wylie 1989:99)" (P. 87). This argument is perhaps a little old now as the book was published in 1995 from a conference in 1991 and given recent post-processualist positions (e.g. Preucel and Hodder 1996; Hodder and Shanks 1996) it would appear the battle is largely won in favour of a realist archaeology. However, if the philosophical debate has cooled we are still faced with our blunt methodologies which create a murk around our work.

The fundamental theoretical and methodological issue within this volume is the age-old one of the relationship among, race, language, culture and archaeological units of analysis. Ultimately ethnicity and the ethnicity process is the root issue in virtually all of the studies in this volume although the editors prefer to distinguish nationalism as a particular type of group consciousness which arose with the nation state and the development of the discipline of archaeology. Unfortunately ethnicity is a concept poorly served by archaeology where it often lurks in the background or is explicitly assumed with little debate. As an undergraduate I waited for the day when I would be given the secret rules by which archaeologists created archaeological 'cultures'. I am still waiting, but only on sunny days with a large gin and tonic. Processualists might argue that such units are not needed but in practise they and their post-processualist friends always use some generally poorly defined unit of analysis which is assumed or stated to represent some type of social or cultural consciousness.

If nothing else this book reminds us that we need to pay serious attention to the ethnicity question. Unfortunately it fails to give us many directions. Close examination of most of the case studies reveals little system to the refutation of purported cases of 'bad' archaeology in the service of the state. Blatant examples seem easy to refute but others such as Nelson's comment on the essentialist argument for the formation of the Korean people, seem much harder to evaluate even in the presence of textual information. Nelson suggests use of stylistic variation and variation in ritual and culinary practise (P 230) but they are not applied in her study. Anthony (P. 96) suggests that the foundations of historical linguistics are stronger than those of archaeology and provide entry to past social systems. Trigger tells us that the "...concept of ethnicity was of importance to prehistoric peoples, [and] was a subjective concept that archaeologists cannot hope to study to any significant degree in the absence of specifically relevant historical or ethnographic data. Fortunately, there are many more appropriate problems that archaeologists who lack access to other sorts of data are equipped to investigate"(P. 277). It may be that ethnicity narrowly defined is impossible to study in prehistory but the power of this process, as evidenced around the modern world is undeniable. If we can not approach it then we give away study of a crucial juncture where the ideal and material meet with widespread and often deadly results.

Archaeologists may need to move away from ethnicity to boundary maintenance and information flow and toward explicitly archaeological concepts. The economy of symbols and meaning is not constrained in the same fashion as the material economy and this accounts for the arbitrariness of ethnic marking, its power and the difficulty archaeology has in its investigation. However, as Childe pointed out, the two worlds do meet and their interaction is constrained in some fashion. The studies in this book themselves serve as interesting examples of the use of 'free' symbols from the past used to create or maintain the ideology supporting struggles over the material (land and other resources) means of social reproduction. The Chinese and Russian cases provide interesting examples of the collapse or transformation of large scale unifying ideological systems (the big idea), under increasing economic constraint (?) and the rise of many small systems (regionalism) based on the fault lines in the old social fabric, be they for example, geographic or the strongest of competing small scale ideas (e.g. ethnic process).

I recommend this book to all archaeologists both for its coverage of the

history of archaeology and most importantly for what it has to say about modern issues in the practise of archaeology. We need to be careful with our constructions, someone might be listening!

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A.G. Brown, Alluvial Geoarchaeology: Floodplain Archaeology and Environmental Change . (Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology.) Cambridge University Press. 377 pages. A\$47.95 Paperback ISBN 0 521 56820 X

This manual joins others in a series which includes the topics data processing, teeth, fishes, soils, pottery and vertebrate taphonomy. Like some of these, the subject matter is very wide-ranging and not necessarily of a kind which properly fits the format of a manual.

Part 1: 'Principles' deals with floodplain evolution, alluvial environments over time, interpreting floodplain sediments and soils, and floodplain ecology. Much detail is devoted to geological interpretation of sediments. A strong section covers dating and the unique requirements for dating structures and artefacts found in alluvium. Part 2: 'Application' deals with artefacts, forested floodplains in north-west Europe (with some remarkable examples of work in Poland), buried sites, 'managed' floodplains (i.e., ancient irrigation, drainage, etc.), 'cultural archaeology' (i.e., settlement pattern data, locational analysis) and environmental change. Of these, the chapters on sediments and soils, ecology and locational analysis will be of most use in New Zealand. The section on differential surface-visibility and destruction of sites on floodplains also warrants close attention. 'Managed floodplains' contains useful examples of irrigation practices as recovered in the archaeological record, water meadows (flooding to reduce frost and improve pasture growth), fish weirs, water mills and also older flood management and drainage.

The coverage of Palaeolithic artefacts and Pleistocene fauna is strong. There is good detailed coverage of European regions, e.g., the Clacton alluvium in the Thames valley (site of the early English discoveries of Palaeolithic stone tools). There are a few surprising omissions: the alluvial beds of Trinil in Java receive no mention; 'Australasia' does not give coverage to New Zealand (there is nothing on fortification in wetlands in any event). There is little analysis of the age of sediment surfaces in the modern floodplain and

its relevance to maximum ages for sites. Although there is a discussion of alluvial productivity (in a broad ecological sense), little is made of the vast literature on early horticulture on alluvium or colluvium.

The U.S. river basin surveys of the 1940s and 1950s, many of which concentrated on alluvium receive scant attention. Poverty Point is described as 'a group of mounds' which 'make particular sense on flood plains' - ignoring the enormous circular earthworks for which this site is famous. Elsewhere, it is stated that surviving natural forests on alluvium are rare except in boreal and tropical environments, ignoring warm temperate New Zealand, Australia and the Mississippi and other southern U.S. river basins.

There is nothing on site conservation in riverine environments. The book is packed with good instructive line drawings but the photographs only poorly demonstrate the points they are intended to make.

Overall, the work departs from the strict format that one might expect of a manual and struggles for a comprehensive coverage of all types of archaeology related in some way to alluvium. Despite a difficult arrangement of various levels and types of geological and archaeological material, there is a wealth of illustration and summary which will make it a useful work of reference for a university or other specialist library. Also, there is much of relevance to be learnt by a New Zealand archaeologist pulling on his or her cut-down gumboots and setting out on a programme of survey, excavation or environmental interpretation of the Waihou, the Waikato, the Waipaoa or any of our 'geomorphologically extreme' environments - ranging from the short valleys of the coastal Wairarapa to the West Coast.

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