



NEW ZEALAND  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
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**NEW ZEALAND ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION NEWSLETTER**



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## The Last Decade in New Zealand Archaeology

### PART I

by J. GOLSON and P. W. GATHERCOLE

*In two articles published in ANTIQUITY in 1949 and 1950 Dr Roger Duff studied the state of our knowledge at that time concerning the early archaeology of New Zealand. Here two authors survey the progress made since those articles were published. Mr Golson was for several years in New Zealand and is now a Fellow in Prehistory, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra. Mr Gathercole, formerly on the staff of the Otago Museum at Dunedin, is now a lecturer at the University of Otago. We print in this issue the first part of the article; the second part will appear in the December issue of ANTIQUITY.*

IN the two articles referred to above,<sup>1</sup> Dr Roger Duff, the Director of the Canterbury Museum, reviewed the evidence then available for the origins and character of the first human settlement of New Zealand. Using the evidence of both oral tradition and archaeology, he saw the first settlers as Polynesians, coming from a tropical 'Hawaiki' to the north-east (identified as the Society group) and possessing a material culture similar to that typical of Eastern Polynesia, particularly the peripheral islands of Hawaii, the Marquesas, Easter and Pitcairn. Chronologically, he was prepared to argue that '... there is strong circumstantial evidence for believing that human settlement must be earlier rather than later than A.D. 950', the genealogically derived date for the discovery of New Zealand by Kupe (who was followed, again according to traditional interpretations, by Toi, about A.D. 1150). To Duff, this 'strong circumstantial evidence' comprised the remains, particularly in the South Island, of a distinctive and now extinct avifauna consisting of moa, swan and eagle found in association with Eastern Polynesian-type artifacts but hardly referred to in Maori tradition. Duff argued that it would be logical to relate the Maori themselves to the traditional arrival of the so-called Fleet from Eastern Polynesia (Society Islands and/or Southern Cooks) in about A.D. 1350, which '... brings to a close a general period of migration from Polynesia. Introducing the sweet potato and other food-plants, the newcomers impose themselves as an aristocracy upon the Toi and pre-Toi descendants, and found the tribes which were dominant in Cook's time'. The fact that the moa '... was not sufficiently remembered in tradition, and what appears to have been most numerous (the swan) was not remembered at all; while traditions of the eagle are so fabulous that they may in fact be distorted memories of either the moa or the swan' could be explained by the

Duff 1949, 1950. We take this opportunity of thanking Miss G. Peterson for drawing the map.

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hypothesis that by A.D. 1350 all three birds were either extinct (in the North Island) or nearly so (in the South Island). The agents of destruction were the members of the original Eastern Polynesian culture for whom, lacking a better title, Duff revived von Haast's original term of Moa-hunters. 'The evidence is largely from the east coast of the South Island, but as many of the distinctive artifacts have been found in the extreme north of the North Island and most in the Chatham, the presumption that this is New Zealand's oldest, and originally a widespread, culture is strong'.

Duff firmly rejected any suggestion that at any period the settlement of New Zealand owed anything to a non-Polynesian and specifically a Melanesian migration, and on the basis of the evidence from the important site of Wairau Bar, Marlborough, at the northern end of the South Island, argued that the Moa-hunters possessed '... a material culture sufficiently like 18th century Maori culture to be regarded as the production of a people essentially similar to the Fleet Maoris, but different enough to be regarded as ancestral and originating in pre-Fleet times'.

It is the purpose of this article to review the progress of archaeology in New Zealand since 1950 and see how the accumulation of fresh evidence and the re-examination of old has compelled us to modify the picture presented by Duff.<sup>2</sup>

## I

The existence of a widespread Moa-hunter culture in both islands inferred by Duff has indeed been demonstrated by a number of excavations.<sup>3</sup> The evidence of radiocarbon dates suggests that by about A.D. 1200-1350 Moa-hunter settlements were well established along the eastern seaboard from Auckland to the Bluff.<sup>4</sup> In no case can it yet be demonstrated that the North Island settlement was actually earlier than that of the South, although this is suspected from the presence of obsidian of North Island provenance in South Island sites.

Duff's conclusions about the varieties of moa found in existence at man's arrival in New Zealand have proved, however, to be incorrect. He postulated:—

- (1) that the contemporaneity of moa and man in the North Island was only 'probable', in the absence of systematic excavation of North Island sites, and that claims for such contemporaneity based on observations of sites on wind eroded sand dunes were unreliable;
- (2) that in the South Island the only moa to co-exist with man in significant numbers was *Euryapteryx gravis* and that the important genera *Dinornis* and *Pachyornis* were already extinct when human settlement took place. Duff based this conclusion on the rich Wairau Bar site where *Euryapteryx* occurred to the exclusion of all other moa except a few specimens of a species of *Emeus*. This circumstance, which holds also for other Marlborough and Canterbury sites for which reliable information is available, prompted Duff to the remarkable step of discounting Teviotdale's claims for the association of man with every South Island genus of moa at sites on the coast of South Otago, at the other end of the Island.

Lockerbie's re-excavation of Teviotdale's sites (notably at Papatowai), and Scarlett's re-study of the faunal material from them, have demonstrated the correctness of the original

<sup>2</sup> Duff himself has made a significant contribution to the work reviewed here; cf. Duff 1956: x-xii, 64-66, 73-82, 194-196, 280-281.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. particularly Golson 1959a, with full references.

<sup>4</sup> For a statement on possible errors in the radiocarbon dating method, involving, for New Zealand, dates perhaps two centuries too old for early Moa-hunter sites, Jansen, 1962.

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claims, a fact which Duff has been quick to appreciate.<sup>5</sup> This is a situation, however, not confined to the remote south of New Zealand. Recent work has shown the undoubted occurrence of several moa genera (including *Dinornis*) with man at a number of sites near Dunedin and, more to the point, of North Island varieties of a wide range of moa genera in cultural associations—*Pachyornis* and almost certainly *Dinornis* and *Anomalopteryx* near Wellington, *Pachyornis* and *Euryapteryx* in South Taranaki, and *Dinornis*, *Pachyornis* and *Euryapteryx* on the east coast of the Coromandel peninsula.<sup>6</sup>

Two of the Coromandel sites with *Dinornis* are dated to the 14th century A.D.,<sup>7</sup> while Lockerbie shows the persistence in South Otago of *Euryapteryx gravis* and *Dinornis torosus* into the 17th century.<sup>8</sup> In the light of this evidence, it is Wairau Bar with its predominantly *Euryapteryx* fauna and date of c. A.D. 1150, which constitutes the anomaly.

Nor is the anomaly at all clarified by the report on the investigations at the Pyramid Valley moa swamp,<sup>9</sup> a natural moa trap in central North Canterbury which has produced remains of every genus of South Island moa. Radiocarbon tests by different laboratories on the two halves of the gizzard contents of the same *Dinornis* produced appreciably different results. Lamont's date of A.D. 152 ± 150 is consistent with the restricted nature of the moa fauna at the Wairau Bar, a mere 100 miles distant in space but 1000 years later in time. However, for a number of reasons, Yale's date of A.D. 1283 cannot be discounted, though it seems archaeologically unacceptable in terms of the Wairau evidence.

Nevertheless one definite result has emerged from this aspect of the decade's work. Possible climatic and genetic factors notwithstanding, man, as the moa's first mammalian predator, was a prime instrument in its extinction.

The results of this extinction have been dramatically demonstrated for one area of the country. This is the southern end of the South Island, where Lockerbie's coastal sites span a period from the 12th to the 17th centuries. By the latter date, in Lockerbie's words, '... the moa had become very scarce in the district, the Moa-hunter's diet consisting principally of shell-fish, fish, seal, and small birds'.<sup>10</sup> An important point, however, is that 'the artifacts present are still typical of the early Moa-hunter period, but, as active moa hunting decreased, artifact type concentrations changed'. In other words, though man ceased to live by moa hunting, culturally he remained a Moa-hunter. As one of us has recently pointed out in a review of New Zealand culture history,<sup>11</sup> the possibility of confusion over the meaning of the term Moa-hunter would be avoided if its use as a *cultural* designation were dropped completely. Were it restricted to an economic usage it would distinguish a highly important factor in the subsistence activities of the groups concerned.

The need for such a revision of accepted terminology is similarly apparent in the case of a recently investigated North Island site. The foreshore at Pig Bay, Motutapu,<sup>12</sup> a small island near Auckland, was occupied in rather interesting circumstances at various times from the 13th to the 17th centuries. Throughout the deposit, the artifactual material—adzes in abundance and some fishing gear—was of Moa-hunter type, though no moa remains were discovered on the site.

<sup>5</sup> Duff 1956: 280.

<sup>6</sup> Yaldwyn 1959a, 1959b; Buist and Yaldwyn 1960; for Sarah's Gully and Opito Bay, personal communication from R. J. Scarlett.

<sup>7</sup> Golson 1959a: 44-45.

<sup>8</sup> Lockerbie 1959: 81.

<sup>9</sup> Deevey 1955; Harris 1955; Duff 1956: 281; Golson 1957a: 275-277.

<sup>10</sup> Lockerbie 1959: 82-83, especially 84.

<sup>11</sup> Golson 1959a: 36-37.

<sup>12</sup> Golson 1959a: 45-46 and references.

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### II

Agriculture, based on the sweet potato (*kumara*), was highly developed by the time of European contact in the latter half of the 18th century, especially in the north of the North Island. We may presume, although direct evidence is lacking, that it played an important part in the economy of the Motutapu Polynesians, but no such presumption would seem possible at present for sites in South Otago, which lies well outside the known southern limit of *kumara* cultivation at this time.<sup>13</sup> Certainly, some evidence exists for a period of much milder conditions before a climatic deterioration of c. A.D. 1200, when agriculture might have been possible throughout New Zealand,<sup>14</sup> but no one has yet shown that it was in fact practised at this early date.

Maori traditions are widely interpreted to suggest that agriculture was first brought to New Zealand by the canoes of the Fleet, for whose arrival a date of c. A.D. 1350 has been long generally accepted. It is hard to get concrete archaeological evidence to test the validity of this claim. Polynesian agricultural equipment is simple and made of wood; conditions are against the mummification of tubers and in New Zealand the plants rarely if ever produce pollen. The best evidence of agriculture to date is undoubtedly represented by the pits which were dug for *kumara* storage. It is difficult, of course, on an excavated site to decide whether pits were used for the storage of crops or for some other purpose.

Perhaps the nearest approach so far to a solution has been achieved at two coastal sites on the Coromandel peninsula in the North Island.<sup>15</sup> At Sarah's Gully, a Mōa-hunter level, carbon-dated to the 14th century, was sealed by a layer of wind blown sand which blanketed the surrounding area, including a small concentration of pits on a low ridge 50 yards away. It is presumed that the pits were Mōa-hunter, also of the 14th century. Three of them were rectangular, shallow, drained, and too small (6 ft. × 3 ft.) for habitation; a layer of beach sand rested on the floor of two of them. Two other pits were bin-like (2-2½ ft. square × 1-1½ ft. deep). No habitation material was found in or around any of these structures, which strengthens the belief that they were for storage—perhaps for cultivated plants.

More recently, excavations at the neighbouring site of Opito Bay have revealed a ridge-top settlement above the beach, with rectangular semi-subterranean houses connected with pits that were possibly used for food storage. The associated material culture, though scarce, is Mōa-hunter. No radiocarbon date is as yet available for this site, but the Mōa-hunter level on the neighbouring beach front has been dated to the 14th century.

It is logical to expect that the first Polynesian agriculturists in New Zealand practised techniques known in their tropical homeland, but their application in climatic conditions similar to those of today would probably have led to the extinction of the introduced tubers.<sup>16</sup> It is therefore likely that agriculture was introduced at a time when the climate was mild enough for the techniques of tropical agriculture to have been initially successful in the new environment, though at present we have no means of dating this in relation to the presumed climatic change of c. A.D. 1200. Subsequently, as Yen has suggested in a recent study, the deterioration of climate may have prompted the Polynesians to use pits for *kumara* storage.

### III

The question of the introduction of agriculture into New Zealand is of some importance

<sup>13</sup> Yen 1961: 343; cf. Best 1925: 7-9.

<sup>14</sup> Holloway in Golson 1957a: 273-275.

<sup>15</sup> Golson 1959a: 44-45; 1959b; Parker 1960.

<sup>16</sup> Yen 1961, on which the argument in this paragraph is based. We are indebted to Mr. G. S. Parsonson, of the History Department, University of Otago, for, amongst other things, his comments on *kumara* storage.

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in any discussion of the sources of Maori culture. We know from radiocarbon dates that the Polynesians were established in New Zealand by the 11th century, and we may presume from the geographical extent of settlement by the 13th century that the first colonists must have arrived at an appreciably earlier date than this. If these early arrivals did not possess agriculture, obviously there must have been a subsequent migration to introduce it.

This is, of course, precisely how the oral traditions have been interpreted. The migration in question, popularly known as the Fleet,<sup>17</sup> consisted of a number of named canoes, making landfall at remembered points on the New Zealand coastline, and carrying crews from which the majority of modern Maori tribes trace genealogical descent. Traditional descriptions of the voyage to New Zealand show that at least some of the canoes were considered to have made the journey at the same time. By assembling upwards of fifty genealogies linking Fleet arrivals with living Maoris and averaging out the genealogical steps involved, S. Percy Smith arrived at the mid-14th century date already mentioned for this deliberate settlement. In most traditional accounts, the Fleet canoes are said to be following sailing directions taken back by Kupe, the discoverer of New Zealand. Other accounts make no mention of Kupe, but start the story with another pre-Fleet adventurer, Toi. It is Smith, who, on the basis of a very small number of selected genealogies, is responsible for the present belief that Kupe's voyage of discovery (A.D. 950) antedated Toi's settlement by two centuries.<sup>18</sup>

It has been the practice of New Zealand ethnologists to appeal to the traditional data where the archaeological information is deficient. Thus, as we have seen, before the era of radiocarbon dating Duff used the paucity of traditional references to the moa to suggest a pre-Fleet age for the Moa-hunter and drew on Smith's chronology for the relevant dates. Moreover, Duff has consistently sought to explain the cultural differences between the Moa-hunters, as revealed by archaeological research, and the protohistoric Maori, as described by European observers, in terms of the fusion of two variants of Polynesian culture introduced at different times.

There has been a reaction against the use of tradition as an explanatory device in New Zealand archaeological studies.<sup>19</sup> Sharp's survey of prehistoric navigation in the Pacific<sup>20</sup> has given certain reasons to suspect that two-way voyaging between New Zealand and the islands of Polynesia, of the type claimed in the traditions and taken for granted by culture historians, was unlikely. He suggests that the settlement of New Zealand took place accidentally by one or a few canoes containing men and women, who were incapable of finding their way back whence they had come. In Sharp's view, the Fleet traditions would be less a record of what actually happened than an attempted explanation of the *status quo*, based perhaps on memories of the internal colonization of New Zealand and influenced by post-European acquaintance with Pacific geography.<sup>21</sup>

At the same time, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the traditional story as we have it is open to objection on a number of counts. It is, after all, a piece of reconstruction from a considerable body of traditional data largely effected by one man, S. Percy Smith. Today the principles of selection and canons of interpretation employed by Smith call for the most critical assessment.

Initially at least, problems in New Zealand archaeology must be treated in archaeological terms. The attempt to find the answers in tradition has been unfortunate, not because traditional evidence validated in its own terms cannot make a significant contribution to

<sup>17</sup> Buck 1950: 36-64.

<sup>18</sup> Buck 1950: 5.

<sup>19</sup> Golson 1960.

<sup>20</sup> Sharp 1957.

<sup>21</sup> Sharp 1956: 159; 1957: 171-173.

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New Zealand prehistoric studies, but because the need to provide *archaeological* answers has consequently been overlooked. Thus, in terms of archaeology, the fully prehistoric Moa-hunters are much better known than the protohistoric Maori, the systematic excavation of whose sites is only now beginning. Until the archaeological component of this final phase is precisely known, it is obviously difficult to determine the relationship between Moa-hunters and Maoris at the two ends of the time scale of New Zealand prehistory and thereby test the historical validity of the Fleet traditions.

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End of Part I

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Lecturer in Anthropology required: see p. 200 of this issue.

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# The Last Decade in New Zealand Archaeology

## PART II

by J. GOLSON and P. W. GATHERCOLE

*In PART I (ANTIQUITY, 1962, 168-174) the authors state their problem discussed below: the difficulty of determining the relationship between Moa-hunters and Maoris at the two ends of the time scale in New Zealand.*

### IV

Clearly this is a major problem in New Zealand culture history. One of the present writers has recently outlined the problem and assembled the archaeological materials available for its solution,<sup>22</sup> using excavated evidence for the Moa-hunters and, in the absence of dependable archaeological data, inferring the Maori culture traits relevant to the comparison from a variety of sources, mainly descriptions, drawings and collections made by Europeans in the early days of contact. The result has been to isolate the common elements, point out the distinguishing ones, and define the areas of our present ignorance.

The latter include, besides the question of agriculture already discussed, that of warfare. Though none of the evidences to be expected for this—weapons, defensive arrangements, or cannibalism—has been found in unequivocal Moa-hunter contexts, it must be admitted that the search has been restricted. Fortified sites (*pa*) are a prolific feature of the North Island cultural landscape, but very few have been properly excavated. The results of such investigations as have been made are hardly conclusive, and although the argument favouring Moa-hunter fortification in the Bay of Plenty cannot now be sustained,<sup>23</sup> it would be well to keep the question open.<sup>24</sup> The absence of weapons from Moa-hunter sites is a factor of some importance in this argument, but the Polynesian armoury was rendered almost exclusively in wood, and only stone or bone weapons of the *patu* type (FIG. 8) will be commonly found in archaeological deposits. Limited excavations on six undeniably fortified sites in the Auckland province have, however, failed to uncover a single weapon. The only piece of positive evidence for Moa-hunter weapons is the Horowhenua bone *patu* (FIG. 7) associated in a grave with a rare type of amulet, definitely known to the Moa-hunters though not necessarily distinctive of them.<sup>25</sup>

On present evidence, the differences between Moa-hunter and Maori are best expressed archaeologically as follows:—

- (1) *adzets*—the replacement of the diversified Moa-hunter adze kit, with a number of cross-sections and the presence of the lashing grip (FIG. 1), by a less varied kit of gripless adzes with quadrangular cross-section and all-over polish (FIG. 2);

<sup>22</sup> Golson 1959a.

<sup>23</sup> Ambrose 1962.

<sup>24</sup> Golson 1961a, 1961b.

<sup>25</sup> Golson 1959a: 46-47; cf. 40.

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- (2) *fish-hooks*—the preponderance in Maori contexts of the two-piece bait hook with barbed point (FIG. 4a) unreported as yet from 'typical' Moa-hunter sites where one-piece bait hooks with straight or inturned points are found (FIG. 3a); the replacement of the minnow lure hook with usually perforated, unbarbed point (FIG. 3b) by another type of lure with barbed point notched for lashing (the *kahawai* lure—FIG. 4b);
- (3) *ornaments*—changes both in form and fashion, i.e. Maori pendants (FIG. 6) as opposed to Moa-hunter necklaces (FIG. 5).

Some of the new features, for example the *kahawai* lure, have no close parallels within the known corpus of Polynesian material culture and may be looked upon as specifically internal developments. It is possible also to arrange adzes present in New Zealand collections into sequences exhibiting a logical series from the gripped quadrangular form of the Moa-hunter to the gripless quadrangular adze of the Maori. On the other hand, some of the apparently distinguishing elements in Maori material culture have well-known parallels or possibly even prototypes in Polynesia: Maori weapons, for example, and the two-piece bait hook with barbed point. In these cases, the question is whether their reported absence from Moa-hunter sites is real or simply the result of inadequate archaeological exploration, and consequently, in terms of culture history, whether the changes in New Zealand prehistoric culture are the result of renewed migration from Polynesia or of evolution on the spot in circumstances of isolation.

Nothing in the discoveries of the last ten years has given cause to doubt the conclusions of Skinner and Duff that New Zealand prehistory is cast in a wholly Polynesian, and to be more specific, an *Eastern* Polynesian mould.<sup>26</sup> On this, traditionalist and archaeologist would probably agree.<sup>27</sup> But this evident lack of cultural diversification makes all the more difficult the archaeologist's task of recognising the presence of imported fashions alongside indigenous ones. Had some of the traits that distinguish the Maori from the Moa-hunter been foreign to the Polynesian world, the fact would be obvious and could only be explained in terms of a second settlement. But since this is not so, we must be certain that the distinguishing traits were indeed unknown to the original Polynesian arrivals. Unfortunately at present, in respect neither of agriculture, barbed two-piece bait hooks, fortifications nor weapons, can *complete* certainty be entertained on this score.<sup>28</sup>

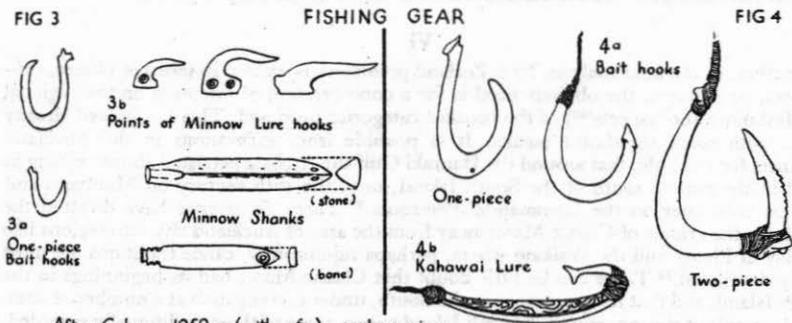
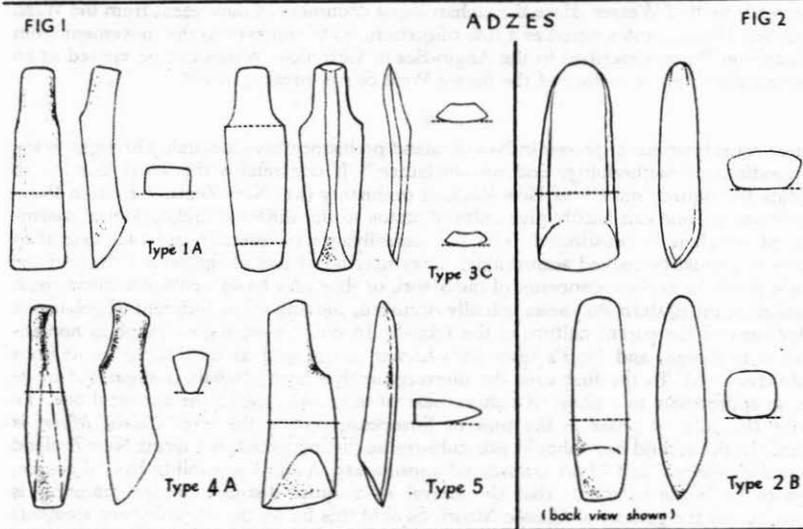
However, many people consider that any archaeological argument in favour of the total cultural and genetic derivation of the Maori from the Moa-hunter flies in the face of weighty traditional evidence. Despite criticism, it remains true that a sufficiently large body of this evidence exhibits enough agreement on a number of crucial points for the claim that it should be considered as history to be taken seriously. In this view, traditionally remembered migrations, particularly that of the Fleet, would provide the occasion for the introduction of some of the cultural elements that distinguish the 18th century Maori from the 13th century Moa-hunter. This may well be the case but it remains at present without archaeological proof. In any event, it is the archaeologist's task not only to demonstrate or disprove the fact of renewed migration to New Zealand, but also, if it did take place, to evaluate its effects on the cultural situation. It is quite possible that prehistoric arrivals were at best few in number and occasional in occurrence, and that the original settlers established

<sup>26</sup> For Polynesian culture areas, see Burrows 1938. Recent and current excavations in tropical Polynesia will doubtless call for some modification of Burrows's classification.

<sup>27</sup> The vexed question of a possible Melanesian (or Western Polynesian) migration to New Zealand has again been raised recently by Adkin 1960. cf. reply by Golson 1960: 389-396.

<sup>28</sup> For questions of agriculture and warfare, see p. 271 above; for the possible occurrence of barbed two-piece bait hooks in Moa-hunter contexts, see Golson 1959a: 43.

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ARCHAIC (or MOA-HUNTER) CLASSIC MAORI



After Golson 1959 a (with refs.) - scales various

Figs. 1-4.

a cultural pattern which later migrants were unable to modify.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, in Maori society at the time of European contact, the ideology of the last traditional migration was paramount. This might mean that the Fleet migrants were culturally superior in certain respects, perhaps through the introduction of agriculture and proficiency in war, factors which need not have seriously affected other established features of the earlier culture.

<sup>29</sup> Golson 1960: 399.

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In this analysis, the roles of archaeology and tradition are seen to be essentially complementary, concerned with appreciably different spheres of human activity. A parallel that springs to mind is the apparent conflict of archaeological and traditional evidence for the Saxon settlement of Wessex. Here the archaeologist documents a movement from the Wash and up the Thames, interpreted as a folk migration, quite contrary to the movement from Southampton Water described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which can be viewed as an episode in the dynastic history of the future West Saxon royal family.<sup>30</sup>

### V

These considerations of *process* in New Zealand prehistory have inevitably brought to the fore questions of methodology and nomenclature.<sup>31</sup> If one retains the word 'culture' to designate the unitary quality of New Zealand prehistory (i.e. New Zealand Eastern Polynesian culture), one can hardly give cultural status to the different archaeological assemblages of which it is constituted. The two assemblages in question are each less than cultures and must be named accordingly. They may be phases of the same culture if the Moa-hunter is the exclusive ancestor of the Maori, or they may be sub-cultures, if two main migrations from Eastern Polynesia actually occurred, moving off at different stages in the development of the parent culture in the Islands. In both cases, some change in nomenclature is proposed, and Duff's term Moa-hunter is dropped as misleading for reasons already discussed. In the first case the unexceptionable term *Archaic* is suggested in its place, as appropriate to a phase of culture near in time and type to the ancestral one. To describe the cultural phase at the time of European contact, the term *Classic Maori* is retained. In the second case, should sub-cultures be distinguished, the terms New Zealand *Eastern Polynesian I* and *II* are considered appropriate. A third possibility has, of course, always to be borne in mind: that the arrival of a quite distinct cultural tradition is responsible for the genesis of *Classic Maori*. Should this be so, the contributory elements and the final amalgam achieve cultural status in terms of the proposed scheme.

### VI

Whether, in the final analysis, New Zealand prehistory is written in terms of phases, sub-cultures, or cultures, the obvious need is for a concentration of attention on the regional manifestations (or 'aspects'<sup>32</sup>) of the broader categories proposed. This has indeed already begun with some significant results. It is possible from excavations in the Auckland province, for example, that around the Hauraki Gulf the *Archaic* persisted almost as long as it did in the remote south of the South Island; until the 17th century on Motutapu and perhaps even later on the Coromandel Peninsula.<sup>33</sup> These discoveries have directed the search for the origins of *Classic Maori* away from the area of Auckland city into regions like the Bay of Plenty and the Waikato where, perhaps significantly, canoe traditions are most highly developed.<sup>34</sup> There can be little doubt that *Classic Maori* had its beginnings in the North Island, and that its appearance in the South, under investigation at a number of sites, was the result of the incursions of North Island tribes, some of these traditionally recorded. But as even the most cursory examination of the relevant materials will show, a great deal of regional diversity is present in the *Classic Maori* phase and considerable complexity in its genesis is to be expected.

<sup>30</sup> Hunter Blair 1956: 33-35.

<sup>31</sup> Golson 1959a: 29-37, 47.

<sup>32</sup> Golson 1959a: 31.

<sup>33</sup> Golson 1959a: 45-46, 70; Golson *et al.* 1961: 40-41.

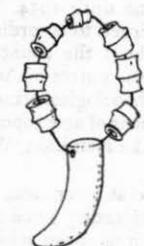
<sup>34</sup> Golson *et al.* 1961: 13-14, 40.

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ARCHAIC

CLASSIC MAORI

FIG 5 ORNAMENTS



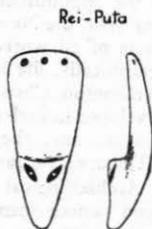
Reels and Whale  
Tooth Pendant



Hei-Tiki



Pekapeka



Rei-Puta

FIG 7 WEAPONS



Paku



Paku

FIG 8



Wahaika



Kofiate

All after Golson 1959 a (with refs.) - scales various

Figs. 5-8.

VII

It will be clear that the last decade of archaeological research in New Zealand has been one of considerably increased activity in the field. The tendency has been for this activity to be more directional, whereby, as Collingwood put it in another context, '... definite questions are asked and definite answers insisted upon...'.<sup>35</sup> Inevitably, established concepts have come under review and consequent reformulations have suggested the next steps in research.

In this process the growth of organized and co-ordinated research has had an important part to play and may indeed be said to characterize the period.

Since the time of von Haast, the first director of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, museum workers have been the mainstay of New Zealand ethnological studies. Until 1951, anthropology and archaeology were taught at only one of the four University Colleges of the University of New Zealand (at Otago), and this only as a one-year course. In these circumstances, it was naturally difficult to expand archaeological activity at the rate the situation demanded. No national organization existed to co-ordinate the activities of the

<sup>35</sup> Collingwood 1944: 84.

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many amateurs with the handful of professionals, and, apart from creating 'reserves' at a few well-known Maori or early European sites, the Government took only limited interest in the task of protecting ancient monuments.

In 1951 a department of anthropology was established at Auckland University College, though the appointment of an archaeologist to the staff did not come until 1954. The following year, the New Zealand Archaeological Association was established to co-ordinate the efforts of all workers, professional and non-professional, throughout the country.<sup>36</sup> Demographically, life in New Zealand is oriented around the four main centres of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. In the last few years, archaeological societies have developed in each of these cities around either a university department of anthropology or a museum, and other societies or groups have sprung up in places like Hamilton, Wanganui, Taihape, Tauranga, and Oamaru.

The Archaeological Association, whose membership now stands at over 200, has developed various forms of activity. One of these has been the organization since 1956 of annual conferences at which an average attendance of 50-60 has been no mean achievement in a country with a scattered population of 2½ millions strung out over a thousand miles. Each conference has been planned round a central theme chosen with practical intent. At Auckland, in 1956, the basis was laid by a meeting dealing with the contribution of the sciences to archaeological research, in which zoologists, botanists, geologists and geochronologists took part. At Dunedin, in 1957, the position of New Zealand prehistoric studies was reviewed at a conference called 'Moas and Man'. The next year the Wanganui conference was concerned with a scheme for the recording of archaeological sites. In 1959, at Rotorua, the Association organized an excavation on a carefully selected *pa* site in order to illustrate excavation and recording techniques. In 1960, at Wellington, the Rotorua excavation provided the material for discussions on the analysis and publication of archaeological evidence. In 1961, again at Wellington, a scheme for the cataloguing and description of artifacts was discussed with the help of the collections at the Dominion Museum.

The deliberations at these meetings have been made known in one form or another to Association members and others.<sup>37</sup> The Wanganui Conference on site recording, however, resulted also in the production of a handbook for the guidance of members in the field,<sup>38</sup> which is now being revised in the light of three years' experience.

Another of the Association's major activities grew from very modest beginnings, with the intermittent production since 1957 of a cyclostyled Newsletter. Today the Newsletter is a quarterly affair, photographically reproduced. Each metropolitan centre is responsible for the production of one per year, and the issues are designed primarily to report on regional activities for the benefit of members throughout the country. It has now become the initial record of advances and discoveries in the field and as such is in demand overseas.

In these ways the Association is attempting to stimulate and co-ordinate research, provide instruction and the channels for communication, and arouse public interest in and sympathy for archaeological work. A measure of the success it has achieved in these respects is the Site Recording Scheme.<sup>39</sup> A varied group of local workers, operating individually or in groups, records field information on standardized forms. These forms are lodged with one

<sup>36</sup> Golson 1955a, 1955b.

<sup>37</sup> Brief conference reports:—Golson 1956 (Auckland); Golson 1957a, Scarlett 1957 (Dunedin); Scarlett 1958 (Wanganui); Golson 1959c, Scarlett 1959 (Rotorua); Gathercole 1960, Scarlett 1960 (Wellington); Phelan *et al.* 1961 (Wellington). More detailed reports of the 1956 conference:—Golson 1957b; Kear 1957; Rafter 1957; Bell 1958; Harris 1958; McKelvey 1958; Taylor 1958.

<sup>38</sup> Golson and Green 1958.

<sup>39</sup> Mumford 1959; Mumford *et al.* 1960.

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of twelve local filekeepers who supplies copies for the fieldworker himself and for the central file in Wellington. A great deal of work at all levels has gone into the scheme as it now operates. The necessary maps and filing cabinets were obtained with the assistance of a grant from the National Historic Places Trust.

This body was established in 1955 under the authority of the Minister for Internal Affairs. It consists of a number of individuals nominated by such bodies as the Maori people, the Royal Society of New Zealand, the Art Galleries and Museums Association, the Library Association, the Early Settlers' Associations and the Institute of Architects. It is charged with the preservation of important historic sites (in the wide sense of the phrase) and is assisted by a number of similarly constituted regional committees throughout the Dominion. Despite restricted finances and a very small staff, it has already done much to encourage community interest in prehistoric and historic monuments, and a number of its projects have been carried out in co-operation with the Archaeological Association. One pointer for the future has been its sponsorship of the work of recording *in situ* a considerable number of prehistoric rock drawings in the Waitaki Gorge in the South Island which were endangered by the Benmore Hydro-Electric project.<sup>40</sup> The record was made by three members of the Association in co-operation with engineers of the Ministry of Works. Some of the regional committees of the Trust have been equally active in assisting responsible archaeological work—notably Canterbury and Taranaki.

### VIII

The future of archaeology in New Zealand seems assured, and, through the Archaeological Association, co-operation between museums, universities, and local workers has been achieved. Though there is yet no full department of archaeology in the country, the anthropology department at Auckland has now two prehistorians on its staff, while at Otago the lectureship in Anthropology has just been made a full-time appointment and a development of the department is intended.

In the course of the next decade, many of the questions discussed but unresolved in this review will be answered. Also, with the quickening tempo of research into the archaeology of the tropical Pacific, the preliminary results of which are outside our present scope,<sup>41</sup> New Zealand's status in the prehistory of Polynesia will emerge with greater certainty than is at present the case.

<sup>40</sup> Ambrose and Davis 1958, 1959, 1960.

<sup>41</sup> See Golson 1959d; Suggs 1960, 1961; for a critical review of Suggs, Golson 1961c.

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