

**A PRACTICE-CENTRED APPROACH TO
UNEAPA ISLAND'S ARCHAEOLOGY IN A
LONG-TERM CONTEXT**

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For Ken

*Long ol lav na gutpela sapport yu givim mi na bikos yu no kranki man
tumas taim yu markim plenti siton long Uneapa!*

**For all your love and support and patience when having to record
thousands upon thousands of identical stones on Uneapa!**

Abstract

Recent archaeological research on Uneapa Island, West New Britain, Papua New Guinea has uncovered a rich and varied archaeological landscape, unique within the surrounding region. Locales range from single stones to large-scale complexes of over three hundred arranged stone features. 'Seats' and 'tables', stone mortars, cooking places, grinding stones and carved boulders have been found in various contexts and locations throughout the island. Uneapa islanders are divided in their attitude to these features, opinions range from expressions of indifference to passionate engagement and specialist knowledge. Most locales are remembered as being clan meeting places (*lupuanga mudina (U)*), used up to the time of European contact; public arenas in which a range of social activities took place, including oratory, song and dance performances, cooking, feasting and cannibalism etc. Although most locales seem to have been abandoned after European contact, certain groups continue to actively interact with these places through processes of re-erecting and re-locating the stone features.

This thesis argues that social practice needs more serious consideration in the interpretation of monumental landscapes. The fracas with functionalism and replacement of epistemology and phenomenology as central agendas within postprocessual monument studies has largely de-prioritised consideration of social practice in favour of perception. I aim to rectify this imbalance by exploring the role of practice in the creation, use/re-use, maintenance/destruction and development of the stone feature complexes on Uneapa. In order to achieve this aim, I have developed a methodology that creates a dialogue between local perspectives and archaeological analysis. This helps to provide a better understanding of the meaning and distribution pattern of Uneapa's features/locales.

Stone features in Melanesia are understudied and those studied elsewhere in the Pacific have mostly been framed within social evolutionary paradigms. This research offers not only the first systematic study of stone features in the Bismarck Archipelago, but also provides important methodological and theoretical frameworks that can contribute to the understanding of monumental landscapes both in the Pacific and beyond.

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1.1. Introduction

The density, diversity and complexity of the standing remains on Uneapa Island overwhelm the uninitiated. Walk for more than five minutes and something of archaeological interest appears. Boulders and andesite slabs of all shapes and sizes are found grouped together throughout the landscape. Some have been moved and erected vertically or horizontally, others have been carved or ground. In some cases, features are found in isolation but in others huge complexes of features are found grouped together at one place. Equally fascinating is how the local community engages with and memorialises about these remains. Some features and places have rich corroborated narratives whilst others have been completely forgotten. Certain community groups have continued to interact with these features, whereas others view them only as ancestral structures. As result of these factors, Uneapa Island is a stimulating and challenging place in which archaeological and related ethnographic research can be carried out.

1.2. Thesis Aims

Practice-centred approach

This thesis focuses on the role of social practice in the development of Uneapa Island's archaeological landscape. There are three reasons why social practice has been placed centrally. Firstly, I was dissatisfied with the lack of consideration given to social practice in many postprocessual studies of prehistoric monumentality; the emphasis being too much on perception rather than practice. Secondly, as the approach to Pacific Island monumentality is dominated by a 'top-down', social evolutionary perspective, I realised the potential of applying a 'bottom-up', the practice-centred approach. Finally, surveying Uneapa's archaeology and listening to what local people said about these features further emphasised how the places under investigation were primarily created *through* and *for* various social practices. Therefore, I will explore the role social practices had in the creation! renovation, location, use!reuse, maintenance!neglect, memorialising!forgetting of U neapa's archaeological landscape from inception up to the present day.

Research Questions

The main theoretical question in this research is: *what is the relationship between practice and perception in the formation of monumental landscapes?* I will argue that the desire to carry out social practices is one of the primary motivators behind the creation of monumental landscapes and formation of perception. I will demonstrate the benefits of analysing archaeological remains within a practice-centred framework. This approach will facilitate an improved conceptualisation of past perceptions, whilst also providing significant insights on past social structure. I will investigate the social practices related to Uneapa island's stone features through a combined analysis of the archaeological remains and local perspectives.

Archaeological Remains

The density and variety of stone features found over a small geographical area on Uneapa heightens the potential for interpreting past social practices. Some features directly reflect particular social practices such as cooking, axe-grinding and carving. Others reflect possible practices such as food grinding and pounding. Analysing feature interrelationships at different locales¹ enables an understanding of how features may have either framed or been involved in social practices. As locales vary so much in size (from single feature locations to large complexes), I am also able to question whether these differences might reflect differences in the specifics or scale of practices carried out there.

Local Perspectives

Understanding of what people remember about specific features and places in the landscape is central in this research. I will ask: *why and how can archaeologists create a discourse between contemporary indigenous perspectives and archaeological analysis?* This avenue of enquiry adds an important (albeit complicated) dimension to the consideration of the relationship between practice and perception in the development of monumental landscapes.

¹ The term *locale* is favoured over *site* in this research. I discuss the reasoning behind and implication of using this term in Chapter 2.

Uneapa islanders are divided in their attitude to the stone features that speckle their everyday landscape, with opinions ranging from expressions of indifference to passionate engagement and specialist knowledge. This is not exclusively a generation issue. There are some communities and individuals who have taken more active interest than others in memorialising and promoting the importance of their ancestral landscape. Many of these places are remembered as being meeting places (*lupuanga mudina (U)*) where a range of social practices took place, including public oratory and political discussion, song and dance performances, cooking, feasting and cannibalism. People believe that many of these locales were in regular use at the time of European contact. None are now used as meeting places. Instead, the Local Level Government holds community meetings in modern village centres.

What is important about these accounts is the central position social practice assumes in the islanders' perception of their ancestral landscape. There are a number of resonant shared narratives describing what different stone features were used for. There is also a distinct and intriguing pattern underlying those feature types that are remembered and those that are forgotten. Uneapa's locales are not only memorialised in terms of their pre-contact past but narratives also relate to more recent activities. Its archaeological landscape is dynamic and has continued to change over time. By employing local perspectives, I will also monitor how the social, economic and political changes brought about by European contact have impacted on the distribution of stone features. Processes of re-erection, re-location, renovation, destruction and re-interpretation have contributed to the character of today's archaeological landscape. Therefore, as well as exploring the impact practices (both past and recent) have had on the formation of perception, I will also focus on the impacts they have had on the formation of the archaeological record itself.

1.3 Setting the Scene

Geographical and Historical Context

Uneapa is a rugged volcanic island situated some 100km, northwest off the tip of the Willaumez Peninsula, West New Britain, Papua New Guinea (see Figure 1.1). Referred to as *Bali* by Europeans but as *Uneapa* by the local community, it is the second largest island (31.5km²) in a group of 8 islands collectively known as the Bali-Vitu Islands. Other islands include Garove (also called Vitu, Garove

hereafter) (53.1km²), Mundua (5.92km²), Naraga (1.45km²), Vambu (0.66km²), Ngoru (0.49km²), Silenge (0.13km²) and Undaga (0.06km²) (see Figure 1.2). As the only major island group off the north coast of New Britain, these islands have much to teach us about the geological, geographical, historical and pre-historical processes that shaped the region we see today.

Uneapa is a highly populated island (8802 in the 2000 census) and despite substantial migration in the past 15 years for work on mainland plantations, a rising population continues to put substantial strain on the island's food and building supplies. There are 13 villages scattered over the island namely Kumbu, Kumburi 1, Kumburi 2, Penata, Penatabotong, Penata-Kitinerave, Makiri, Malangai, Manopo, Nalagaro, Nigilani, Rukamboroko and Tamagone (see Figure 1.3). The majority of these village centres were created by the European administrations. Although the German New Guinea Company governed this region as early 1884, they were not active on Uneapa. The island was first administered by the Imperial German Government (1899-1914) and then by the Australia (from 1921) until Papua New Guinea's independence in 1975. The Germans cleared a large area of the island of its indigenous residents when Bali Plantation was set up (c. 1906). The plantation ceased operation some 15 years ago and has not been re-settled. Both plantation activities and intensive gardening on Uneapa has meant that only tiny pockets of primary forest now survive. The majority of the islanders are subsistence farmers and the staple foods cultivated are yams and bananas. Green vegetables, fruits and nuts, fish and shellfish also form part of the typical diet. Pig meat is generally only consumed during special social occasions. Uneapa islanders speak their own language also called *Uneapa*. *Tok Pisin* is rarely heard spoken amongst Uneapa islanders and is mainly used to communicate with outsiders.

Research Background

The Bali-Vitu Islands were not subject to significant attention by anthropologists in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, which means that ethnohistorical evidence relating to Uneapa's stone features is lacking. The only direct piece of information from this period I could find portraying Uneapa's stone features were two photographs taken by Richard Parkinson (see Parkinson 1999 [1907]: 90 and 99) sometime in the late nineteenth century (Figure 1.4).

The first account to focus on Uneapa's archaeology was Riebe's (1967) examination of the anthropomorphic boulders (Figure 1.5) at Malangai village. During the 1970s (whilst conducting her PhD research on Garove Island) anthropologist Jennifer Blythe also paid a number of visits to Uneapa. She studied a number of local myths (Blythe 1992, 1995), some of which relate to the island's stone features. In 1986 Ambrose and Johnson went to Uneapa in order to investigate a claim made by Blythe (1984) that obsidian was quarried there in the past. They visited a place called Bibim (550m ASL) on the north eastern slopes of Mt Kumbu but deduced that due to the island's geology and lack of debitage normally associated with mining, Uneapa was not home to a prehistoric obsidian source. Despite this, they were greatly impressed by the surface archaeology on Uneapa, declaring it to be "an archaeologically fascinating island in that it appears to have had a distinctive prehistory" (Ambrose and Johnson 1986:496).

2002 Bali-Vitu Survey

In 2002, Robin Torrence and Jim Specht in collaboration with Blaise Vatete (Advisor on Culture and Tourism, West New Britain Provincial Government) embarked on a reconnaissance survey of the Bali-Vitu islands. The involvement of Vatete in the project was particularly important. Originally from Uneapa Island, he had both local contacts and a keen interest in studying and promoting the cultural heritage of the island group. The research was undertaken as part of a larger project led by Torrence on the cultural history of West New Britain that focused on the Willaumez Peninsula area. The aim of the Bali-Vitu survey was to review previously recorded archaeological evidence, search for evidence of Lapita pottery as reported by Ambrose and Johnson (1986: 494), and ultimately to assess the potential of the islands for further archaeological enquiry.

The team spent twelve days in the region: 29th June to 11th July 2002. They visited 6 out of 8 of the islands, reporting 102 locations of archaeological significance: Uneapa (65), Garove (14), Vambu (11) Silenge (5), Goru (4) and Ningau (3). The majority of these locations were marked by the presence of modified, constructed or named stone features. Others were artefact find spots, exposures of volcanic tephra or the locations of traditional settlement areas and defensive ditches. All findings were reported to the National Museum and Art

Gallery and the West New Britain Provincial Government in the *Report on an Archaeological Survey of the Bali-Witu Islands, West New Britain, PNG* (Torrence, Specht and Vatete 2002).

2002 Findings

Sixty-five of 102 localities reported were on Uneapa Island. To some extent, the large number of sites on Uneapa reflects the fact that the team spent six of the ten survey days on this island. Aided by Vatete's contacts they were able to cover a wide area within a short space of time. By contrast, visits to the each of the other islands in the group were brief. The map in Figure No. 1.6 shows that although the 2002 team surveyed a number of areas in the upland regions of Vambu, Goru and Silenge, most locations, particularly on the bigger islands of Ningau and Garove, are on the coast. Whilst further research on these and the other islands in the group such as Naraga Island (14km due north of Uneapa) would undoubtedly uncover more surface archaeology, it was quickly realised that there was something quite distinctive about Uneapa. The sheer density, variability and extent of surface remains occurring on every part of the island were not seen or reported elsewhere in the island group. Out of the 14 localities recorded on Garove only 7 had stone features- the others being artefact find spots, old settlement areas etc. Similarly on Vambu out of the 11 localities surveyed only 5 had stone features present. In contrast, of the 65 locations recorded on Uneapa, 59 marked the location of modified or arranged stone features of some kind. Even though the survey was preliminary, there was a distinct difference in both the number and frequency of stone features on Uneapa in comparison to the other islands in the group.

Stone Feature Types Recorded

The team recorded a variety of stone features made from quarried columnar andesite and basalt boulders. Many were constructed in the so-called *dolmen form* previously referred to by Riesenfeld (1950). These features were locally recognised as 'seats' while larger capstones locally known as 'tables' were also recorded. A small number of standing stones were also noted by the team. The abundance of stone features greatly impressed the fieldwork team and they became interested in exploring their function, origin and meaning etc. They highlight how "the stone seats and tables continue to have meaning for the

people" and how "people have moved tables and seats from former settlement areas to their present village sites" (Torrence, Specht and Vatete 2002: 23). They also noted how stone features continued to be made and erected for special occasions such as circumcision ceremonies and pig butchery practices. The team also recorded modified boulders, recognising that "the boulder category is highly variable" (Torrence, Specht and Vatete 2002: 2). Some boulders had mortars on them, others axe-grinding grooves and grinding hollows, while a few had curvilinear, rectilinear and three-dimensional carvings. The team re-surveyed the anthropomorphic carvings at Malangai village and identified six more.

In order to further analyse the findings from the 2002 survey it is important to take note of the route the team took around Uneapa Island. This provides both context and contrast to the subsequent surveys carried out as part of my project in 2004 and 2005. The 2002 survey team walked over substantial parts of the island, but due to time constraints, largely kept to the main roads. This road network provides the easiest access around the island. The map in Figure 1.7 shows how the majority of localities recorded by the 2002 team cluster around these roads. Such clustering highlighted the potential for more (possibly less disturbed) locales to be found away from these roadside areas.

2004 & 2005 Field Seasons

As Uneapa is so remote, the fieldwork required substantial organisation. I was in close consultation with Robin Torrence and Blaise Vatete prior to the fieldwork in order to sort out transport and accommodation issues. I also learned Tok Pisin (by CD), read extensively on the region and had to raise substantial funds for the project in the 6 months prior to leaving. The fieldwork for this research project took place over two seasons. The first season took place between 4th July and 22nd Sept 2004 and the second between March 28th and June 10th 2005, totalling 155 days fieldwork. I decided that two seasons of fieldwork were essential for successful completion of the research. The break in the field seasons was essential for reflecting on outcomes of previous season's work and to make plans for the following season. The research was in direct collaboration with the West New Britain Provincial Government. The National Research Institute, Port Moresby granted official research permissions. Prior to fieldwork,

visits were made to the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery in order to inform relevant parties about our research project. During the first week of the 2004 season I was joined by Robin Torrence and Peter White (Sydney University). Blaise Vatete also spent the first fortnight with the project. Kenneth Bazley (a British archaeologist) acted as research assistant during both fieldwork seasons. We were based in a small hamlet called Vatumadindiri in the valley area of Manopo village. Both field seasons benefited from enthusiastic support and involvement of the local community.

The 2002 survey team recognised how Uneapa's archaeology had the potential not only to reveal much about the prehistory of the region but also to provide insights into some of the broader processes involved in the creation of monumental landscapes. They observed that the "Bali-Witu data pose significant questions about archaeological practice and the interpretation of this class of material that we feel is relevant to other parts of the world" (Torrence and Specht 2003: 3). They also stated how "realising the complexity of stone features and arrangements is a useful first step", before asking, "but where do we go from here?" (Torrence and Specht 2003: 8). This thesis research is the next step. It offers both a systematic survey of Uneapa Island's archaeology and a fresh theoretical and methodological framework in which some of the processes underlying the creation, use and perception of the island's stone features can be better understood.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Eight chapters follow this introduction. Chapter 2 sets up the thesis argument and theoretical standpoint. It is divided into three sections. I begin by discussing how practice and perception have been treated in previous studies of monumental landscapes. Much of the literature discussed is from within British academia and relates to Western European monumental landscapes. This is partially due to the fact that debates on these issues are most developed there, but also because I wanted to create a meaningful dialogue between these studies and my own. The second section of the chapter develops the concepts of social practice favoured in this thesis. The third section outlines how these concepts will be applied in the study of Uneapa Island's archaeology.

Chapter 3 contextualises this research within Pacific Island archaeology. I point out how there has been a lacuna of studies on the monumental landscapes in Melanesia and that studies in the wider Pacific region have largely been dominated by a social evolutionary stand-point. I critique these positions for assuming social structure and argue that it can be better investigated by a practice-centred approach. This chapter further emphasises my argument that a focus on practice has the potential to offer fresh methodological and theoretical insights on the study of monumental landscapes.

Chapter 4 introduces the project's research design. I discuss how and why local perspectives are integrated so centrally and how this relates to my research questions. I outline how these different strands of evidence were recorded and introduce the reader to the two methodologies devised for this project i.e. *material to memory* and *memory to material* methodologies. I also discuss the complexities and implications of studying Uneapa's archaeology in this way.

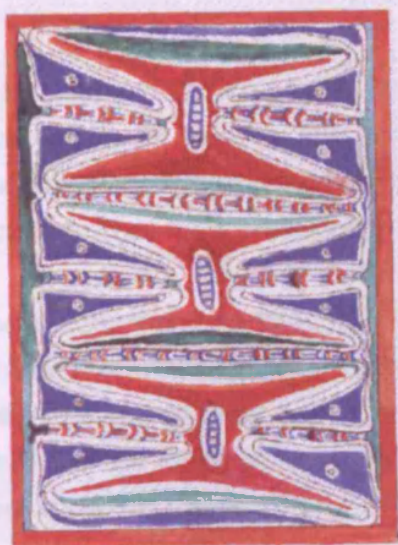
Chapter 5 introduces the reader to Uneapa's archaeological remains. I outline the different stone feature types identified through an assessment of physical characteristics and local perspectives. I then extend the analysis further to understand how these different feature types are grouped together to form locales. This chapter forms the basis for the more targeted case studies in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter 6 analyses Uneapa's archaeology on a locale-level. I examine the interrelationships between the different types of stone features in six case study locales in terms of social practice. I divide the analysis by looking at factors relating to the *making of* and *doing* within these places. The former involves an analysis of the construction materials and spatial layout of each locale. For the latter, I consider the evidence for community dialogue, food-related practices and community performances at each locale. Local oral traditions and perspectives are placed very centrally in this chapter and effectively drive much of the analysis. I decided to begin the analysis on a locale-level because it is at particular places that specific social practices are enacted. I wanted to explicate and emphasise the close relationship between practice and perception before broadening the analysis to the inter-locale or landscape-level in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7 analyses social practice on a landscape-level by considering locale distribution patterns in relation to remembered clan boundaries. I will investigate the relationship between clans in terms of similarities and differences in social practice and explore how these factors may have influenced perception of the social landscape in the past. I will also return to the broader issue of what insights these patterns suggest about pre-contact social organisation on Uneapa.

In Chapter 8 I explore the dynamic aspect of monumental landscapes by focusing on what can be deduced about the changing perceptions of Uneapa's archaeological remains. I will explore how recent interaction with features/locales has impacted on the archaeological landscape. I will analyse locale patterning in respect to post-contact village and plantation boundaries. I will explore which features/locales people have continued to interact with (paying particularly attention to the role of the local cargo cult in the recent past) and what this might tell us about the relationship between practice and perception.

In Chapter 9, I will reiterate the research process, evaluate the suitability of the theory and method chosen and discuss the results and implications in regards to my research questions. I will also highlight the contributions of this thesis and what future research could be carried out to build upon the results of this project.



Chapter 2

A PRACTICE-CENTERED APPROACH

2.1 Introduction: Postprocessual Agendas

In the past two decades many archaeologists have firmly rejected focusing on "what might be seen as the grandiose targets; social organisation, ranking, stratification, empires" (Thomas 1993:76) in favour of a more person-centred approach. They have promoted a more subtle 'reading' of the archaeological data by considering how prehistoric people's actions/interactions, emotions, ideologies/perceptions influenced the way in which they constructed the world around them. Although these so-called postprocessual concerns have influenced and infiltrated into many aspects of archaeological research, it is, arguably, in the context of the study of European monumental landscapes that such ideologies have sustained particular resonance.

De Certeau's (1988:199) depiction of the postmodern academic environment, (of which postprocessualism is firmly a part) as one that "favours pluralist epistemology composed of a multiplicity of points of view, each of them having roughly an equal power of generality" may help us to identify why such mutuality exists between the propagation of postprocessual agendas and the study of monumental landscapes. The visibility, longevity and materiality of prehistoric stone monuments mean that they are particularly susceptible to multiple interpretations which are redefined generation after generation. Indeed, Bradley (1993:2) recognised this quality as the "fundamental property of prehistoric monuments". Therefore, it can hardly be surprising that the study of stone monuments has escalated in recent years to become a prominent material flagship of the postprocessual agenda (e.g. Bender 1992; Tilley 1993, 1994, 2004; Thomas 1999, 2000).

Postprocessualism has undoubtedly broadened the theoretical, methodological, and most importantly, conceptual parameters in which the archaeological record is interpreted. Most researchers within this remit would pride themselves as operating a more socially sensitive reading of monumental landscapes. But I will question whether much of this research is as socially orientated as it claims. I will point out how certain theoretical approaches have actually distanced archaeologists from engaging with the sociology of prehistoric monumentality. I will ask whether, by rejecting functionalism (however warranted) and employing multiple epistemological perspectives, archaeologists have gone

too far. Have we effectively become the artist who, in mixing the brightest colours from a pallet produces but a muddy brown? Have we muddled and in turn muddled up what the presence of prehistoric monuments can actually tell us about prehistoric societies?

In this research I hope to address the imbalance caused by these epistemological preoccupations by questioning:

What is the relationship between *practice* and *perception* in the formation and development of monumental landscapes?

In this research, *perception* of monumental space is best conceived as a form of *memory* related to three interrelated elements: *practice*, *landscape* and *materiality*. I argue that while due attention has been paid to the role of *landscape* and *materiality*, not enough emphasis has been placed on *social practice*. Something happened in the birth and development of postprocessual ideology, the "collapse of high-level systemic models" (Dobres and Robb 2000:3) and shifting concerns from social structure to agency that meant substantial consideration of social practice was bypassed. The pendulum has swung too far in the direction of epistemology and towards *perception* and *meaning* to the detriment of *social practice*.

Therefore, the central argument within this thesis is that emphasis on perception needs to be proportional to the consideration of social practice. My broad definition of *social practice* is in line with Cohen's assessment of *praxis*: the "processes of enactment rather than the mental acts that makes conduct happen in the world" (Cohen 1996:121). Concentrating on practice challenges us to be explicit about how we conceive of monumental space as social space and monumental landscape as social landscape. If it is acceptable for academics to write about the mindsets of prehistoric peoples, then surely we can more fully explore the social practices in which they engaged. Rather than polarizing practice and perception I would propose, that focusing on social practice provides a richer insight into the possible perception and meaning of monumental space.

I argue that the desire to carry out social practices is one of the primary motivators behind both the creation and re-creation of monumental space and formation of perception and, as a result, I advocate that social practice needs to

be placed as the central interpretative and methodological hook in such research.

Chapter Outline

The main purpose of this chapter is to clarify and develop why a practice-centred approach to monumental landscapes is warranted. In the first section, I will provide a critical review of the position of social practice within monument studies. I will provide a brief historical context and then concentrate on the position of social practice within postprocessual agendas, focusing on the central concepts of agency, landscape and materiality. In the second section of this chapter, I will examine a selection of theories of practice from philosophy, anthropology and sociology, highlighting some theoretical debates on social practice useful in the study of monumental landscapes. Finally, I will sum by discussing the implications of a practice framework for the theoretical concepts used and the analysis/interpretation undertaken in relation to Uneapa Island's monumental landscape.

2.2 Position of Social Practice

How have researchers of prehistoric stone monuments approached social practice? How has it been positioned in relation to broader concepts such as social structure and agency? In what way did the changing agendas in archaeological theory influence the status of social practice within monument studies? What factors led to social practice being marginalised? In order to more coherently understand the position of social practice in recent postprocessual interpretations of monumental landscapes, a short history of the status of practice within previous approaches is warranted.

2.2.1 Antiquarianism to Postprocessualism: A Brief Treatise of Practice

Antiquarianism: prone to practice?

The antiquarian approach to social practice in relation to prehistoric stone monuments was in some ways contradictory. On the one hand, there was a clear preoccupation with the purpose of stone monuments (Fergusson 1872; Lewis 1871, 1878; Walhouse 1878; Wood 1888; Peet 1912) and the employment of

folklore beliefs to interpret them (Evans 1895). On the other hand, the desire to systematically and meticulously measure, map and classify stone monuments in order to make cross-cultural comparisons and to promote diffusionist notions of history (Fergusson 1872; Smith 1913) meant that consideration of more local-level practices were compromised.

Culture-History: A typology too far?

Studying prehistoric monuments within broad paradigms continued to gain momentum during the first half of the twentieth century. Culture-historical paradigms, the "characterization of cultural traditions, including their spatial extent and their changes through time" (Shennan 2000:811) resulted in the building of typologies, technological and chronological sequences between site contexts (Childe 1957 [1925], 1928, 1940; Wheeler 1959) which meant less attention was paid to on-site contexts, and hence social practice. The drive towards a more scientific archaeology at this time also resulted in folklore contributions being rejected. As Grinsell (1937:245) wrote of this division in Britain, "the folklorists seem to have left it to the archaeologists and the archaeologists to the folklorists". I believe that this separation of folklore and archaeology led to a reticence within monument studies (still evident today) to conceptualise and consider social practice.

New Archaeology

The move beyond cultural historicism and its normative, polythetic, largely descriptive view of past cultures brought a new range of interpretative and analytical strategies to archaeology that directly influenced how prehistoric monuments were studied. The central challenge of this new archaeology was to "go beyond the diffusionist notions of cultural contact, and to look at culture and people in their own right, seeing the 'events' of European prehistory as the result of purely local processes" (Renfrew 1973a:121).

This concern with localism did not necessarily translate into detailed attention being paid to monumental structures in terms of social practice. Instead, this new approach largely focused on the social function of such monuments in terms of how they reflected the overall social system (e.g. Renfrew and Cherry 1986). Prehistoric monuments were interpreted in relation to the institutional

factors of social structure, demographics and environment. Indeed, the classic processual approach to prehistoric monuments was an attempt to reconstruct Neolithic territories or centralised authorities through population and labour models, Thiessen polygons (Renfrew 1973a, 1973b).

Particularly popular at this time were social evolutionary paradigms, largely influenced by Polynesian research (e.g. Sahlins 1958, 1963; Earle 1978), that substantiated views that monuments were indicative of a certain societal type e.g. Renfrew's (1973b) suggestion that Neolithic Wessex was organised into a series of chiefdoms. As a result mapping sites in order to measure, model and interpret interrelationships between sites and political centres was highlighted. As I will outline in the next chapter, this approach has retained its popularity within studies of Pacific Island monumentality. The focus of these studies was on *what* such monumental space tells us about societal structure rather than *how* such space might have operated, and because they stressed the importance of ownership or 'having' of monuments, rather than the practices or 'doing' within them.

Postprocessual Agendas: Practice: A Fallacious Ghost?

It was this lack of any real form of ontological or epistemological frameworks within the processual agenda i.e. the strained relationship between practice and structure and the detachment from human action so to borrow a phrase from Tringham that people of the past were seen to be little more than "a lot of faceless blobs" (1991:94) that ultimately triggered the deconstruction of processual agendas in Anglo-American archaeology over the past two decades. Since then interpretation of monumental landscapes has undergone radical transformation and a massive amount of work has been produced under this banner.

Recognition that archaeology is "interpretation all the way down" (Andrews, Barrett and Lewis 2000:526) and the emergence of the so-called 'agency debates', (e.g. see Dobres and Robb 2000; Gardner 2004a) readdressed the relationship between social structure and the agent/individual/community, paving the way for consideration of a wider range of possibilities on how past societies may have engaged with their landscape and material world. Phenomenology-inspired readings of monumental landscapes, centring on

people's experiences, senses and perceptions have also been influential (Tilley 1993, 1994; Thomas 1993; Gillings and Pollard 1999; Cummings, Jones and Watson 2002; Fowler and Cummings 2003). One might have expected such major steps to re-humanise archaeology to have correlated with an explicit conceptualisation and consideration of social practice, but this has not been the case.

In 1999, Hodder (1999:137) welcomed what he identified as "the new archaeology of practice... because it aims to focus on the fluid processes of the reproduction of structures, and on embodiment and subjectivity". Under this banner he linked both phenomenologically oriented scholars (Tilley 1994; Thomas 1996) and other prominent postprocessualists (Barrett 1994; Gosden 1994). Dobres and Robb (2000:5) equally acknowledged the emergence of this practice paradigm when they pointed out how "in the large measure, this shift toward a more humanised and dynamic picture of the negotiations taking place between individuals, communities and institutions have been enabled by a focus not so much on agency and agents, as on practice".

While it may be true to say that theories of practice, particularly the writings of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1998) and Anthony Giddens (1979, 1984) have been consumed within postprocessual archaeology, I would argue that there are very distinct differences between how social practice has been conceptualised by researchers. Consequently, it is a fallacy to see all these studies as representing a coherent group. There is a distinct division in both the kinds of social practices they have embraced and also why they focused on social practice in the first place and to what end.

It might be safely assumed the majority of postprocessual researchers would align with Gosden's (1994:16) notion that "the world is not a passive medium for social action" but rather "it is through human action that landscapes are ordered, dwellings maintained and mobile forms of material culture are created", but surprisingly this has not translated into explicit focus on social practice. While a number of *practice-centred* interpretations have been promoted, e.g. in relation to artefact production and technology (Dobres 2000), influenced by the concept of the *chaîne opératoire* (see Lemonnier 1986; Leroi-Gourhan 1993), there has been significantly less focus on social practice within monument studies.

The studies that have examined social practice have largely focused on monument construction (e.g. Richards 1993, 1996, 2004) or funerary practices in relation to monumental tombs (e.g. Mizoguchi 1993; Barrett 1996; Cannon 2002; Stevenson and White 2007). What unites these studies is that they all explore a form of social practice that is in some way directly attestable through the material remains. Whilst this has been important, I will argue that the practice-centred interpretation of monumental space should consider the possibilities of the social practices within such spaces through both *testable* and *conceptual* parameters.

Social practices are too often considered in the abstract possibly because when archaeologists consider prehistoric bodily interaction they do not think through the range and dimensions of social practice. Their primary concern rests with the cognitive processes of enactment, i.e. perception. This trend of "moving landscape archaeology studies into the realms of cognition and ideation" (Anschuetz, Wilshusen and Scheick 2001:173-174) underlines a key facet. It is much easier to create detailed and imaginative theories of how monumental landscapes may have been perceived in the past rather than what practices might have occurred. Validation of such perspectives is not warranted nor indeed expected as such ideation is not and was never tangible. More challenging is when we try to think about what social practices may have been enacted within such spaces. In this case, there may be a slight hangover from behavioural archaeology (Schiffer 1976, 1987) which necessitated the validation of evidence for social practice. Concentrating on social practice should involve consideration of both materially attestable and materially unattestable practices. As a result, scholars may feel that conceptualised practices, like conceptualised perceptions, do not necessarily require direct validation.

The most explicit call for a more practice-centred approach to monumental landscapes can be found in the writings of John Barrett and his research colleagues. According to Barrett, Bradley and Green (1991 :6), centralising practice is a way of providing substance to our understanding of prehistoric society, which otherwise remains the "ghost in the machine" of archaeological research. Barrett's approach (1988, 1994, 2001) is significant in two regards. Firstly, he underlines the transformative qualities of social practice as providing integral mediation between social agency and structure (heavily influenced by Giddens' (2003 [1984]) theory of structuration). Secondly, Barrett

(1994:14) argues that archaeologists should not only be concerned with the materially attestable practices but should also concern themselves "with the practices which left little or no direct material trace on this site but which were structured by those enclosures". Barrett is arguing that one should consider the plausibility of certain social practices within certain settings. Similarly, when I pointed out above how the *range* and *dimensions* of social practices have not been taken seriously in relation to monumental space, I am also asking for a measure of plausibility to be applied. I will develop what I mean by this when I discuss how the qualities, position and methodologies of the practice-centred framework will be employed in my research. At this point, I argue that placing practice more centrally opens up new ways in which the myriad of social interactions within monumental space can be realised, ultimately improving our understanding of perception and meaning.

In the past few years practice-centred archaeology has become important within a number of quite differing agendas both in European and American archaeology. In Europe, an emerging paradigm called the 'archaeology of inhabitation' assumes a more optimistic stance in terms of how social practice can be embraced and identified.

Ultimately, through having confidence in our contexts and our abilities to write imaginative histories, we need to put people, and their engagement with other beings and the world(s) in which they lived, firmly into our accounts of landscape and occupation. (Chadwick 2004:22)

There are two other concepts I would now like to draw attention to. Although born from different academic contexts, they are united by the focus on social practice. First is the concept of *microarchaeology*, developed by a research group based at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden (Cornell and Fahlander 2002; Fahlander 2003). The idea governing this new concept derives from an amalgam of theorists: i.e. Sartre's theory of serial action, Foucault's 'archaeology'; the structuration theory of Giddens'; Homi Bhabha's concept of the 'third space'; and Slavoj Žižek's notion of ideology (Fahlander 2003). Rather than being overly concerned with the theoretical particularities, what is of more interest is how this group frames the interpretation of the archaeological data in terms of social practice.

Instead of departing from large scale pre-given entities, we should better start from the analysis of local settings, working upwards towards looking

for generalities. The microarchaeological approach departs from individual studies of one or several locales. From each locality, the internal development and repetitive practice should be identified and analysed (Fahlander 2003: website introduction).

There is an underlying assumption here that each archaeological locale has its own, unique set of remains and hence structuring principles. As a result, our efforts should be put into the analysis of locales in as much detail as is possible so as to better understand how these structuring principles (including social practices) created the archaeological locale we see today.

A promising approach is an analysis of the structuration of space, that is, the relations between material conditions ('natural' and 'cultural') and different activity areas (Cornell and Fahlander 2002:35).

Concern with how social practices impact on the archaeological record as well as how they are positioned in archaeological research is also echoed in an article by Timothy Pauketat in which he identifies the emergence of what he calls historical processualism (Pauketat 2001). Although these more practice-centred paradigms are provocative and valuable, I believe that the need for a more practice-centred archaeology has yet to be fully realised. Particularly important is the call for archaeology "to distinguish between issues of ontology which concern the real conditions of life which we aim to study, and the issues of epistemology which concern theories of knowledge, or how such things should be studied" (Barrett and Fewster 2000:26).

There are varied and complex reasons why social practice has been undervalued in postprocessual monument studies. In order to better understand these, I will explore the position of social practice within a number of agendas prominent within postprocessualism: namely agency, landscape and materiality.

It will become clear that research on Neolithic monuments of Western Europe continues to exert the most influence on studies of monumental landscapes elsewhere. Just as these approaches in Europe have much to contribute to our study of Pacific monumentality, the dynamic monumental landscapes in the Pacific have much to give in return. This is particularly true in regions where an associated oral tradition or 'active engagement' still exists. Rather than isolate these debates from one another, I believe it is more useful to create a dialogue between them. There is, of course, no suggestion that

Uneapa's monumentality shares any formal similarities with other forms of monumentality discussed here, but rather that such spaces share similar qualities. Both are social spaces created through the movement and placement of stones into various arrangements which created locales in which social interaction could take place.

2.2.2 Agency and Practice

Theories of agency, personhood and identity form an integral part of archaeological theory today. It is largely through agency theory that archaeologists have contemplated the relationship people may have had with stone monuments in the past. These theories have focused the relationship between *practice* and *perception*.

Practice and Perception: A Bodily Engagement

One way to understand how the relationship between *practice* and *perception* is depicted within the postprocessual agendas is by understanding the position of the 'body' in these approaches. The repositioning and resituating of the 'body' within the social sciences in the past fifteen years has impacted on how monumental landscapes have been interpreted. It is the body as a vehicle of *experience* that has garnered most attention. Thomas (1991:34) points out that "the focus of signification must have been not the monument but the body itself". Indeed "for the phenomenologist his or her body and the experience of this body is the essential research tool: an assertion of our common human experience" (Tilley 2005:201).

Lock (1993:134) observes how "paradoxically, since closer attention has been paid to bodily representation, the body has become more elusive, fluid and uncontrollable". I would identify a similar paradox in many of the phenomenological-orientated approaches to the body. Despite stemming from a philosophy that lauds bodily encounter as a fundamental aspect of sociality (Heidegger 1962; Merleau-Ponty 1962), the body within some of these approaches has become abstracted. Indeed, this is reflected in the popularity of generalised terms such as 'movement', 'encounter', 'orientation', 'procession' (see Tilley 1994) within these writings. While these may be important concepts through which the landscape can be 'peopled', there is not enough sense of what

may be motivating or controlling such movements because there is not enough consideration of social practice.

Although archaeologists (see Dobres and Robb 2000; Gardner 2004a) have noted the intimate link between the concepts of agency and practice theory, many are influenced by Giddens' (2003 [1984]:10) stance that "agency refers to the doing". For example, Gardner's (2004a: 11) notes that agency relates to "the conditions and possibilities of action". The abstracted terminology, discussed above, is more in line with how practices are conceptualised rather than how they are enacted. Most researchers would concur that "human conceptualisation and reasoning are bodily activities. We understand and reason starting with, and never leaving behind, the patterns, feelings, and significance of our bodily experiences. Our reason is embodied reason" (Johnson 1999:100). Brück (2005: 47) points out that for phenomenologists, in particular, "bodily movement through space is therefore crucial as it provides people with a particular way of viewing the world, so that the sequence in which things are encountered creates a narrative that structures understanding". The emphasis here is on viewing the world rather than acting within it.

In contrast to an emphasis on perception, a practice-centered approach attempts to be more explicit in terms of defining bodily interaction. Evidence for social practice can be garnered from analysing deposited remains and the spatial arrangement of the monuments themselves. It is also imperative that we consider the plausibility that some of the generic practices common within social occasions.

Gatherings many have a very loose and transitory form, such as that of a fleeting exchange more formalised contexts in which gatherings occur can be called social occasions. Social occasions are gatherings which involve a plurality of individuals. They are typically rather clearly bounded in time and space and often employ special forms of fixed equipment-formalised arrangements of tables and chairs. (Giddens (2003 [1984]: 71)

In this regard, considering some of the common elements within social occasions, e.g. public speaking/ oratory, singing, dancing, eating etc, provides more of an anchor to our interpretations and allows us to conceptualise ways in which bodily movement may have been formalised and restricted as well as how people may have been positioned in relation to one another.

Perception as Memory of Practice?

The Oxford English Dictionary (2000) definition of perception "as the state of being or process of becoming aware, or conscious of a thing especially through the senses" is important in that it recognises perception as a *process*. It is safe to assume that the interplay of perception and practice in relation to monumental space has gone through different changes and developments, it represents a relationship in constant negotiation which is linked irrevocably to the formation of memory. Ingold (1993) is concerned about the temporal relationship between practice and perception when he questions whether 'practical activity' or 'cultural knowledge' comes first. Without concerning ourselves too much with psychology of perception, it is easy to share Ingold's concern and to question whether perception is largely just memory of practice.

I will develop these ideas further in the next section of this chapter but I want to emphasise that just as social practice plays such a fundamental role in how perceptions are formed they should equally play a more fundamental role in how archaeologists interpret the past.

Situated Agency

The positioning of agents in relation to each other, to their physical/cultural setting and material artefacts, has been at the heart of many debates in postprocessualism. When Gardner (2004b:35) pointed out how "there might be more than one kind of agency, and this is something archaeologists should take great interest in", he was referring to the fact that agency in archaeology is a multifarious term because it can be situated in relation to particular materials, places or time periods under investigation.

Rather than being content to borrow concepts of agency wholesale, we need to address how contemporary agency theory should be modified to fit archaeological research interests, archaeological scales of inquiry, and the unique qualities of archaeological data (Dobres and Robb 2000:14).

Therefore how we think about agency in archaeology is inherently affected by the setting, materiality and temporality of our research. As Koerner (2004:227) emphasises, "there is no such thing as a timeless, placeless 'self' that can be understood apart from its embodied and material preconditions". Just as Fowler (2004:3) acknowledges how "past concepts of personhood may have been supported by identities that were highly contextual, and relational to specific

events and interactions", so too are archaeological approaches to agency contextualised by the very objects of our study.

Situated in relation to place

By investigating monumental locales, we are effectively investigating how people might have experienced and interacted with one another in relation to a particular place. Just as certain kinds of agency may control the meaning and mechanisms of place, so too do the particular mechanisms of place impinge on such agency. Monumental architecture has often been seen as producing and enclosing certain forms of social agency (e.g. Pollard 1992; Richards 1993; Barrett 1994; Tilley 1994; Parker-Pearson and Richards 1997; Brück 2001; Cummings, Jones and Watson 2002).

Agency in this regard is *place-relational*. Such relational concepts of agency have recently begun to gain more credence within archaeology (Brück 2001; Fowler 2004; Jones 2005). Johnson (2004:242) makes an important point in his research on medieval castles, when he recognises how the object of his study "represents a meeting-point of many different agencies, often involved in contestation: the owner, the craftsmen involved at different levels in any building project, the community at large is involved in the creation and maintenance of oral tradition surrounding the structure". What Johnson does here is recognise that multiple agencies intersect in the creation of a collective meaning of place. Whereas the reason for considering a castle as a distinct 'building-project' may be clear, one needs to question whether such intentionality and clarity of purpose was similarly invested in the creation of monumental locales or whether they are better conceived as 'on-going' projects influenced and changed by the social interaction within their parameters.

Intentionality and Practice

The issue of intentionality has been treated as pertinent by a number of researchers of monumental landscapes. Intentionality towards monument-building is often seen as reflective of a new form of world order. This is particularly obvious in relation to the European Neolithic.

A new way of envisioning the landscape and people's place within it, could well have inspired, stimulated and legitimised the manipulation of local materials to create monuments that unlocked in new ways the sacred potential that was recognised to be present in natural landforms, themselves redolent with mythological associations (Scarre 2002:12).

Barrett (1994: 23) points out that "the alternative is to recognise that this monumentality originated in neither idea or plan, but rather in the practice of the project". In this way we need to consider how certain monumental locales may never have had a pre-set form but took shape through the amalgamation of different practices and interactions over time. In this regard, monumental locales can depict both intended and unintended consequences. Giddens (2003[1984]: 12) recognised that "from the point of view of the social sciences, it is hard to exaggerate the importance of the unintended consequences of intentional conduct". Barrett (1994:13) further applied this idea to monumentality by pointing out how "the fallacy has been to convert regularity into rule and thus to presuppose a planned intention". He provides the useful example of how "the enclosure and the stone circle at Avebury were never originally planned nor were they observed as a single entity" (Barrett 1994:12).

I will develop this perspective in my study of Uneapa. I argue that Uneapa Island's monumental locales should not be seen as representing some kind of totality or intended outcome. Rather, it is more productive to see them as on-going projects, and their present day state as reflecting an amalgam of intended and unintended occurrences. The fact that there may not have been a solid 'pre-set' final plan governing these places does not take away from their value. Indeed, if anything, it makes us consider more clearly the transformative and formative effects of social practice and interaction.

Individual or Community?

Another major point of debate is whether *agency* implies the actions, perceptions and motivation of the individual or the community? Reaction against processual studies of "units larger than the individual" (Shanks and Tilley 1987:61) meant that the major focus was afforded to the individual agent in postprocessual archaeology.

Phenomenology and Individualism

Phenomenological approaches to monumental landscapes promote an 'embedded' or 'embodied' approach to agency (for review see Brück 2001, 2005). The primary concepts underlying these ideas, such as Merleau-Ponty's (1962:303) 'system of experience' or Heidegger's (1962:196) notion of 'Being-in-the-World' and the focus on neglected sensory engagement, means that the experience is largely individualistic (Tilley 1993, 1994, 2004; Thomas 1993; Yates 1993). The methodologies underlying such approaches have been criticised as being solitary resulting in a strangely un-peopled past (Meskell 1996; Fleming 1999; Brück 2005). As Brück (2005:63) points out, "when Tilley (1994:173-96) describes his walk along the Dorset Cursus... there are only three actors involved in the scene, the author, the cursus and the physical landscape in which the monument is set". It is mainly due to the fact that such approaches pay particular credence to the *perceptions* (both that of the researcher and people in the past) that the focus is on individual rather than collective agents. This approach is beginning to be counter-balanced by the development of methodologies in which teams of people are used to investigate relationships with the landscape (Hamilton and Whitehouse 2006).

Collective Agency as Shared Practice

Concepts of collective agency have also been applied and discussed in recent archaeological debates (Wobst 2000; Fowler 2004; Gardner 2004a). Increasingly, the concept of agency "not an intrinsic attribute of the bounded individual but a product of the network of social relationships that constitute the person" (Brück 2005:61) is gaining more precedence within archaeological research. Therefore, it is surprising that with the exception of a few studies (Barrett 1994) there has not been much explicit consideration of communal agency in relation to monumentality. Tension between communal and individual agency will always be present, central within any analysis of sociality, be it in the past or present.

In many respects it is easier for archaeologists to consider how monuments in the landscape may have been interacted with on an individual level as we can embed our own bodies within the landscape, walk around and take note of the different ways in which the monuments could be 'viewed'.

Conceptualising collective agency is arguably more difficult. Indeed, many social theorists have suggested that such collectivity did not even exist. In Turner's (1994:100) practice theory he points out "there is no collective tacit fact of the matter at all" and collectivity is but a controlled amalgam of individual habits "acting in accordance with tradition" (Turner 1994:99). When we study monuments in the landscape, what we are studying is a particular tradition. In effect, we are studying the material manifestation of shared practices and therefore a form collectivity. It is through social practices of creating, using, maintaining and re-creating such locales that a sense of collectivity is created. I will now move on to the second major agenda within postprocessual archaeology to be discussed within this chapter: landscape.

2.2.3 Landscape

The paradigm that has intersected, dissected and dominated archaeological interpretations of prehistoric stone monuments in the past fifteen years or so is landscape. Landscape as a concept, as an entity, has successfully fuelled and fulfilled the central desire of the postprocessual archaeologists who no longer felt the "need to force their data into well-bounded categories" and instead wished to create "overlapping multiple dimensions of meaning" (Hodder 1986:150). The general acceptance that landscape is a holistic concept, ultimately indicative of "expressions of particular ways of seeing the world, specialised experiences of time and place" (Darvill 1997:1) meant it has acted as the ideal platform to accommodate both multiple readings of past peoples experiences as well as entertain the disciplines growing need for self-reflexivity. In short, it became the fundamental 'measure' within postprocessualism. As it stands, landscape has now become "a term as complex and ideologically charged as culture" (Pearson and Shanks 2001:39).

Recently, Fleming (2006) depicted postprocessual landscape archaeology as subscribing to two major styles: phenomenological and hyper-interpretative. Whilst the former style has been considerably influential, the latter still remains quite marginal (e.g. Edmonds 1999). Fleming would have benefited from highlighting a third group. The majority of landscape archaeologists assume a more moderate position. They do not subscribe so stringently to single theoretical or methodological approaches but instead embrace a broad range of ideas,

theories and methods unified by their desire to explore the social and symbolic aspects of past landscapes (e.g. Bradley 1993, 1997, 1998a; Barrett 1994; Richards 1993; Scarre 2002; Whittle 2003; Hamilton and Whitehouse 2006). Indeed, it is the very existence of so many disparate perspectives that underlines how "an archaeology of landscapes has the promise for bridging some nagging problems in archaeology by providing a set of interdisciplinary methodologies that accommodate, if not integrate, contrasting theoretical perspectives" (Anschuetz, Wilshusen and Scheick 2001:191).

Landscape as Linkage

Archaeologists have continually lauded the benefits of integrating such a holistic landscape paradigm as it "compels us to stress the interrelationships among people and such traces, places and features, in space and through time" (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:2). Indeed, its main merit is that it focuses on the connections and movements between social places and spaces. This focus arose from reaction against more site-focused archaeology and notions of territoriality (cf. Renfrew 1973b). A more open reading of a landscape allowed archaeologists to conceptualise the multiple possibilities governing peoples' past experiences in relation to their surroundings whilst also depicting the experience of their social landscape as representing some form of social totality or world-view. As Ingold (1993:154) has noted "in a landscape each component enfolds within its essence the totality of its relations with each and every other".

Tilley's (1994:34) definition of a landscape as "a series of named locales, a set of relational places linked by paths, movements and narratives", stresses this idea of landscape as linkage. In postprocessual monument studies, there has been a distinct propensity towards linking certain qualities of monumentality across space and time in order to somehow 'decode' the prehistoric landscape.

Setting

One quality has been the setting of monuments within the topographic landscape. Questions are asked about "why here? What made this an appropriate place? And what beliefs and concepts of order determined the form and nature of these monuments?" (Richards 1996:193). These have been central

concerns within a substantial number of research projects. In particular, phenomenological approaches have explored the setting of monuments as a way 'into' the mind-sets of prehistoric people, as a form of shared experience given that "we and the people of the past share carnal bodies" (Tilley 2004:201). The intention here is that through studying setting archaeologists can decode the relationship people had with the topographic landscape, the meaning of mountains, sea, coast etc. and its bearing on site location. In doing so, they can uncover key aspects of contemporary cosmological ideology. One such example noted how megaliths were associated with "water, the sea and the beach" (Fowler and Cummings 2003:5) and therefore the proposition arises that "there was a metaphorical association between water and stone in the Neolithic" (*ibid*; 16). Furthermore, as a result of studying the interrelationships between such settings e.g. intervisibility studies (Bergh 1995; Tilley 1994; Watson 2001), various phenomenological methods, it is assumed we are uncovering *meaning*. The question, of course, then becomes *whose* meaning?

Brück (2005:51) points out that "the simple fact of intervisibility does not in itself indicate that those who built and used a monument either recognised this visual relationship or considered it significant". The aspect of postprocessual approaches (phenomenological in particular) that has undergone most criticism is the fact that our own observations (whilst tantalising), in reality may have little direct connection with people in the past (Brück 2005; Fleming 2006). One of the problems I have noted in these approaches is that there is an underlying insinuation that people possessed a clear constructed *narrative* of meaning or perception of their landscape. Provided that we read the right clues and suitably 'embed' our own perceptions, we are able to tap into some of the governing symbolic schemas underlying their views of their landscape. Although Tilley (1994:2) asserts that "people do not, of course, deliberately occupy inhospitable habitats or those with few resources by virtue of some slavish accommodation to a symbolic scheme but the places that they do occupy take on, *through time*, particular sets of meanings and connotations". We cannot ignore that archaeologists have themselves become slavishly hooked to uncovering the symbolic schemes of the past and finding the right metaphors through which they can be expressed. This has been largely influenced by the propensity to view the archaeological record as a text "generated by acts of inscription and capable of signification" (Thomas 2004:210) because it is "attractive to be able to reconstruct

the 'spatial narratives' of people moving across prehistoric landscapes and to investigate the ways in which topographic and built features have presented themselves" (*ibid*: 198). Fleming (2006:275) points out "it is not clear why metaphorical perceptions of landscape should be treated as a research priority in the investigation of the prehistoric past, or why it is worthwhile to present them in almost totally decontextualized narratives".

The holistic or textual landscape paradigm is undoubtedly useful for archaeologists. It has helped liberate archaeological interpretations, allowing a much more productive climate in which broader theories of social relations, agency and materiality can be discussed. It has allowed more self-reflexive methodologies to develop. It has enabled more exciting archaeological narratives to be penned. But archaeologists need to explicitly recognise that this concept of landscape may bear little relation to how it was actually experienced in the past. I am sceptical that people did or can ever be capable of conceptualising their contemporary social landscape in such a holistic or textual manner. Rather, such understanding is fragmentary, segmented by the different social practices enacted at different locations across space. In short, there are no *tidy narratives* which we can tap into. Just as we recognise that landscapes themselves "are very untidy" "do not encode universal meanings, and are not merely simple, sedimented accumulations of the past" (Chadwick 2004:56), then we need to be aware that past narratives and perceptions may well be as differentiated and disjointed as the social practices that created them. We can now ask is it possible to reconcile a central concern with social practice whilst maintaining a coherent concept of landscape?

Practice and Landscape

It is inherently difficult to maintain a landscape perspective while at the same time considering the diversity of social practices. This is because the value of the landscape concept is that it represents some form of totality, whereas social practices are naturally varied and punctuated. In many ways it is not surprising that landscape narratives are favoured in the study of prehistoric monumentality; social practices are difficult to identify and harder to interact with due to the temporal chasm between researchers and people of the past. Researchers have attempted to reveal how social practices effectively 'bite' into landscapes

(Giddens (2003 [1984]:xxii). One concept that has attempted to reconcile this gap between practice and landscape is Ingold's idea of the *taskscape*.

On one level, Ingold's notion of *taskscape* attempts to uncover a suitable framework through which practices across space can be conceptualised. He proposes that "the entire ensemble of tasks, in their mutual interlocking" underlies "the concept of the *taskscape*. Just as the landscape is an array of related features, so- by analogy- the *taskscape* is an array of related activities." (Ingold 2000:195). Indeed, it is in these "shared contexts of practical activity" that "the very foundation of sociality" (Ingold 1993:160) lies. Ingold's main preoccupation in proposing the idea of a *taskscape* is driven by the need to understand the temporality of the landscape rather than to explore the qualities of practice itself. As a result, he still maintains a notion of landscape separate to that of *taskscape* although they are "not to be opposed as nature to culture" (Ingold 1993:161) and they are linked in that "the activities that compromise the *taskscape* are unending, the landscape is never complete, neither 'built' or 'unbuilt', it is perpetually under construction." (Ingold 1993:162). The only drawback of Ingold's concept is the idea of the *taskscape* being linked to auditory experience and landscape as visual means so that core elements of social practice become divided. This highlights how difficult it is to meaningfully reconcile social practice and landscape into a single concept or narrative.

Locale

A spatial concept that has been favoured in some of the postprocessual readings of prehistoric monumentality is *locale*. For example, both Barrett, in his practice-centered, and Tilley in his experiential-centred, research on prehistoric monuments have employed the concept of 'locale'. Both researchers were heavily influenced by Giddens' (2003 [1984]: xxv) concept of *locale*.

The situated nature of social interaction can usefully be examined in relation to different locales through which the daily activities of individuals are coordinated. Locales are not just places but settings of interaction.

A locale, in this regard is defined through and by social interaction. Barrett (1994:74) highlights the innate temporality of locales by arguing that "the significance of each locale is determined not only by what takes place there and then, but by what has gone before and what comes after". Tilley (1996:161)

argues that "locales stand then, in relation to landscapes, as parts to wholes" and ascribes locales with having the qualities of places when he writes "a landscape is a series of named locales, a set of relational places linked by paths movements and narratives" (Tilley 1994:34). He also indicates how locales act as a form of social space by pointing out how "space plays an important part in defining the manner in which social interaction takes place and the significance it has for agents; locales are settings in which interaction takes place" (Tilley 1994:19). What is interesting about these perspectives is that they provide an interpretation of space defined through social interaction.

An essential question to be asked here is what defines and designates a locale? Cornell and Fahlander (2002) promote an interesting perspective here by stating that a "*locale* simply stands for a certain area with some relevance to the individuals situated within its frames (Cornell and Fahlander 2002:31). This raises a very significant point: if locales are defined by interaction relevant within one's own life experiences, then the potential for the parameters surrounding such locales to change quickly over time is great. As a result, they point out how the application of the term locale is more likely to be "a small analytical unit selected and demarcated by the archaeologist, in order to identify structuring practices" and doesn't necessarily reflect "the world-view of the actors operating in it" (Cornell and Fahlander 2002:31). Again, such a perspective is concerned with the difference between archaeological experiences of space and that of people in the past.

2.2.4 Materiality

The concept of *materiality* has pervaded the social sciences in such a variety of guises that it has prompted some researchers to retort that "the idea of 'materiality'" does not have a common meaning among theorists of culture and therefore "is conceptualized in very diverse ways" (Reckwitz 2002:195). Materiality is increasingly gaining a central position within certain anthropological and archaeological approaches (Dant 1999; Meskell 2005; Miller 2005). In archaeology the penchant for theories of materiality has been particularly notable within monument studies. This has undoubtedly to do with the longevity of monuments themselves. It is within phenomenological approaches that the concept of materiality has gained particular credence, with a number of recent

publications (Fowler and Cummings 2003; Tilley 2004) and conferences posing a deliberate link between monuments and materiality.

The concept of materiality is required because it tries to consider and embrace subject-object relations going beyond the brute materiality of stones and considering why certain kinds of stones and their properties became important to people. (Tilley 2007:17)

Tilley's point stresses that *materiality* is best thought as a *relationship*. How has this relationship been conceived within postprocessual monument studies and how has practice been situated within these debates?

Material as Structuring Experience

There has been a line of argument that has concentrated on the materiality of monuments and how they enclosed, structured and governed the social practices in relation to them. Some researchers have attempted to decode the structuring geometry (Bradley 1998a) whilst others are interested in exploring the way in which such materiality "orchestrated human experience" (Bradley 1993:48) within specific locales (Edmonds 1993; Barrett 1994; Thomas 1993, 1996; Richards 1996). Monumental architecture is commonly seen as having the power to restrict, exclude or enable certain social practices.

Architecture structures practices by imposing a particular order on the contexts of daily life (Richards 1996:193).

This is often depicted as a form of conceptual order, focused on perception of locales rather than the actual practices within them.

Enclosure allows the creation of an 'analytical space', a space which can be conceptually controlled, and it is this kind of control over space which subjects dwell in and move through which has become total within our own society (Thomas 1993:78).

This epistemological leaning occurs in other works, for example Tilley (1996:168) states "I want to argue that these were stones by which to learn, stones by which to remember, stones by which to orient, and stones by which to think". Clearly, he leaves out the stones that might have been directly involved in some form of social practice. In many of these accounts stone monuments are portrayed more consistently as *symbolic* entities within the landscape, which influence and

structure the creation of meaning, rather than as playing an active role in related social practices. There are two major trends that have reinforced the idea of monuments as symbolic in this way. First has been the application of a textual analogy through which stone monuments have gained their own form of agency. Second has been the tendency to portray monuments as commemorative or mnemonic devices.

Textual Analogy

Just as the textual analogy gained popularity in postprocessual approaches to landscape, monuments have also been depicted as material components that could communicate a particular 'reading'.

It is reasonable to surmise that the escalation of architectural complexity within the megalithic tombs was an attempt to ensure that the 'correct' reading was made of them (Thomas 1993:92).

In this regard, monuments are transformed into objects of communication rather than objects of action; they begin to take on their own form of agency. The push towards imbuing seemingly inanimate things with agency has become one of the central concerns within material culture studies (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). Monuments have been subject to their own biographies both collectively (Holtorf 1996, 1998) and individually (Gillings and Pollard 1999). Increasing attention has been paid to the texture, size, shape and positions of stone monument in an attempt to reveal what their material qualities communicate (Cummings, Jones and Watson 2002; Tilley 2004).

Perhaps each of these stones had their own story to tell, a story which would ultimately become subsumed within the great circles and avenues where they seem to have been chosen for their shape, colour and texture (Watson 2001:301).

The materiality of stone monuments also been depicted as affecting archaeological methodologies and interpretations. Tilley (2004:219) points out "the material experience of stones in place is fundamental. The stones exert their muted agency in relation to us. They make an impact. We cannot describe them in any way we like".

The idea of monuments having biographies has encouraged an assessment of their long-term histories. Imbuing agency into and appreciating "the efficacy and animate nature of the stones themselves" (Gillings and Pollard 1999:184) has been helpful on two accounts. It allows archaeologists to contemplate ways in which stone monuments might have been seen as animate entities because of what they communicated about the ancestors. It also makes us appreciate that, whilst archaeologists' reactions to such materiality may radically differ from those of people in the past, the process of archaeological interpretation is also part of the long-term interaction with such materiality.

On the down side, by concentrating on stone monuments themselves, there is often considerable distraction from considering the social practices in which they were engaged. This need not be the case. Indeed as Fowler and Cummings (2003:5) point out, the purpose of materiality is to "take interest in how substances, forms, conditions are re-evaluated through engagement, experience and practice". The problem is that, out of the three, practice is the most underdeveloped. This has much to do with the popularity of phenomenological philosophy in which ideas of *engagement* and *experience* are so central that these approaches tend to focus "on monuments rather than on the ephemeral traces of human activity" (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:4). The idea of monuments having their own agency has been criticised elsewhere:

Still worse is to see the monuments as 'things' having a life of their own. I would suggest that to do so is to lose sight of the people who intentionally built and used them and perhaps having done so never escaped their influence (Richards 1993:177).

In this research, I find more relevance in Ingold's (2007:1) view that "things are active not because they are imbued with agency but because of ways in which they are caught up in these currents of the lifeworld". This view clearly explicates the idea that agency is produced in relation to human activity and not apart from it. In this research, I argue that the social practices in relation to these stones were most likely to take precedent over the material in how past peoples constructed meaning. Therefore, rather than explore the materiality of the stones in isolation, it is this complex interrelationship between the material, practice and the perception that needs to be of central concern.

Monuments: Material Symbols for All Times

Although there have been a plethora of new approaches to prehistoric stone monuments within postprocessual agendas, one aspect of monumentality that has been retained from more traditional approaches is the concept of monuments as symbolic entities. The fundamental idea that monuments may have been erected as a form of commemoration, and hence were symbolically driven, is still influential.

The monuments both deployed and captured an ancestral history. Acting as mnemonic markers they coded historicity and the sacred power in particular places, creating a hierarchy of valued points in the landscape on pathways channelling movement through it and sustaining knowledge of it. (Tilley 1994:204-5)

In many regards, it is the symbolic meaning of monuments that is often depicted as overshadowing all else.

The dominance of monuments will always have overshadowed daily tasks and practices, just as they do today, but at particular times each place in this created landscape will assume especial significance. (Richards 1996:206)

An example where ethnographic analogy was employed in order to better understand this process of commemoration was Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina's collaboration focusing on the engagement of a Madagascan community with their stone monuments. In their paper they point out how the "association of stone with the ancestors (for tombs and standing stones), the metaphorical hardening of the living to become like stone, the eternal durability of stone, and the unity symbolized by stone and mobilized in its erection" (Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998:313).

It is probably safe to assume that a desire to "commemorate" may have influenced a certain amount of monument building within a diverse range of communities. Indeed, it is not outlandish to suggest that over time monuments erected for other purposes did take on a certain level of symbolism and act as commemorative structures within a community. But there has been too much emphasis on the concept of prehistoric stone monuments as symbolic commemorative structures, and too little consideration of what they were built 'to do' and what happened within them.

One of the important questions we need to ask ourselves when analysing past monumental landscapes is: when and how did such materiality become associated with the past? We need to remember that it is likely people did not just build or interact with monuments with the past in mind, but also in relation to present social engagement. Concerns with the future may also have been reflected by the choice of more durable materials. Gillings and Pollard (1999:184) have also pointed out how such temporal sensitivity is needed in regards to this issue. In recognising that "a direct association seems to have been created between stone and the ancestral world", they point out how "it is our suggestion that in the latter part of the period this relationship became more sedimented, with certain of the sarsens becoming the direct embodiment of ancestor spirits" (Gillings and Pollard 1999:184).

In this research, I will argue that by centring our consideration on practice within monumental locales we gain a much fuller insight into the different phases of meaning monuments have gone through over their long-term histories.

2.3 Qualities of Practice

So far in this chapter, I have outlined and critiqued the limited concern with social practice in previous studies of monumental landscapes in Europe and Britain. In doing so, I have also made a number of key observations about the relationship between *practice* and *perception*. I have argued that the desire to carry out social practices was one of the primary motivators behind both the creation and re-creation of monumental locales and that the perception of such space is irrevocably linked to the social practices carried out within them. As a result, I have proposed that a change of analytical focus is needed so that social practice is placed as the central interpretative *hook* in our research.

I now want to go on to develop this argument more fully. As a first step I simply pose the question *why practice?* I will outline what I see as the important *qualities* of social practice, necessitating that it be placed centrally when interpreting monumental space. I will follow this section with a discussion of how such conceptualisation of practice and perception impacts on how we interpret and analyse monumentality.

2.3.1 Why Practice?

In order to properly understand why I have chosen to place practice so centrally in this research, it is imperative to define its favoured theoretical qualities. A major source of inspiration for archaeologists in deciding how to frame, define and conceive of practice, is to consult some of the theories of practice that have formed core discourses within the social sciences since the nineteenth century. Theories of practice often provide a foundation stone from which other theories of the human condition arise e.g., theories of agency, materiality, etc. Therefore they warrant the full attention of archaeologists. I agree with Pauketat's sentiment that there is "no practice-theory cook-book" (Pauketat 2001:79) from which archaeologists can draw, so I have drawn from a wider remit of ideas from across anthropology, sociology and philosophy.

Practice and Structure

Traditional theories of social practice are largely focused on the interrelationship between practice and structure in terms of how to adequately frame practice within structure (Weber 1978 [1922]; Mead, 1938; Durkheim 1982 [1895]). It would be naïve to see this desire as merely indicative of positivistic and structuralist thought; post-structuralists have also been compelled to frame social practice in terms of structure, albeit through the guise of exploring the agency/structure dichotomy (see Walsh 1998). Framing social practice, whether it has been conceived as *constraint* (Weber 1978 [1922]; Durkheim, 1982 [1895]) or as inherently *dynamic* (Habermas 1987, Cohen 1996) in relation to structure, has undoubtedly acted as a useful platform upon which to stage theories of practice. Should practice be framed from a *top-down* (structuralist) or *bottom-up* (post-structuralist) perspective? Do we really need to frame it all? What are the alternatives? Since the 1960s theories of practice have largely developed in accordance with post-structuralist and postmodernist ideologies. Cohen's (1996; 112) summation that "action seems more like poetry than a natural phenomenon, presenting theorists with orderly rhythms, meanings and forms, but within no consolidating principle that brings all the patterns together" epitomises this stance. Focus on practices in their own right meant that many theorists began concentrating more on the transformative qualities of practice. There are two intrinsic qualities of practice that act as the life-blood of this thesis. First are the *transformative* and second are the *formative* qualities of practice.

Transformative Qualities of Practice

The proposition that social practices are transformative has undoubtedly gained momentum within postmodernist ideology. An obvious example of this is Anthony Giddens' *Theory of Structuration* (1979, 2003 [1984]). Giddens' recognition that "routinized intersections of practices" are "the transformation points in structural relations" (Giddens 2003 [1984]:xxxi) purports that social practice, rather than being framed by structure, has power to both sustain and transform it. His idea that "social practices, biting into space and time are considered to be at the root of both subject and social object" (Giddens 2003 [1984]:xii) situates practice as the nexus of social being and "the structural properties of social systems exist only in as far as forms of social conduct are reproduced chronically across space and time" (Giddens 1984:xxi). One of the key aspects of Giddens' theory is that social practices are situated at a mediation point between structure and agency. Indeed, Cohen (1996:130) sees such an idea that "anything that happens or exists in social life is generated through enacted forms of conduct" as a "common sense proposition".

A focus on the transformative qualities of practice has had a long history within theoretical sociology. I want to draw particular attention to the approach known as *Symbolic Interactionism*. Testimony to this school of thought lies in the fact that the central issues still retain the same relevance today as they did some ninety years ago. This will become apparent below when I discuss the parallels between symbolic interactionist viewpoints and those of a number of post-structuralist theorists.

Symbolic Interactionism and Practice

G.H. Mead (1938, 1982 [1927]) was one of the first proponents of symbolic interactionism. He coined the term "social act" in order to explain what he saw as the fundamental quality of social action as having a "manipulatory phase" (1982 [1927]:120) in which society and the individual is formed and manipulated through interaction and mediation.

As a man adjusts himself to a certain environment he becomes a different individual; but in becoming a different individual he has affected the community in which he lives (Mead 1934:215)

Whilst Mead gave a lot of lectures in the 1920s and 1930s, his publication output was low and it was Herbert Blumer (1951, 1969) who introduced and developed Mead's ideas through his own writings. The three premises of *symbolic interactionism* as outlined by Blumer warrant discussion here.

1. The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them.
2. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.
3. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. (Blumer 1969:1)

The two fundamental arguments that arise from this perspective are first, the idea that social interaction forms the basis of sociality and second (and more importantly here), that social interaction forms the basis of and transmission of, meaning.

Formative Qualities

Blumer's (1969:7) suggestion that "the life of any human society consists necessarily of an on-going process of fitting together the activities of its members" not only underlines the idea of practice at the root of the formation of sociality, but also insinuates that social structure is merely the fitting together of such practices. As Coulter (2001:32) acknowledges "for most symbolic interactionists, all 'macro' phenomena are either abstractions from, or actually consist in, patterns of social interaction between people". There is a certain degree of resonance between these ideas and the writings of Bruno Latour and Theodore Schatzki.

Bruno Latour's version of *actor network theory* (Latour 1987, 2005) also likened society to a network of practices.

For Latour, the distinction between micro-interactions and macro-structures thus dissolves itself. What we can find is nothing more than the "flat" level of social practices. Yet, in these practices, material things are routinely drawn upon and applied by different agents in different situations. The objects handled again and again endure, thus making social reproductions beyond temporal and spatial limits possible (Reckwitz 2002:209-210).

By focusing his attention on such 'flat' social practices, Latour offers up an interesting viewpoint on materiality and collective agency, effectively arguing that 'membership' of any society is *equally* shared between human agents and material artefacts. Similarly Schatzki (2001:43) depicts social order within society as *arrangements*.

An arrangement is a layout of entities in which they relate and take up places with respect to one another. On the basis of this intuitive conception, *social* order can be defined as arrangements of people and organisms, artifacts and things through which they coexist.

What unites all these viewpoints is that they prioritise the level of social practices or interaction, be it between human or material agents.

Any given interaction seems to *overflow* with elements which are already in the situation coming from some other time, some other *place*, and generated by some other *agency* (Latour 2005:166).

It is this idea that any social interaction/practice effectively *overflows* with elements intersecting from different times, places and agents is important here. When we talk of social practice in relation to monumental space it is this overflowing character of practices that we should be engaging with. It is imperative that we accept both Latour's viewpoint and Schatzki's (2001:48) argument that "a practice is, first, a *set of actions*". Social practices are convoluted, each practice naturally made up of a set of other actions, interactions, negotiations. Conceptualising social practice as a *set of actions* is central to the approach in this research. I will now outline how researchers have identified evidence for social practices in relation to monumental space, whilst noting that they have not paid enough attention to the *sets of actions* underpinning such practices.

Practice and formation of perception (and meaning)

As I pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, my working definition of *social practice* in this research is in line with Cohen's assessment of *praxis*: the "processes of enactment rather than the mental acts that makes conduct happen in the world" (Cohen 1996:121). The separation of practice as the "processes of enactment" and perception as "mental acts", does not undermine their

irrevocable link but is done to clarify the social act itself from the meaning, semiotics and transmission of such an act, a distinction too often blurred in postprocessual archaeology. I am not interested in exploring the psychological or cognitive aspects of perception in this research. Instead the focus is on the role of practice in the formation of meaning or perception of monumental space. As a result, I equate perception and meaning of monumental space as being one and the same. Blumer's (1969:4) perspective is very interesting in this regard. He describes how symbolic interactionism sees "meaning from a different source".

It does not regard meaning as emanating from the intrinsic make-up of the thing that has meaning, nor does it see meaning as arising through a coalescence of psychological elements in the person.

But:

Instead, it sees meaning as arising in the process of interaction between people. The meaning of a thing for a person grows out of the ways in which other persons act toward the person with regard to the thing.

The main point here is that perception/meaning arises out of and is formed through, the practice/interaction of people among people and things. Schatzki (2001) shares this view and depicts the formation of meaning as linked to the interaction and positioning of people in particular social arrangements and even goes further to explicate how such meaning can then act on such an arrangement.

As elements of the arrangement, these entities also possess identities (who someone is) or meanings (what something is). For something's meaning/identity is a function of its relations, just as conversely its relations are a function of its meaning/identity (Schatzki 2001: 43).

The key thing made apparent here is how the relationship between practice and perception is a two-way process. Such a process is subject to both subtle and substantial change as Cohen (1996:131) acknowledges; "when something disrupts taken-for-granted routines, reproduction gives way to reasoned reflection which opens possibilities for social change". It is the fact that people reflect on social interaction and create narratives about their world that instils such interaction with a level of the 'symbolic'. Blumer (1969:77) explains how "the term "symbolic interactionism" refers, of course, to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity

consists in the fact that human beings interpret or "define" each other's action instead of merely reacting to each other's actions". Most social theorists would be hard pressed to disagree with the statement that "human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions" (Blumer 1969:78) but the important thing is how we conceptualise where such symbolic meaning comes from and indeed where it goes! In this research I will be focusing on what local memories and meanings ascribed to Uneapa's archaeology can tell us about their histories (see Chapter 4).

One aspect of symbolic interactionism that can be criticised is the fact that the temporal dimension governing the changing relationship between practice and perception is not given enough attention. In this regard Giddens' idea of perception is more relevant. He writes "like intentions, reasons etc. perception is not an aggregate of discrete 'perceptions' but a flow of activity integrated with the movement of the body in time-space" (Giddens 2003 [1984]:46). In this research such a temporal flow of activity is also pertinent in regards to how the symbolic aspects of place operate. I will propose that thinking about the relationship between practice and perception over time helps us to better understand how such symbolism may have operated. It allows us to question what is being symbolising or forming the perception of monumental space, whether it is *practice*, *place* or *material*. I will explore some of the long-term patterns in relation to Uneapa's archaeology in Chapter 8

In this section, I have argued that social practices form both the basis of, and have the power to transform, social relations. I have acknowledged how practice plays a fundamental role in the formation of perception of landscape/place/materiality. I now want to discuss how these qualities impact how we approach, identify and conceptualise social practice and perception in relation to monumentality.

2.3.2 Identification and Conceptualisation of Social Practice

This thesis recognises the difficulties often facing archaeologists in trying to identify social practice from inherently scant and fragmentary evidence.

Excavation of monumental space can often be a great disappointment to the researcher because the surface and sub-surface remains do not always complement each other in the way that one might have hoped. Evidence for social practice has largely been garnered through examining the deposited remains within and the morphology of, monumental space. I would argue that a shift in how we conceptualise social practice in relation to this evidence causes a change in how such evidence is understood.

Deposited Remains

One of the most direct ways to identify social practices is to analyse the deposited remains found within the monumental space itself. Funerary practices in relation to megalithic tombs have warranted most attention in this regard (e.g. Mizoguchi 1993; Barrett 1996; Cannon 2002; Stevenson and White 2007). Burial evidence offers archaeologists a coherent set of remains through which they can promote a particular understanding and interpretation of such space. However, we need to "recognise that funerary and ancestral rites need only have been one of a broad spectrum of activities which contributed towards this program of monument building" (Barrett 1996:54).

A good example of how archaeologists have dealt with the broader spectrum of practices is the manner in which they have interpreted faunal and shellfish deposits in association with stone monuments. There has been a tendency to regard these deposits as some form of *ritual* deposit or the remains of *feasting* and leave it just at that, although some researchers have acknowledged related patterns. For example, Thomas (1988:550) highlighted one case where "feasting and the circulation of human remains seem to be closely related". Archaeologists would do well to consider the range and dimensions of activities that may have surrounded the organising of a social practice such as feasting. This is tied into the concept of practice as "a set of actions" and "organized web of activity" (Schatzki 2001:48). Each practice reflects a litany of other related relationships, negotiations and organisational elements.

Rather than just identify that certain deposits may be indicative of certain social practices we need to push ourselves further to think about the myriad

dimensions underlying such practices. For example, if evidence for 'feasting' is found we could ask questions in regards to a number of issues:

1. **Definition:** What determines this as evidence of 'feasting' as opposed to just eating? Is the assumption based on the fact that there are differences in the quality and quantity of food being consumed on site as opposed to settlement areas, etc., or is it just based on the location of the food consumption?
2. **Practical Process Involved:** Can the evidence for feasting be broken down into different process or 'sets of actions'? For example is there evidence of food preparation (e.g. butchering, shelling seafood, etc.) or cooking, as well as consumption, on site?
3. **Spatial Distribution:** Where is the concentration of evidence for feasting located? Is it within the central or peripheral areas of the locale? Is there anything particular about the location where special food seems to have been cooked or served? Where is the nearest supply of water? What could the food have been served on? How many people could have been involved in food preparation and consumption?
4. **Resulting Social Considerations:** Does feasting seem part and parcel of similar sites? What other evidence is there for social practices? We need to speculate on the social relations of such feasting; whether this practice was the main event or whether it was instead part of a broader social occasion, how such feasting was controlled, who may have been cooking and serving the food, whether it was egalitarian or not or whether some members of the community got certain kinds of foodstuff over others, and what social parameters surrounded where and how this food was eaten?

This consideration of feasting is intended to illustrate how each social practice has a litany of related 'sets of actions' that need consideration. Some of these dimensions may be archaeologically attestable and others will not, but all warrant consideration.

Morphology of Space

The extent to which archaeologists have engaged with social practice has also been determined by the morphology of monumental space itself. For example court cairns have often been more easily discussed in terms of their related social practices because the "presence of such a pronounced forecourt provides clear evidence of the site being the centre of attention of the living community as a focal place" (Darvill 1979:315) whereas consideration of social practice in relation to megalithic tombs has tended to be more monument-focused. For example, Thomas (1993:92) recognises "the exact nature of the activities which were carried out within the internal space of the tomb might constitute a means of challenging the original meaning of the monument". Even at prominent monuments in Europe, such as Stonehenge, the bulk of research focusing on the morphology of such space has related to uncovering the sequence of construction (see Hawkins 1966; Lawson 1992) rather than what social practices were carried out within such space. Richards (1993:147) has recognised such an approach as "reductionist, being restricted to the actual phenomenon of construction. Consequently no concern is given to the intended use of the building, the activities undertaken within it, the paths of people moving through it or the principles of order and the ideas of cosmology embodied within its form". Even Bradley (e.g. 1998a), who has written at length about the changing meaning and morphology of monumental space, pays surprisingly little attention to developments/transformations in social practices that may have prompted such change. Monumental spaces are rarely discussed as centres of social activity and we need to think more about the morphology of such space in these terms.

Watson and Keating (1999:335) considered the morphology of monumental space by recognising how "prehistoric monuments may not have been as peaceful during their use as they are today". They carried out tests to measure the sound waves of voices and drumming in order to try and grasp some of the experiences past populations may have had. Their research produced interesting results in regards to how sound travelled from both within and outside stone circles. What is important about their research is that they took an activity such as drumming or oratory and experimented with the space in regards to that activity. They started with the probability that some performance or practice may have been carried out within stone circles and from this

probability they opened up a new understanding of such space. The effect of drumming within this space may well have been an incidental factor due to the morphology of the stone circle itself, and may not have motivated the lay-out or arrangement of stone features. But on the other hand we need to remember that (in some cases) if people built monuments with the intention that they would be used for a social gatherings then the layout of the stones might be more deliberately influenced by that practice.

Therefore, when we are focusing on social practice in relation to monumental space we also need to thoroughly examine what we can of the actual space itself; weighing up the probability and practicality of a range of practices. If we can start with the premise that a particular place was the location of a social gathering of some kind – then we can question where was a suitable place for groups of people to come together, stand, sit and interact. How many people could fit within the main area of the stones comfortably? How is the space divided? Is there any sense of inside or outside as designated by the stone monuments etc? The point is that the questions we are asking are rooted in the underlying assumption that such space was one of social interaction.

Just as each practice has various 'sets of actions', most social practices are set in relation to other social practices – a network of different overflowing elements forming the basis of social interaction. Therefore, a practice-centred approach to monumental space aims to take into account as many social practices as revealed through the evidence as well as weighing up the plausibility and practicality of other practices. I have stressed how a broadening of how we conceptualise social practice can ultimately improve our interpretation of monumental space and most pertinently here, we also gain better insight into the meaning or perception of monumental space.

Conceptualising Perception: Perception as a Process

In the introduction to this chapter I outlined how the *perception* of monumental space is best thought of as a form of *memory* related to three interrelated elements: *practice, landscape and materiality*. I have argued how social practice plays a particularly fundamental role in the formation of perception and meaning of such spaces and therefore should be of greater concern to archaeologists. There is also a need to consider how the factors governing the perception of

monumental space may have changed over time. The longevity of monuments and their changing meanings is something that has long interested archaeologists. Although "monuments and ritual can be central to the ways in which societies remember, they are far from monolithic. Their meanings and their roles can change, just as they may vary from one setting to another" (Edmonds 1999:7). There has also been interest in considering multiple perspectives on such spaces, including those of present day communities. Whilst I understand the sentiment behind Holtorf's (1998:25) comment that "there is little difference, in principle, between interpreting what a farmer in late prehistory made of a megalith on his field and interpreting what my neighbour thinks about the past today". It is precisely the fact that there *have* been differences (both major and minor) in terms of how such monumentality was perceived from generation to generation that archaeologists should be focusing on. In this regard, the important question becomes how do we conceptualise perception and as a result, conceive of such changes?

Recognising that perception is a process is a very important first step. It forces us to think about the different factors influencing each generation within such a process. It makes us question the extent to which social practice within such spaces (or indeed lack of them in cases of abandonment and disuse) played a role in the formation of perception of such spaces. It also allows us to consider how social practices may have influenced the location of places within the landscape and indeed the materiality of the actual stone features themselves.

The important thing here is that each generation would have engaged with these elements to a different degree. In many respects this is aligned with Pauketat's (2001:87) concept of a *historical-processual paradigm* in that it "pursues *how* change occurred- that is, *how* meanings or traditions were constructed and transmitted". Pauketat (2001:80) also points out how traditions "are always in the process of becoming". Extending this point to monumental spaces, in that they too are constantly in the "process of becoming", recognises that perception of such space is historically bound. As a result it encourages us to try and understand the various processes that may have influenced perceptions of such space over time.

2.4 Summing up: Practice and Perception and Uneapa's Archaeology

This chapter has established why a practice framework is favoured in this research. In the first section of this chapter, I argued that social practice has been marginalised and needs more explicit attention in the study of monumental landscapes. In the second section, I explored some of the qualities of social practice that necessitate such centralisation. Social practice has been proposed as the seat of sociality, as having the power to transform structural relations and propel social change. These qualities encourage a particular stance on the relationship between practice and perception to be taken: i.e. social practices play a fundamental role in the formation of perception and meaning of monumental space.

One of the most important parts of any theoretical framework lies not only in the coherency of its arguments, but also in its applicability. Up to this point the discussion has been generic and broad. Indeed, I am convinced that monumental spaces, regardless of time, place and context, would benefit from a more rigorous consideration of social practice as well as the recognition of the processes involved in the perception of such space. It is not within the remit of this study to consider which kinds of monumental spaces would benefit more or less from this approach. Instead, I will narrow the discussion to how and why these theoretical concerns will both structure and be integrated into the methodology and analysis in this research project.

In this research I will consider the role of social practices in the creation/renovation, location, use/re-use, maintenance/neglect, memorialising/forgetting of Uneapa's monumental space from inception up to the present day. As I outlined in the introduction, I intend to explore what impact such practices had on the formation of perceptions and meaning as well as the physical formation of the archaeological record. This research draws on a particular range of evidence (archaeological and local perspectives) for social conduct within a very specific space (Uneapa Island's stone features). Put simply, I question whether the overarching significance of Uneapa's locales was the experience of social interaction there rather than the experiences of materiality or spatiality *per se*. Focusing on social interaction in this way necessitates a particular approach

to, the concepts of materiality, agency and landscape. I will now briefly discuss this will influence how Uneapa's archaeology is investigated.

Agency and Materiality

Agency in this research is best understood in relation to what is being studied, i.e., Uneapa stone features. As a result, I equate the very presence of stone features in the landscape as a manifestation of *collectivity*. Given the theoretical focus on social practice, it is the shared experiences and resultant perceptions that are at the heart of this research. Therefore the agents under investigation are the different communities on Uneapa Island (both past and present) who have interacted with one another in relation to the stone features.

Such a *situated* approach to agency also relates to my approach to materiality as a *relationship* in that I will explore the *relationship* Uneapa Islanders currently have with physical objects, i.e. stone seats, tables, standing stones, rock carvings, cooking places and keeping places in the landscape (Chapter 5) and what such knowledge can tell us about the past. I will argue this knowledge provides suitable and stimulating frameworks (see Chapter 4) through which the detailed analysis (Chapters 6-8) of the island's archaeology can be carried out.

Uneapa Island's material remains are not treated as being imbued with their own innate agency, rather meaning is derived from the social interaction in which they are/were involved. Rather than accept that Uneapa's stone features are symbolic structures, I am more interested in how and when such symbolism came about. It is for this reason that I have made the decision to drop the term monument and use the term *stone features*. The term monument is too closely associated with commemorative and symbolic structures and so may distract from the perspectives I wish to adhere to. Today the stone features on Uneapa may well have become 'monuments', but they were not necessarily always so.

Landscape and Locale

The focus on the relationship between people and things is also extended to an interest in the relationship between people and their spatial worlds. In this research, I argue that rather than starting with a holistic understanding of a

landscape, we should instead build up towards it by first focusing on the different settings of interaction within it. This is why I favour using the term *locale* in this research. Rather than locales being as “parts to wholes” (Tilley 1996:161), in relation to landscape, locales become the centre of analysis in their own right. Therefore, in Chapter 6, I will investigate what the memorialised and physical evidence can tell us about past social practices in relation to number of carefully chosen case study locales. In Chapter 7 I will investigate the relationship *between* locales and therefore social practice on a landscape-level.

Transformative and Formative practices on Uneapa

By studying Uneapa’s archaeology in a practice framework, I will be investigating both *transformative* and *formative* qualities of social practice. Chapter 6 explores the role of social practices in the formation of perception and physical layout of a number of case study locales. Chapter 7 focuses on the *transformative* qualities of social practice by investigating the relationship between practice and structure and in doing so provides some stimulating insights on the archaeology of big man societies. Chapter 8 explores the impact changing social practices have had on the formation of the contemporary archaeological record and local perceptions.

Summing up

In this chapter I have provided a context for the main theoretical question in this research: *what is the relationship between practice and perception in the formation and development of monumental landscapes?* First, I reviewed and critiqued the position of this relationship within postprocessual archaeology by focusing on issues of agency, materiality and landscape. After arguing the need for a change of interpretative focus towards a more practice-centred approach, I outlined how certain *formative* and *transformative* qualities of social practice allowed for a more socially-orientated understanding of perception and therefore, have the potential to improve interpretations of past monumental landscapes. Finally, I discussed how these theoretical concerns will be subsumed and applied to my study of Uneapa Island’s archaeology.

3.1 Introduction

I argued in Chapter 2 that *social practice* needs to be more seriously considered in the study of past 'monumental'¹ landscapes. Following on from this, I will now explain how the move towards practice-orientated interpretation is even *more* pressing in a Pacific Island context. As a general rule, stone features there have acted as emblems of social structure; the flagship material culture framing influential theories of cultural evolution. By steering away from the social evolutionary approach or "top down" approach to focus on social practice, I argue that we can get a better grasp on the meaning of these places for present and past communities alike. Such a "bottom up" perspective also provides a more thorough understanding of social structure. In this chapter I will review and critique the agendas, issues and research approaches that have been applied in the study of Pacific Island monumentality. As a result, I will provide the reader with an appreciation of the research context in which Uneapa Island's archaeology is situated.

Chapter Outline

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part outlines the history of research on stone features in the Western Pacific. I have further divided this chronologically by discussing the studies prior to 1960 first and then those after 1960. This division reflects the fact that it was not until after the 1960s that there were clear *archaeological* agendas in the study of Melanesian prehistory. It also reflects distinction of approaches with diffusionist and ethnographic approaches popular in the early years and social evolutionary ones more recently. I will place particular emphasis on how related social practices were interpreted within these varying research agendas. In the second part of this chapter, I will outline how, in contrast to the study of Melanesian prehistory, issues within Polynesian and Micronesian²

¹ It should be noted that I have argued for dropping the term monument in respect to Uneapa Island's archaeology only. I have not advocated for the term to be dropped throughout the Western Pacific region. Therefore I will continue to use this term monument in discussion of features elsewhere. Hence it is still used in this chapter.

² The geographical divisions Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia subscribed to in this chapter in no way assume a tripartite cultural division. Debates on the meaning (or indeed lack of) of these imposed boundaries are commonplace (Thomas 1989; Clark 2003). Recently archaeologists have begun to favour using the more historically meaningful categories of "Near and Remote Oceania" (Green 1991). The tripartite division is used in this chapter purely because the history of stone monument research has differed substantially within these geographical units.

prehistory have meant that the study of monumentality has been more popular there. By assessing a cross-section of this literature I will point out how monuments in much of this research have become directly equated with social complexity. I will explore how issues of social practice, temporality and change have been conceptualised within such frameworks.

3.2 History of Research on Western Pacific Stone Features

3.2.1 Stone Monuments in Melanesia pre-1960

Diffusionism and Megalithic Races

The existence of stone monuments throughout Melanesia has long been known. Scholarly interest in these monuments during the first half of the twentieth century ran parallel with the way megalithic traditions were being studied elsewhere. Such research was dominated by the diffusionist ideology of the day. Although stone monuments caught the attention of several prominent Melanesian anthropologists at the time (Rivers 1915; Malinowski 1925; Deacon 1934; Vroklage 1935; Layard 1942), such studies were still quite marginal within the wider context of Melanesian anthropological literature. In many cases, such remains were reported (Sherwin and Haddon 1933) but were not analysed in any great detail. Riesenfeld (1950:1) pointed out that "our knowledge of megaliths in a number of regions presents many a lacuna, owing principally to the fact that the majority of observers and travellers were not experienced anthropologists, and were unaware of the very problem of megaliths". This so-called 'problem of megaliths' refers to the question of what cultural connections existed between 'megalithic-building' communities over areas stretching from South East Asia through Melanesia and into Polynesia. Many proponents attempted to trace the course of a migration of megalithic builders from Indonesia into Melanesia.

Indonesia occupies a position of peculiar importance in relation to the main argument as to the origin and nature of megalithic monuments, for it forms the sieve through which any extensive migration from the West to Oceania must pass (Perry 1918:3).

Others such as W.H. Rivers concentrated on analysing the connections between Polynesian and Melanesian stone monuments.

There is a remarkable correspondence between the distribution of stone structures and secret societies in Oceania which points strongly, if not yet decisively, to the introducers of the secret cult of the sun having been the architects of the stone buildings which form one of the chief mysteries of the islands of the Pacific (Rivers 1915:443)

A diffusionist approach largely maintained momentum until the 1950s. Exemplifying this is Riesenfeld's *The Megalithic Culture of Melanesia* (1950). Described by Hutton (1952) as 'almost encyclopaedic', it is by far the most comprehensive treatise on stone monuments in Melanesia to date. The volume compiles a broad range of ethnographic accounts in Dutch, English, French and German that refer to Melanesian stone monuments. Riesenfeld's central argument is classically diffusionist. Rather than draw out the comparisons and differences between the various stone features within Melanesia in order to try and grasp some of their subtle interrelationships, he opts for an overarching diffusionist theory. "It is Melanesian racial and cultural history in the Rivers-Perry-Frederici manner" (Oliver 1951:256).

Riesenfeld's convoluted argument stems from a largely misunderstood Pacific migration history. He readily admits how "we have been obliged to confine our descriptions of the stone-using immigrants to the colour of the skin and character of the hair" (1950:3). "Stone-using immigrants" are believed superior in every way to the Papuan population mainly due the fact that "they have a highly developed sense of history" (1950:4). This sense of superiority runs throughout the text with such fervour that any accomplishments of Melanesian culture are believed to have been introduced by such migrants. For instance, they were responsible for "a very highly developed type of agriculture with artificial irrigation" and "complicated works of earth-shifting" (1950:666). They are alleged to have brought pigs, pottery, stone carving and superior social and spatial organisation. He writes "contrary to the narrow paths made by aboriginal Papuans, the stone-using migrants laid out broad and beautiful dancing grounds" (*ibid*) and "owing to their superior type of culture the stone-using immigrants became the chiefs or the members of the highest ranks among the peoples in the midst of which they settled" (Riesenfeld 1950:668). Such an orientation of culture history detracts from the potential information in the

Riesenfeld volume, which is worthy of reassessment outside such a diffusionist framework.

There is another aspect of the Riesenfeld volume that needs addressing here. All the studies or descriptions of stone monuments in Melanesia referred to in the volume are within the remit of comparative ethnography. This reflects the situation that up until the 1960s, research of an archaeological nature such as surveying, excavation, typology building etc. was very marginal in Melanesia. As I will discuss in the second section of this chapter, this contrasts with Polynesia where monuments were subjected to a longer history of archaeological research and became integral components in the writing of prehistory there.

Ethnographic Insight and Localism

Not all researchers of this generation were beguiled into producing grand narratives; some concentrated their attentions on the meaning and use of stone monuments in their local context. Undoubtedly the area that received most attention in this regard was Malekula in Vanuatu. The publication of both Deacon's *Malekula: A vanishing people in the New Hebrides* (1934) and Layard's *Stone Men of Malekula* (1942) meant that more became known about the monumental landscapes there than in any other part of Melanesia. Both scholars provided detailed descriptions of many rites and rituals associated with the various stone monuments on Malekula. Particularly in-depth was Layard's account of the degree-taking rituals of Low and High *Maki* on Vao, Malekula that involved cycles of erecting stone monuments that extended over many years (Layard 1942:362-455). The ethnographic detail available to Layard and Deacon in relation to stone features does not seem to be the case in all parts of Melanesia at this time. For example, Blackwood's contemporary discussion of the stone pillars of Buin, Bougainville:

I am convinced that the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that they would have told me more details had they known any more themselves.....It would seem that pillars had been set up in times past in connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned so long that all memory of it has disappeared (Blackwood 1935: 537).

The differences in the amount of ethnographic information available in the two areas points to a very important factor that runs counter to the grand diffusionist narratives of the era: these monuments had very particular local histories. Rivers' (1915) idea that there were two waves of migration by different megalithic races, those who built dolmens and those who built pyramidal structures, not only assumed particular monuments belonged to particular cultural groups but also did not allow for any local developments or change. In contrast, although interested in the wider distribution of monuments, Layard largely restricts his discussion to Malekula itself and other regions of Vanuatu (such as Banks Islands, Epi, Santo). As a result, he is more sensitive to the local and temporal issues involved in the development of monumentality and hence the differentiation between monument types in the area. For example, he argued that dolmens had longer histories and the erection of standing stones was a more recent activity.

A handful of other studies also resided outside of the grand diffusionist schema. For example, monuments from the Trobriand Islands, first reported by Seligmann and Strong (1906) and subsequently discussed by Malinowski (1927) were subjected to more contextual study. As a result of this research, Austen (1939) excavated a number of rectangular enclosures there in the hope of finding burial evidence. He was also interested in finding the source of the raw material used. Another area where monuments were studied in their local contexts was Buin in the Solomon Islands (Thumwald 1934). Studies of Melanesian stone monuments that concentrated on localism or incorporated ethnographic insights were exceptions to the norm. Although marginal to the mainstream of the time, it is these studies that will continue to have the most valuable contributions to make in any future study of these enigmatic features in Melanesia.

Diffusionism and Practice

The question of central concern to us here is: How did researchers during this period (pre-1960) incorporate social practices in their study of monumental landscapes? As diffusionist-based arguments assumed a central origin point for 'megalithic societies', concentration was on the *similarities* between the stone monuments. Anthropologists assumed a certain singularity in how monuments functioned within different

communities and were less interested in multiple or contradictory meanings. Associated social practices became externalised, somehow Pan-Pacific in origin. Added to this was the fact that diffusionist arguments (e.g. Riesenfeld 1950) tended to deem *any* class of stone feature (ranging from small stone house platforms, stone walls, stone mortars to rock art, larger monoliths and 'dolmens') as being 'megalithic'. This resulted in the variation and complexity in the morphology and use of stone features in Melanesia being overlooked.

In many ways, whether monumental landscapes should be studied in terms of local processes or in the context of larger models of Pacific colonisation is not an outdated issue. Indeed, as I will discuss below, the lack of research within Melanesian monument studies has meant that the right strategies have yet to be developed to connect these approaches. Stone monuments are potentially a very powerful tool through which diversity in the creation and use of prehistoric social space in Melanesia can be understood, once we find the right methodologies to do so.

3.2.2 Stone Monuments in Melanesia post-1960

Why a lacuna?

From the 1960s onwards, Melanesian archaeology began to establish more coherent research agendas. Given the potential insight stone monuments provide into prehistoric society, it might have been expected that they would have been reassessed and incorporated into the writing of culture history. But this did not happen. From the 1960s onwards, bar a few exceptions, (discussed below) the academic community has chosen to omit stone monuments from their writing of Melanesian prehistory. There are a range of circumstances and reasons behind such omission and I offer a number of explanations here. Some are merely suggestions or incidental factors whilst others expose some problems within the dominant agendas at the heart of Melanesian archaeology.

1. Chronological Issues: Chronology building still remains central to theory building in Melanesian archaeology. I would argue that one of the main reasons stone

monuments have not been given their warranted attention is because they do not slot nicely into an established chronological framework. Many stone features have had complex histories and have continued to be used right up until the present day, making their interpretation within a specific time period more difficult. Added to this is the fact that although a few examples have been dated, a broader and more detailed chronological framework mapping the emergence and development of monumental landscapes in Melanesia has yet to be carried out. The general standpoint in Polynesia is that the erection of stone monuments and fortified earthworks is related to widespread social changes that occurred "during the first millennium A.D. and monumental structures in the landscape are associated with and indeed reflect these changes" (Smith 2004:134). Less research has been invested in understanding this period of social change in Melanesia.

2. Prehistoric Periods of Interest: Recent Melanesian archaeology has been largely dominated by the Lapita paradigm. Studies on the formal characterisation (e.g. Spriggs 1990), geographic distribution and chronological refinement of Lapita pottery sequences (e.g. Kirch 1997) have been popular. So too, is the modelling of Lapita colonisation by analysing archaeological (e.g. Bellwood 1979; Allen 1984; Green 1991), linguistic (e.g. Ross 1988, 1989; Pawley and Ross 1993), environmental (e.g. Torrence and Stevenson 2000) and social and economic (Spriggs 1997; Kirch 2000) evidence. The knowledge of the Lapita phenomenon far outweighs our understanding of any other period of prehistory in the region.

Significant research effort has also been invested in earlier periods of Melanesian prehistory, with notable research on Pleistocene sequences in areas of 'Near Oceania' (e.g. Wickler and Spriggs 1998; O'Connell and Allen 2004; Torrence *et al.* 2004; Fairbairn, Hope and Summerhayes 2006). Pleistocene research has been particularly active in the Bismarck Archipelago area (Torrence, Specht and Fullagar 1992; Pavlides 1993; Pavlides and Gosden 1994) due to the significance of the long-term trade patterns there. For example, long-distance trade of Willaumez Peninsula obsidian has been identified as early as 20,000 years ago (Allen, Gosden and White 1989; Summerhayes and Allen 1993) continuing right up until the recent past (Specht 1981). Obsidian from these sources has been traded over considerable distances and Talasea obsidian has been found as far west as Sabah in Eastern

Malaysia (8,000 km away) (Bellwood and Koon 1989) and as far east as Naigani in Fiji (Best 1987).

In comparison to the wealth of work being carried out on these earlier periods of prehistory, Melanesian late prehistory or 'post-Lapita' sequences (from c. 1,500 BP onwards) have scarcely been studied. All dates obtained (Bickler 2006; Sheppard, Walter and Aswani 2004) relating to stone monuments so far fall within these later periods. In my opinion, there is a direct correlation between the lack of research of stone monuments in Melanesia and lack of interest in the Late Prehistoric period.

3. Morphology of Melanesian stone monuments: Another reason that stone arrangements may have been overlooked in the writing of prehistory relates to their inherent morphology. Even a cursory glance at Riesenfeld's compendium highlights a key point about the majority of stone structures in Melanesia: they are not very big. Apart from the presence of some larger standing stones in certain areas, most structures are quite small. Although Riesenfeld favoured the term 'megalith' in a discussion about 'stone barricades' on Lambom Island (New Ireland) he asks:

Is it not possible that the "bastion"-like ends of these moles had fallen into ruins or perhaps they have been overlooked by the observers because they were so small? (Riesenfeld 1950:252)

The fact that many structures were not 'imposing' or 'impressive' may well have contributed to their being overlooked by researchers. This lack of visibility would have been exacerbated due to dense bush cover. Austen (1939:31) points out that when he went to investigate stone monuments on Kitava Island (Trobriand Islands), he "found that owing to the density of the brushwood very little could be seen". My own experience on Uneapa Island demonstrated that many stone features could be completely hidden from view by the undergrowth.

Another aspect of Melanesian monuments that has made them difficult to study is the spatial lay-out of many of these places. Arguably, unlike those in Polynesia (see Kirch and Green 2001), they do not seem to follow prescribed plans. The lack of similar spatial organisation between monumental landscapes in

Melanesia makes the creation of 'site typologies' more difficult. However, I would argue that this sense of *arbitrariness* results from these monumental complexes being created through a gradual process of diverse social practices over time. Indeed, it is this quality that makes their investigation all the more interesting. Such a perspective on prehistoric landscapes would obviously not sit comfortably with popular culture-historic pursuits such as chronology and typology building. Indeed, it may well be that these qualities of variation and multiplicity and lack of morphological coherence within Melanesian monumentality also discouraged comparative analysis.

4. Coastal research bias: Another reason for the research lacuna on Melanesian monuments may relate to the location of the majority of archaeological research. Interest in models of colonisation as well as the understanding of Lapita settlement patterns has meant that most research has concentrated on *coastal* areas. There is a pattern emerging (Layard 1942; Sheppard, Walter and Nagaoka 2000) that monumental structures are more numerous and substantial in inland areas, throughout Melanesia. This is certainly the impression gained through speaking to a number of people who work in Melanesia; when questioned about the presence of stone features many have indicated that they have heard of their existence and that they are more associated with inland or bush areas (e.g. Lilley 2006, pers. comm.). This certainly is the case on Uneapa. Whether this pattern is really coherent across Melanesia still remains a hypothesis and it would take a directed research project to substantiate it. That said, it is still worth considering as a possible reason to why previous research strategies failed to identify stone monuments.

5. Particular components of monumental landscapes being studied: Melanesian rock art studies have yet to play a central role in the writing of prehistory; as Wilson (2004:173) points out "Pacific rock art studies remain in a "data procurement and reporting stage". Nonetheless, a larger corpus of knowledge on Melanesian rock art exists than for constructed stone features, albeit a lot of the information is in either unpublished or short report format or is quite old. In the first few decades of the 20th century rock art was being reported in Melanesia but only in rare circumstances was any real analysis carried out (e.g. Williams 1931). Following Specht's (1979) seminal paper which argued for a division in rock art styles of the Pacific into the two categories of "Austronesian engraving styles" (AES) and

"Austronesian painting tradition" (APT), more serious research has been carried out on rock art in various parts of Melanesia, in Vanuatu (Spriggs and Mumford 1992; Ballard 1992; Wilson 2002, 2004), Solomon Islands (Roe 1992), New Caledonia (Frimigaaci and Monin, 1980) and Papua New Guinea (Egloff 1970). Most of these researchers have attempted to contextualise regional rock art within a wider geographical distribution but only a small number have tried to tackle what these broader implications may mean in our understanding of Melanesian prehistory (Ballard 1992; Rosenfeld 1987, 1988; Coffmann 2001; Wilson 2002).

While it could be argued that particular concerns within rock art research such as formal study of motif design and production techniques are not easily transferred into the study of other forms of stone features, there are other research aspects such as locational analysis that might benefit from an understanding of the relationship between rock art and other stone features, when and if they are present. In this thesis, rock art is treated as another component of Uneapa's archaeological landscape, not as a distinct element. Therefore my analysis largely concentrates on its interrelationship with other features/locales.

Another set of stone features that have also been the subject of particularised research are stone mortars. Studies have ranged from ethnographic accounts or analogies relating to their function (Telban 1998), to studies on foodstuffs that may have been processed in the mortars (Bulmer and Bulmer 1964), to mapping their distribution patterns (Swadling 1981, 2004; Swadling and Hide 2005) in order to see whether they are linked to particular kinds of agricultural zones. The important point here is that certain aspects of Melanesian stone features have been studied in more detail than others, causing an imbalance in terms of our ability to understand individual feature types within a broader context.

In this section, I have suggested a few reasons why stone monuments have been marginalised in the writing of Melanesian prehistory. But, fortunately within most research lacuna there are a few studies that break the mould. A number of important research projects have indeed been carried out on stone monuments since the 1960s. In the following section I will outline and discuss these studies.

Research Locations

The number of direct research projects on Melanesian stone monuments since the 1960s has been so scant that it is possible to effectively group these studies according to their specific regions. I will particularly concentrate on how associated social practices in relation to such monuments have been assessed. There have only been three areas that have been subjected to substantive and on-going research.

1. Massim 'Megaliths': The only stone arrangements studied to any great extent in Papua New Guinea are those found in the Massim District (Seligmann and Strong 1906; Malinowski 1927; Austen 1939). Investigation of these 'megaliths' was followed up by a number of scholars in later years. In the 1960/70s, Ollier and colleagues (Ollier and Holdsworth, 1968; Ollier and Pain 1978) argued that the monuments of the Trobriand and Woodlark Islands were funerary monuments. In contrast, Damon (1979) argued that the bones and potsherds associated with the Woodlark features were not particularly significant because they did not seem to be linked to the original use but rather were placed in the cracks and crevices of the monuments themselves and therefore played a secondary role, an 'heirloom effect' so to speak. As a social anthropologist, Damon, was interested in different issues.

The question here is not merely when they [*monuments*] were built. It is rather the social process or social processes which must be understood to account for their building (Damon 1979:196).

In order to explore such social meaning Damon analysed the oral history and local conceptions of space on Woodlark Island. Quite disappointingly, Damon (1979) concluded that the series of trenches on Woodlark Island have astronomical connections, linked to the summer and winter solstices, a hypothesis he dismissed some four years later "since the new information tends to support a hypothesis that the trenches are remnants of an irrigation rather than solar observation system" (Damon 1983:102).

Archaeological research in the Massim region has not only been unusual due to the fact that stone monuments were studied in more detail than elsewhere but

also for the fact that the last 1,500 years or so of prehistory in the area has also been given more attention. These two factors effectively complement one another. Research on the antiquity and social context of the Kula Ring exchange network, (Egloff 1979; Leach and Leach 1983; Irwin 1983, 1991) has meant that the study of stone monuments has been better contextualised in Late Prehistoric sequences more than any other parts of Papua New Guinea. Ceramic sequences that developed from 1900 BP onwards have been the focus of particular attention (Bulmer 1975, Bickler 1998). When Egloff (1979) excavated stone monuments in the Trobriands, he found some pottery dating from the Early Period of this sequence. However, as Bickler and Ivuyo (2002:22) recently pointed out "this was only an indication of chronology" as it "still created a window of some 1500 years in which to place the development of the megaliths" within the region.

Indeed, what is most significant about Bickler's recent work on the monuments of Woodlark Island (1998, 2002, 2006) is that he not only attempts to understand the chronology, but also the different phases of building/use of such structures. For example, in one of the rectangular enclosures ((MUY-205 Kaulay) see Bickler and Ivuyo 2002:26) investigated, he notes that there is a shift in the orientation in different areas of the site that may suggest different phases of building. His excavations of this same site showed, as Damon (1979) had noted, that the pot burials both overlay and were within the structure itself. He also showed how a number of skeletons were underneath the structures. Bickler's argument is that while undoubtedly some of the monuments had some burial association, particularly the more complex sites (Bickler 2006:47), he is reluctant to suggest that all monuments on Woodlark were funerary monuments. He warns that not all monuments display burial evidence and that they probably had multiple functions. The dates he obtained for the monuments range from 1200 BP to 600 BP, but as he points out "neither boundary should be considered secure" (Bickler 2006:47) and much more work is needed on these structures in order to understand their complex chronologies. It is also interesting to note that whilst most studies in this area have concentrated on the function of structures, surprisingly little related oral history has been reported. Even as early as 1906, Seligman and Strong (1906:349) highlighted how there were "two remarkable standing stones of which we could get no explanation", something echoed by researchers of more recent times (Ollier and Pain 1978; Bickler 2006).

Monuments of the Massim district have gone through the basic stages of identification and investigation and researchers are now beginning to embrace the fact that stone monuments are convoluted aspects of the prehistoric landscapes. Rather than assuming linearity to their construction and use, multiple lines of enquiry need to be gathered towards a more holistic understanding of their creation and use.

2. Buin, Southern Bougainville: Following Richard Thurnwald's (1934) original report of megalithic structures in Buin in which he identifies three kinds of stone monuments (megaliths, monoliths and stone circles), Terrell (1976, 1986) carried out a number of more extensive surveys on Bougainville, including the Paubake area of southern Buin. His survey revealed that what Thurnwald had described as 'megaliths' and Terrell re-classified as capstones (i.e. a large capstone propped up and supported by small feet) were the most abundant stone features in that area, whereas monoliths or standing stones were not very common. 'Capstones' were recorded in small groups as well as in longer avenues. Terrell rejects the view that these stone features were burial markers, and instead hypothesises that they were some form of status symbol. He points to a direct correlation between availability of resources and the extent to which such structures were erected.

However enterprising the people may have been who built them, they were simply making use of a locally available resource material (Terrell 1986:227).

Terrell's work also highlighted that the stone features were more common in the foothill areas above the Buin plain itself.

In 2004, Leavesley returned to the southern Bougainville area under the auspices of the *Pioneers of Island Melanesia Project* primarily to investigate if monument distribution patterns could reveal anything about the differences between Austronesian speaking communities in Buin and Papuan or Non-Austronesian speaking communities in the neighbouring Siwai region. As Leavesley (2004:6) pointed out, within the parameters of this project he aimed "to test the proposition that the Siwai/Buin linguistic boundary was a barrier to the transmission of ideas as manifested in the material culture record" with particular emphasis on "megaliths".

Leavesley's work has only been communicated through an unpublished preliminary report, so comments here are directed less at his work and more at the structure of the overall project. I cannot help but feel that choosing monuments as a case study within this kind of project was somehow misguided. Not enough is known about the dates, distribution patterns and prevalence of these features in this area to investigate this issue. Even the little that is known about monuments elsewhere does not suggest any correlation between stone monuments and Austronesian speaking people. All dates so far in regards to these monuments point to use within the last 1,500 years. Consequently, they are not directly linked with Austronesian expansion and were more likely to be results of local developments, regardless of language boundaries. Perhaps the project co-ordinators thought that they would not find many monuments in the Siwai (Papuan speaking areas) as opposed to the Buin (Austronesian speaking area), but this was not the case. The differences in form and distribution patterns reported by Leavesley are negligible and I would suggest that such variation should be expected within any monumental landscape. What I see as more significant about this research is how it highlights the prevalence of these features and the fact that these monuments *do indeed* transcend linguistic divides.

In a sense this study highlights the current state of Melanesian stone monument studies. Whilst our understanding of other processes in Melanesian prehistory has become more sophisticated, Melanesian monument studies are still in their infancy. As a result, we need to continue to study areas in their local context until broader regional patterns can be assumed. Indeed, one of the most important long-term research projects focusing on stone features in their local context is the work of Peter Sheppard and colleagues in their study of the stone shrines of New Georgia, Solomon Islands.

3. New Georgia, Solomon Islands: The stone and fortified structures in the area around Roviana Lagoon (New Georgia, Western Solomons) have been subject to the most rigorous and comprehensive analysis in the Melanesia. Since the late 1990s the New Georgia Archaeological Survey (NGAS hereafter), spearheaded by Peter Sheppard (University of Auckland) and Richard Walter (University of Otago) has undertaken an extensive research programme. What is particularly significant about this project is that it has adopted a holistic stance, exploring the dynamics and

dimensions of the social practices associated with the monuments there. Indeed, much of the theoretical underpinning of their research aligns with the concerns in this thesis, in that they "suggest that material evidence is part of a system of action, intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it" (Sheppard, Walter and Aswani 2004:144).

The success of their research lies in the central methodology employed. They "suggest that oral tradition/ history, ethnology and linguistics can all be used as independent lines of argument" (Sheppard, Walter and Aswani 2004:124). The study of present day oral traditions and genealogies (e.g. Aswani 2000) has played a central role in the project's attempts to grasp the social processes involved in the creation of Roviana's "highly charged ritual landscape" (Walter, Thomas and Sheppard 2004:143).

Although the NGAS has surveyed the distribution patterns of a wide range of monuments ranging from standing stones, to shrines, to large fortified hill enclosures most of the published work concentrates on the shrines or *hope* found "throughout Roviana in dense bush, gardens, coastal points, small islets, passages to the open sea and in modern and abandoned villages" (Sheppard, Walter and Aswani 2004:126). These shrines are linked directly with headhunting and frequently shell valuables and skulls are found in association. In this respect, these features are the material manifestations of a particular cult practice, a practice for which a very rich ethnohistorical context exists (e.g. Woodford 1890; Guppy 1887). This has provided a rich source from which analysis of social structure and power relationships manifested by shrines can be extrapolated. Combining strands of different data, they have been able to compare archaeological evidence with oral historic and ethnohistoric evidence. For example, they have established chronologies through C14 dating showing that shrines have been used since at least 600AD as well as through oral history.

In general, those features that people felt were old because they lacked associated oral history turned out to be old. Without exception our radiocarbon dating followed collection of oral tradition regarding the dated features and in no sense did our chronological information lead our questioning of informants (Sheppard, Walter and Aswani 2004:130)

Before summarising this section it is important to mention here that there are a small number of other anthropological research papers published that have dealt with the relationship between present-day communities and ancestral stone monuments in Melanesia (Kahn 1990; Roe and Taki 1999).

3.2.3 Summary of Research

Although not numerous, significant research has already been carried out on the study of stone monuments in Melanesia. Such research highlights a number of key factors:

(1) The description and dating of these monuments is not sufficiently developed to attempt contextualisation of such features within broader models of Pacific colonisation.

(2) There may be a trend for stone monuments to be located inland but considerable groundwork needs to be undertaken to identify and locate stone features in the region.

(3) Although some components are commonly shared there is considerable variation in the morphology of monumental landscapes throughout Melanesia. At this stage the interrelationship between the features on a local level that is most likely to lead to a better understanding of their development, change and function.

(4) The relationship between present-day communities and the amount of associated oral history varies from place to place. These differences need to be understood as they can help reveal how monuments functioned within local social settings as well as recent developments in their form and function.

There needs to be a concerted drive towards the establishment of coherent research agendas for Melanesian stone monuments. One benefit arising from the lack of previous research on stone monuments in Melanesia is that we now have the opportunity to apply fresh and exciting methodological and theoretical frameworks in our interpretations of such monumentality. In thinking what these agendas should be

it is essential that we consider, compare and contrast relevant research from elsewhere in the Pacific. As a result the next section of this chapter will concentrate on the history and development of monument studies in Polynesia and Micronesia. I will pay particular attention to the themes relevant to this thesis i.e. the relationship between practice and structure, temporality and change.

3.3 Polynesian and Melanesian Monument Studies: Differing Agendas

3.3.1 Introduction

In direct contrast to the paucity of research on stone monuments in Melanesia, much research has been conducted on Polynesian monumentality to date. Indeed, stone monuments have played an integral role in the propagation of many central research agendas in Polynesian archaeology. As a result, Polynesian monument studies have had more chance to mature alongside broader changes within archaeological theory and practice. On the other hand, particularised research agendas have emerged which have arguably stunted development of postprocessual approaches.

Given the long-held European fascination with Easter Island, it is not surprising that it was the first Polynesian island to be systematically surveyed (Routledge 1919). Between the 1920s and 1950s, monument typologies and 'chronologies' were also created for many of the other Polynesian islands. In central/eastern Polynesia surveys took place on the Society Islands (Emory 1933), Hawai'ian islands (Stokes 1932) and Marquesan islands (Linton 1923, 1925). Of note in Western Polynesia were the surveys carried out in Tonga by McKern (1929) under the auspices of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu (outlined in Burley 1998).

The one overriding factor in these early studies (not as apparent within a Melanesian context) was the fact that a very *clear sense of problem* existed: the enigma of Polynesian origins. Rather than the hazy, often misdirected diffusionist frameworks into which Melanesian monuments were incorporated, the question of

Polynesian origins was more coherent. Theories about where Polynesian populations came from and what cultural elements united such widely scattered peoples formed the basis of the majority of European intellectual inquiry from first contact. Indeed, formal comparisons of stone monuments became one of the factors driving Heyerdahl's (1950:32) theories of South American origins for the Polynesian peoples as well as arguments by his critics (e.g. Heine-Geldern 1950:188). What is important here is that elements of Polynesian social structure were given attention as a way of assessing cultural cohesion.

3.3.2 Pacific Monuments and Social Complexity

A comment by W.H.R. Rivers (1920) in his description of the stepped type platforms found on Easter Island epitomises the difference of European attitudes to Polynesia and Melanesia at that time. He points out that "it is probable that *degenerate* representatives of pyramids occur elsewhere in Melanesia" (Rivers 1920:297) (my emphasis). Since the earliest exploration of the Pacific a "two-stratum concept, which had Melanesians as less advanced than Polynesians" (Clark 2003:206) has existed. At the heart of this division lay not only the distinction of racial characteristics between the two areas but also observations of differences in social complexity.

Although the classic accounts of the distinctions between Polynesian chiefdoms and Melanesian big-man societies (e.g. Sahlins 1958, 1963, 1972; Sahlins and Service 1960; Service 1962) have been debated and deconstructed by anthropologists, archaeologists and linguists alike (e.g. Pawley 1982; Earle 1987, 1989, 1991; Thomas 1989; Yoffee 1993, 2005) such divisions have persisted up until present day. Nicholas Thomas (1989:33) highlights how this creates "circularities ... such that 'Polynesian' explicates 'hierarchy' and vice versa, while the category of 'Melanesian egalitarianism' has been defined in part simply in terms of the absence of 'Polynesian' features such as chiefs and stratification". What is of importance to us here is that such definitions have meant that the study of monumental architecture has flourished in one context and waned in the other. As a result, monumental architecture has become synonymous with the religious and political centralisation characteristic of Polynesian chiefdoms.

At present, archaeologists can best conceptualise religious authority as the investment of energy in monuments used to negotiate relationships between dominant and consenting groups in class-structured societies (Kolb 1994:521).

This idea that monuments are the direct archaeological manifestations of religious and political hierarchy has dominated the literature in the latter half of the twentieth century (e.g. Peebles and Kus 1977, Kirch 1990). Certain scholars have been particularly explicit about this structural imposition e.g. Burley (1996:422) when he highlights that the principal objective of his survey on Tonga "was to study the archaeological correlates for chiefly polity". Such research has formalised the popular equation that monuments equal complexity, one of the other reasons why I have decided to drop the term monument in describing Uneapa Islands standing remains.

Micronesian Monumentality: A Polynesian model?

Monumental architecture of varying degrees of complexity and morphology is present throughout the Micronesian region (see Morgan 1998; Rainbird 2004). Of particular note are the arrangements of carved monoliths from Palau, the *latte* structures from the Marianas and the spectacular complexes of walled enclosures on the islands of Phonpei and Kosrae (Rainbird 2004). Despite the fact that Micronesia has such a rich and compelling archaeological landscape its prehistory has often been marginalised within the wider schema of Pacific prehistory. Rainbird (2004:67) points out how that with the "exciting developments following the discovery of the broad geographical distribution of Lapita pottery outside of Micronesia, the region had become regarded as rather a backwater for Pacific archaeology as a whole".

Despite this marginalisation, quite substantial work has been carried out in investigating Micronesian stone features and structures, concentrating particularly on the potential such monumental landscapes have for modelling social structure and demography. Although, as in Polynesia, the popularity of many of these studies peaked in the 1980's (e.g. Alkire 1980; Cordy 1981, 1986; Graves 1986) such approaches still have resonance today.

There can be no doubt that the morphological, archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence relating to many of the monumental structures such as the *ahu*, *heiau* and *marae* types found throughout Polynesia (for descriptions see Bellwood 1978) and the extensive Micronesian remains such as complexes at Nan Madol do indeed suggest that many of these places acted as important locations to consolidate status and maintain religious and political order. It would be facile to argue that they didn't. But my criticism lies with the fact that there is a narrow assumption in many of these studies (Kirch 1984; Graves and Green 1993) that aligns monument building as a *direct correlation of a particular form of political hierarchy* rather than recognising that stone monuments can be erected in an array of social and political circumstances.

Melanesian Monuments: Social Complexity?

In this situation it is important to ask here what it is that Melanesian monuments might be able to tell us about social complexity. Sand (2002:288) recently tackled this question by drawing together evidence for monument-building and stated "once again, these types of sites could not have been constructed with small groups of people in an autonomous tribal polity". I would provide but one response to this comment, why not? Whilst I empathise with Sand's attempt to explain aspects of Melanesian social structure, there is no specific reason why tribes without institutional hierarchy cannot construct monuments. Indeed, what is significant about Melanesian monuments is that they offer a chance to explore the role of monument building in societies not necessarily characterised by centralised chiefdoms. Therefore, I would argue that imposing a top-down perspective has stifled research on the more subtle social interactions invested in the creation of place. This is why I have chosen instead to apply a practice-centred (or bottom-up) approach. By doing so we are forced to assess all we can of both attestable and possible social practices surrounding the creation and development of such places. This approach does not mean we do not learn anything about social structure, quite the contrary. As I will show in Chapter 7, this approach raises some very significant issues about social structure on Uneapa Island.

A 'bottom-up' approach also promotes a more intimate understanding of *variation* and *change* in relation to monumental landscapes. In the following section, I will examine a number of studies that have embraced issues of *variation* and *change* as well as highlighting how social practice has been conceptualised.

Morphological Variation: 'A Hunger for their History'

Kirch's (1990:214) statement that Hawai'i's monumental architecture has a "bewildering range of morphological variation" is the last in a long line of observations in regards to monumental landscapes there.

In all the heiaus visited on the two islands of Oahu and Kauai, there are no two alike in plan. Some indicate individuality even in their ruins as to make one hunger for their history (Thrum 1907:50).

Such variation within monumental landscapes has been noted throughout the Pacific. More often than not it has been explained in terms of different degrees of hierarchical association. For example, the different kinds of *marae* represent "relationships within and between elite and small family groups" (Cochrane 1998:280). Another good example is the often quoted *Kingship and Sacrifice, Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii* (1985) by Valerio Valeri. His work explicitly defines the temples in terms of hierarchical practice. He writes how "the hierarchy of sacrifices, the chain of sacrifices that constitute Hawai'ian society, has a correlate in the hierarchy of places in which these cultic areas occur" (Valeri 1985:172). In certain cases, this kind of hierarchical interpretation may hold more weight e.g. neo-evolutionary arguments pertaining to Hawai'ian social organisation. The over-riding concern here is that researchers may be too rash in framing this kind of variability as a direct consequence of hierarchical differentiation before *fully* taking into account the dynamics of *social practice* in the creation and transformation of the particularities of place.

One of the central ideas in this research is that a *practice framework* allows us to more effectively tackle variation. More simply put: if we try to understand the full dynamics of activities invested in such spaces then we begin to accept that variation is an inherent character of monumental landscapes. Rather than being

uniform and repetitive they are variable due to the multiple and changing social practices that created and maintained them. By concentrating purely on practice, another avenue for understanding why such variation occurs opens up. We can assess whether differences between monuments or arrangements reflect differences in practice. Starting at a practice-level means that no pre-ordained social structure is enforced upon the data i.e. practice is the base unit from which our knowledge of both place and social organisation stems. In this view, varied morphologies reflect variation in the particulars of social practice as much as they do the particulars of social structure.

A number of more recent studies have attempted to interpret monument variation within a dynamic social framework. Of particular note in this regard is the work of Paul Wallin (1993; 1998; 2001) and Helene Martinsson-Wallin (1994, 2001). By re-examining typologies, creating new variables and examining ethnohistorical sources, Wallin (1993) has analysed the relationship between *morphological variation* of the marae complexes in the Society Islands and the social processes behind their construction. What is most significant about his work is the way in which he attempts 'to interpret the ceremonial *marae* structures in a contextual way' (Wallin 1993:133) by exploring a possible ideology behind the creation of the marae. Unfortunately, Wallin's research was missing an explicit theoretical framework that elaborated on the relationship between social cognition, construction and social structure. Martinsson-Wallin (1994) also attempted to provide a contextual framework towards understanding the morphological variability of the ceremonial stone structures on Easter Island. Whilst she does not draw on such comprehensive ethnohistorical sources as Wallin, she provides a well-grounded discussion in her attempt "to search for different relations of meaning" (Martinsson-Wallin 1994:17) on Easter Island. Her concern here with meaning and symbolism may also have benefited from a consideration of social practice.

3.3.3 Concepts of Practice

Analysing evidence for social practice in relation to monumentality has been central to many studies of monumental architecture in Polynesia. For instance, Kirch (1990: 209) (in relation to Tongan monumentality) highlights "both formal (morphological or

metrical) characteristics and informant (emic) testimony on traditional function". Whilst such studies (e.g. Davidson 1971; Kirch 1988) incorporated ethnohistorical and oral historical evidence into their research it was mostly carried out in a functionalist manner. It has been particularly popular within such research to categorise social practice in terms of either *ritual* or *domestic* activity. Such definitions align nicely with conceptualisations of a hierarchical arrangement of space. This ritual versus domestic dichotomy is still largely favoured (e.g. Kolb 1994), a separation that I would argue hampers a more holistic interpretation of monumental space. Although it has been well argued within social anthropology that such terminology is anomalous, archaeologists have been slower to discard with such dichotomies. As Bradley (2005:33) recently pointed out, once prehistorians "accept that ritual is a kind of practice - a performance which is defined by its own conventions - it becomes easier to understand how it can occur in so many settings and why it may be attached to so many different concerns". Just as rituals can take place in a variety of locations, so-called domestic activities are not restricted to a notional *domestic* realm. This is an issue that will be addressed in Chapter 6 where I will be considering the more 'mundane' practices of cooking, eating and sitting etc. within Uneapa's stone feature locales.

In many respects the methodologies established in relation to monumental architecture in the Pacific were established in areas where there is very particular and formalised ethnohistorical evidence indicating clear delineation between sacred and domestic space in pre-contact times. Green and Kirch (2001) outline how some form of god house (*fale*) is present in ritual architecture throughout all three subregions of Polynesia (the Outliers, Western Polynesia and Central Eastern Polynesia). They also indicate how posts, statues and uprights (often under the term *pou*) often act as symbolic representations and/or manifestations of ancestors and/or deities. Such delineation of space and stones that actually encompass or act as manifestations of gods means that arguments relating to religious centralisation are more pertinent within these contexts. Research on Polynesia monumentality has benefited from very rich ethnohistorical evidence pertaining to ideological structures underpinning monumental architecture. Strong narratives linked to the meaning and function of such places has been solidified within the archaeological literature, despite the fact that most of the ethnohistorical evidence employed is from a

particularised historical context. Less attention has been paid to the ideological changes that could have taken place in relation to these places. As a result the long-term biographies of such places have not been fully considered. The parameters of *change* have been employed in very particular ways within these studies.

3.3.4 Change and the 'long-term'

Within these Polynesian and Micronesian research paradigms, change has been monitored in two ways. Firstly, the original appearance of monumental architecture during the first millennium A.D. has been taken to indicate social change related to population growth and resource pressure, causing an escalation in warfare and centralisation of power structures (Kirch 1984; Smith 2004). Secondly, analysis of different phases of construction (e.g. Easter Island: Mulloy 1961, Smith 1961) has formed the chronological and sequential baseline through which monumentality has been studied. Such sequences help create some coherence within otherwise complex histories and such sequences will continue to be refined, debated and debunked over time. But change within such sequential analysis is largely propagated as being rigid and linear and generally only *substantial* indicators of change within the physical landscape are considered.

One of the central arguments in my research is that monumental landscapes are dynamic. Change both in the morphology, meaning and use of monumental spaces happens at different rates and in different ways depending on how the site is being used. Barrett's (1994:12) point that "the plan represents the monument observed at a single moment" is important here. Equally the idea that "the monument should be viewed as a series of localised spaces, created as ongoing projects by builders who rarely glimpsed the totality of their creation" (Barrett 1994:14) lies at the heart of my approach. Wallin addresses this idea when he defines the 'complex chronology model'.

Different types emerge at different times and after that they are used, built, modified during all phases, with the result that all types were used simultaneously during the last phase (Wallin 1993:134).

More recently Wallin (2001:240) has pointed out how more subtle changes that can occur in ceremonial stone structures, "explained as small variations, which can be called variations of stability". What he is interested in here aligns with my stance in that monumental places are seen as constantly changing in relation to the different needs and agendas of a community. The difference with my approach is that I am more explicit about the role of social practices within such change. Practice is seen as transformative and generative and so creating and using monuments plays a key role in generating change and developing complexity rather than just manifesting it. As Pauketat (2001:87) acknowledges "the idea of practice focuses attention on the creative moments in time and space where change was actually generated".

The assertion that monumental landscapes undergo constant and complex renegotiation and change implies that their long-term histories need to be acknowledged. A long-term perspective has been embraced by a number of researchers in the Pacific. For example, both Love (1993) and Martinsson-Wallin (2001) argue that the different phases of demolition and reconstruction of the *ahu* on Easter Island need more serious attention. Whilst Love (1993:110) is concerned with the way in which the *ahu* have been reconstructed in the post-contact era, drawing our attention to the fact that "in many cases the present reconstructed *ahu* may not have existed in a prehistoric form", Martinsson-Wallin (2001) is more concerned with the ideological changes within society that caused phases of destruction and reconstruction. Paul Rainbird has also studied the recent histories of Micronesian monumentality. For example, he has analysed the implication of commemorative monument building by the Japanese (post WWII) in terms of the changing meanings and use of the ancestral monumental space in Chuuk Lagoon. He pointed out how "the impact of the Japanese occupation and alteration of these 'dangerous' sites may have had the unforeseen effect of replacing a traditional form of power with that of colonial authority" (Rainbird 2000:43). In another paper (2003) he also stressed the modern meaning of monuments by pointing out "how the *latte* stones of the Mariana Islands are so different from anything found elsewhere that they have come to act as symbols of the modern political regimes in those islands" (Rainbird 2003:247).

Rainbird's research raises a pertinent question. How should researchers define the 'long-term' in relation to monumental landscapes? It could be argued that

the change brought by colonialism represented a major disjuncture, a departure from the 'natural' evolution of monumental space causing dramatic change and giving rise to larger processes of renegotiation than previously experienced. Therefore post-contact histories should be treated very differently. Alternatively, I would argue that whilst we need to exercise historical sensitivity, post-contact histories can also provide us with case studies about how social practices both stimulate and are stimulated by social change and as a result impact on how communities interact with and negotiate their spatial surroundings. These perspectives can also help us better understand the dynamics of monumental landscapes in the past.

Post-Contact History

Oral historical and ethnohistorical documents have been incorporated into many research frameworks dealing with monumental architecture in the Pacific. As the central goal in many of these studies was to provide empirical reconstruction of the function of such monumentality in pre-contact times, it is not surprising that early testimonies are the preferred body of ethnohistorical evidence. Cordy's (2000:90) attitude to oral history on Hawai'i after the mid 19th century is that, whilst "clearly important", great "caution and evaluation is needed to try and eliminate post-contact changes". The idea that more recent oral historical evidence could provide interesting insights into the role of memory and materiality has only become pertinent within the postprocessual research environment.

Postprocessualist agendas have had peripheral impact on research within Polynesian and Micronesian monument studies. In many ways, this reflects what Ladefoged and Graves (2002:5) highlight as the "interpretative divergences between and within American and British approaches to landscape archaeology" in which "full integration is unlikely to occur in the near future". In regards to monument studies, the researchers who have chosen to engage with issues to do with agency, memory and monumental landscapes as long-term landscapes (e.g. Campbell 2002, 2006; Rainbird 2004; Wallin 1993; Wallin 1994; Martinsson-Wallin 1994) are indeed all outside of American academia. Interestingly, postprocessual agendas have been pursued by American researchers but only within the cultural heritage or educational outreach arenas. For example outreach is part of Van Tilburg's Easter Island Statue

Project (see www.easterislandstatueproject.org) Pacific archaeologists have rarely engaged with or perhaps seen the potential of studying the more recent histories of monumental landscapes. A notable exception is Campbell's (2002, 2006) more holistic approach in his study of Rarotongan concepts of time and space and how the monumental landscape was defined and redefined by the community in the face of changing political structures during the 19th century. I would argue that the study of post-contact histories of monumental landscapes in the Pacific needs to be more than just an occasional experiment in the relationship between archaeology, anthropology and history. Instead, all three disciplines need to be involved in order to assess the material consequences that memorialising and forgetting have had on the contemporary landscape.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined and critiqued some of the major trends in the study of monumental architecture in the Western Pacific region as a whole. I have also highlighted how the most pervasive agendas have been linked to concerns with either diffusion/Pacific Island colonisation or social evolution/social structure. This review has added more depth to my argument (outlined in Chapter 2) for a practice-centred approach to monumental landscapes. In the introduction to this research, I outlined specific aspects of the archaeological and oral historical record on Uneapa Island that make a practice-centred approach particularly useful in that most of the related oral history centres on a memory of practice. But I am also convinced that more focus on social practice can be useful in providing alternative approaches to monumental landscapes elsewhere in the Pacific. This 'bottom up' approach facilitates a re-invigorated reading of monumental architecture that can ultimately reveal new perspectives on *variation, change and social structure*.

Through the discussion of various postprocessual approaches to monumental landscapes (largely European) in the previous chapter and current trends in the Pacific Island research in this chapter, I have provided a context in which my research concerns can be better understood. The theoretical aspects of my practice-centred argument have now been sufficiently clarified. In the next

chapter I will discuss the methodology I developed and used in order to apply these ideas to a study of Uneapa Island's archaeology.



Chapter 4

LOCAL PERSPECTIVES AND ARCHAEOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the approach taken in order to explore my main theoretical concern i.e. *what is the relationship between practice and perception in the development of Uneapa Island's archaeological landscape?* The 2002 survey on Uneapa had shown that local people had active associations with the stone features and in some cases had recently constructed, used and moved these features. Given the existence of such a rich oral history, I became interested in what it these perspectives could contribute towards the interpretation and analysis of the island's archaeology. It is my conviction that if we interrogate this information with a little more care, the incorporation of local community knowledge into archaeological research can become more than just a provider of interesting ethnographic analogy or a way of enacting ethical research. These perspectives can provide insights on history, landscape, and material culture that can seriously contribute to how archaeologists formulate analyses and interpretations.

Placing local perspectives so centrally is not without its problems. Local interpretations of the ancestral past are obviously influenced by contemporary social, political and economic concerns. Yet despite these problems, I argue that they are a valuable source of historical data. In this research, these perspectives create suitable and stimulating frameworks through which Uneapa Island's archaeology is better understood. Assessing archaeological and oral historical evidence in tandem creates a discourse between community and archaeological perspectives that leads to a fuller understanding of the meaning and distribution pattern of Uneapa's stone features/locales. Furthermore, a more intimate understanding of the interplay between practice and perception in the formation of the island's archaeological landscape.

My central methodological question in this research is: *Why and how can archaeologists create a discourse between contemporary indigenous perspectives and archaeological analysis?* This question effectively deals with both the reasons behind (i.e. the whys) and the methods (the hows) within such a research design. With this in mind, the chapter is written in two sections. In the first, I put forward the argument to why I have been placed local perspectives so centrally. By

contextualising my approach within previous debates I outline both the merits and complexities of incorporating local perspectives into an archaeological research project. In the second section, I go on to explain how I recorded both the oral history and archaeology and how this relates to my research questions.

4.2. An integrated approach between local perspectives and archaeology: Why?

4.2.1 Local perspectives and research questions

Local perspectives have been placed centrally in this project as part of the theoretical focus on the relationship between practice and perception in the development of monumental landscapes. Local perspectives provide insight into what past social practices are associated with Uneapa's stone features/locales and which are remembered in conjunction with, or apart from, each other. They also highlight which stone features/locales are remembered and which have been forgotten, allowing for an assessment of what these patterns might mean. These perspectives also provide insight into which features/locales the islanders continue to interact with and those they do not.

I want to emphasise an important point here. I am not suggesting that contemporary perceptions offer a pristine historical insight into the past function and meaning of the island's archaeology. Indeed, these perceptions are naturally an amalgam of associated memories (either passed on or directly experienced) and present concerns. Given that such an amalgam would always have governed how the islanders perceived their cultural landscape, these contemporary insights represent but one phase in a long-term history. Due to issues of visibility 'monumental' landscapes, are particularly dynamic in this regard and respond to rather than resist social change. Although the impact of European colonialism has resulted in social, economic and political changes that have affected how Uneapa Islanders interact and perceive the island's features/locales, there is not a large temporal chasm between the present and the time when some of these places were being actively used (some 100 years or so). Indeed, certain aspects of Uneapa's

archaeological landscape continue to be re-invented. Rather than just assume that local perspectives have something meaningful to offer archaeological analysis and interpretation, I will investigate their value and applicability within the case studies in this research. In order to illustrate my approach more effectively, I will discuss both the complexities and benefits of using the ethnographic present in archaeological research.

4.2.2 Methodological context and complexities

The Direct Historical Approach and Ethnoarchaeology

The value of the ethnographic present within archaeological research has long been debated. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, these issues were most prevalent within American archaeology. Scholars were actively trying to establish how contemporary indigenous viewpoints and practices could contribute to archaeological understanding. Dixon wrote in 1913 how it is "only through the known that we can comprehend the unknown, only from a study of the present that we can understand the past" (Dixon 1913:565). Such viewpoints were reiterated time and again in the first half of the 20th Century (e.g. Sapir 1916; Strong 1935; Fenton 1940, see Lyman and O'Brien 2001). The dominant trend during this period, more clearly identified at a later date by Willey (1953) and Ascher (1961) was the *direct historical approach*. The key to this approach was that it "relied on ethnographic accounts that could be linked culturally, geographically and/or temporally with the archaeological site(s) under investigation" (Stahl 1994:181). These 'direct' historical connections were seen to validate the relationship between the two data sources.

A second paradigm emerged in the 1960s out of this tradition of inquiry. Ascher (1961:320) defined this as *new analogy* in that "the connection between the living culture or cultures and the archaeological culture in question is purely formal; there is no implication of direct generic relationship nor are any dimensions of space and time implied". The idea ethnographic analogy could be used to investigate 'unrelated' archaeological subjects subsequently proved popular both within New Archaeology and postprocessualism albeit towards different ends. This new analogy paved the way for development of a whole eclectic mix of so-called

ethnoarchaeological approaches (see David and Kramer 2001) in the last forty years or so. In contrast, the direct historical approach lost prominence and has largely remained undeveloped within archaeology. Indeed, a recent definition of "historical analogy" as "a distinct form of analogical inference because it relies on historical continuities between source and subject contexts" (Cunningham 2003:401-402) largely remains unchanged since those set down in the early twentieth century.

A review of the nuances of these different debates is not essential here. What is more pertinent is to highlight how the approach taken in this research is situated in relation to these debates. Such contextualisation is not a straightforward task as I do not subscribe directly to any method. I am not applying ethnographic analogy to interpret a distant archaeological context. The community testimonies and archaeological material under investigation on Uneapa are historically and geographically related. In this sense my approach aligns more with the *direct historical approach* but there is one key difference. The direct historical approach has traditionally assumed cultural continuity from past to present and that these practices would produce similar archaeological residues. Whilst I am interested in how the contemporary interaction with the island's stone features has impacted on the development of Uneapa's archaeological landscape (see Chapter 8), the majority of features/locales have been abandoned. Therefore observation of contemporary interaction with these places would not tell us much about their past histories. Therefore, I am largely relying on oral history and what it is people remember about the various ancestral features and locales that litter their landscape. The key issue focuses on whether such oral testimonies are seen to be valid.

Validity of Oral History in Historical Research

Debates concerning the validity of oral history in the construction of historical narratives fluctuated throughout the twentieth century, dividing scholars that valued what oral history had to offer and those that did not. The emergence of the modern oral historical movement is often attributed to a number of factors: e.g. the impact of WWII in spotlighting the importance of peoples' memories as a form of bottom-up historical empowerment; the rise of interest in the working class voice; better access to recording devices, etc. (see Perks and Thomson 1998). This positivistic outlook

during the post-war era was soon met with cynicism. In the 1970s and 80s the reliability of oral history began to be questioned and debates focused on the innate distortions of memory and biases in interview techniques. There was considerable divided opinion in regards to the roles, functions and potentials of memory.

Oral historians turned these criticisms on their head and argued that the so-called unreliability of memory was also its strength, and that the subjectivity of memory provided clues not only about the meanings of historical experience but also about the relationship between past and present, memory and personal identity and between individual and collective memory (Perks and Thomson 1998:3).

What was important about this shift was the fact that memory became the "subject as well as the source of oral history" (Perks and Thomson 1998:4), in that inherent errors, omissions and silences within narratives were transformed into objects of study in their own right (Passerini 1998 [1979]; Portelli 1998 [1979]). Oral history was no longer subjected to its previous levels of *truth-testing*. The increasing awareness of the study of oral history as a form of memory work meant that theories relating to the formation and definition of memory were embraced. A platform was established through which a whole new generation of historians and social scientists incorporated oral history into their research. The emergence of identity politics and rigorous post-colonial backlash since the 1990s have meant that oral history and personal testimony have gained an even more significant role in the promotion of the history and human rights of marginalised communities (e.g. Karkar 1998 [1995]; Lapovsky Kennedy 1998 [1995]; Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Kennedy 2004).

The Value of Oral History in Archaeological Research

During the last fifteen years or so, there has been an escalation in the use of oral history within archaeology worldwide. Not surprisingly, this has often correlated with contexts where once subjugated indigenous voices are now being articulated. Whilst many archaeologists have been driven by the same motivations, i.e. to re-situate and incorporate the voice of indigenous communities back into the writing of prehistory, what it is that archaeologists actually *do* with oral historical narratives varies considerably. Many projects in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific etc. have

consciously incorporated oral history into their research as a form of good cultural heritage practice (e.g. Clarke 2002, Field *et al.* 2000).

In this research, I am more interested in the role of oral history as an avenue towards the *production of historical knowledge*. As with the use of the ethnographic present, debates on the value of oral history in terms of the production of historical knowledge have been most heated and divided in the United States. A brief examination of polarities there provides a context in which my position is better understood.

Native American Oral History, Archaeology and the Production of Knowledge

The role of oral history in relation to Native American prehistory has been called an "archaeological battleground" (Whiteley 2002:405). The opposing sides within this academic war are clearly expressed in two articles purposefully published side-by-side in *American Antiquity* in 2000 (Echo-Hawk 2000; Mason 2000). Both papers debate whether or not oral historical sources can produce useful, testable and useable knowledge about the past.

Mason represents the kind of empirical archaeologist still prominent in many American institutions. He views himself as a scientist "charged with truth-seeking, however elusive it may be" (Mason 2000:264). Such crusader-like mentality means that he rejects oral history as being in any way valuable. He depicts the incorporation of indigenous knowledge into archaeological research as a sideline moralistic/ethical issue, making little real contribution to serious research.

When incompatible statements are made or positions taken on the basis of those quite disparate 'ways of knowing', mutual respect and tolerance are simply humane accommodation. But this does not license importing folk beliefs into scientific discourse any more than mandating its reverse (Mason 2000:244).

Mason's extreme position propagates a kind of archaeology devoid not only of any emotion because it is a "potentially treacherous companion in the exercise of reason" (Mason 2000:247) but devoid of humanity altogether. Mason's rejection of multiple "ways of knowing" not only denies multiple perspectives and active agency

but paradoxically creates a somewhat mythical understanding of the past as a linear, quantifiable phenomenon unaffected by human diversity and individuality.

What is interesting about Echo-Hawk's (1997:93) stance is he is more interested in the long-term discourse that needs to be set up between Native American oral history and the production of *archaeological knowledge*. He argues that the use of various mnemonics within oral societies can provide a context for the transmission of memory from the "deep past". He claims that he has "identified a spectrum of oral traditions with the potential for shedding light on Pleistocene worldsapes" (Echo-Hawk 1997:91). Whether one sees such claims to be able to trace Pleistocene events within oral historical narratives as tenuous or not, what is important is that Echo-Hawk pushes the boundaries of what it is oral history can potentially contribute.

I advocate the treatment of verbal records as documents that ought to be accorded the same regard given written records, and from this perspective it may be appropriate to view prehistorians as simply incipient historians. With proper attention to oral documents they may someday be historians, but for the present they are merely prehistorians: voracious bookworms refusing to metamorphose and take flight into a world that is filled with echoes of human voices (Echo-Hawk 1997:92).

Echo-Hawk and Mason represent polar opposites in regards to this issue and indeed most researchers do not fall into such extreme positions, favouring instead what Whiteley (2002:405-406) points out as the "middle ground that retains epistemological rigor and the capacity for analytical judgement while being open to enhancement by legitimate oral tradition". Whether archaeologists take this middle road, are swayed by the poetic notion of flying within the world of human voices or are governed more strictly by scientific rationale, the reasoning behind why oral history should be employed within archaeology should ultimately depend on three factors: how we actually define oral history, what research questions are being asked and what the desired implications are. As I have already put forward the argument to why local perspectives are useful in the context of the theoretical questions being asked in this research, it is important that I now tackle the definitional issues and implications I see as relevant in this project.

Definitional Issues

So what is it that I am actually integrating into this archaeological research project? Is it best thought of as *oral history*, *oral tradition* or *contemporary perspectives*? Oral historians often distinguish between these forms of narrative. They can be temporally differentiated, for example by Vansina's (1965) categories where *oral history* refers to a memory of a direct experience and *oral tradition* to a form of knowledge passed down by previous generations. Archaeologists have also embraced these categories.

Oral history is best defined as the verbal memoirs of firsthand observers, while oral traditions are verbal memoirs that firsthand observers have passed along to others. Oral history is the focus of a bona fide and well-established segment of the academic community, receiving much attention from cultural anthropologists, ethnohistorians and other scholars. The investigation of oral tradition that pertain to ancient settings lacks a similarly strong disciplinary infrastructure (Echo-Hawk 2000:270).

The majority of Uneapa Islanders speak about the stone features on island in terms of their ancestral past prior to European contact. In a few cases, people tell of more recent experiences of using, moving and interacting with such features. I am therefore dealing with both *oral history* and *oral tradition* and whilst I can understand the benefit of these divisions, I have chosen to employ a term that brings the different aspects in oral narratives together rather than divide them. Consequently, as indicated in the wording of my central methodological question, I favour the term *contemporary perspectives*.

The main reason I choose to use of the term *contemporary perspectives* is because it better articulates the fact that people's memories of both recent and past activities accumulate in the present. It is an over-arching term that encapsulates how both oral traditions and oral history operate through the medium of memory and are articulated for particular reasons and purpose in specific contexts in the present. It therefore aligns with the idea of oral historical research as largely being a form of *memory work* which I will discuss further below.

Another reason why I embraced the term *contemporary perspectives* is the fact that there is a tendency (particularly noticeable in Pacific context) to correlate *oral history* with traditional stories about origins, ancestors and spirits etc. For

example, Blythe (1992:26) pointed out that "a history of Unea based on a Western model would teach us something about the island's past, it would tell us comparatively little about the motivation of Unea actors." She goes on to stress how it is only by understanding local cosmologies that sensitive insight into the island's history could be achieved. Whilst, I sympathise with Blythe's stance, I am of the opinion that focusing only on cosmological concepts is reductionist in terms of understanding the history of Uneapa's cultural landscape. How these cosmological narratives intersect with the cultural landscape is only one aspect governing how the islanders would have perceived their landscape. A myriad of other social, economic and political aspects were involved in the formation of these perspectives. Therefore, I am not interested in story-telling *per se* as a way of understanding Uneapa's archaeology but what these narratives actually say about the past social interactions that created the archaeological landscape on the island.

The final reason I favoured the term 'perspectives' is the fact that it leaves open the possibility of a dialogue between the archaeologist and the local community. There is something slightly limiting about the idea of archaeologists incorporating *oral history* into their research. It is as if they are recording all that people know about a material or past event without involving these same people in the creative process of interpretation. In this respect the most fundamental question I asked of Uneapa Islanders was: *what do you think?* As the possibility of such a dialogue is one of the main intended outcomes of my research approach, I will elaborate more on this in due course. First I want to discuss further nuances of my chosen methodology.

Towards a coherent methodology

There are three main sources from which local perspectives on Uneapa's archaeology derive.

1. Memories that have been passed on from previous generations. These memories focus on the meaning of specific stone features and locales as well as the past social context in which they functioned.

2. Memories of things that actually took place in regards to the stone features during people's own lifetime.
3. Interpretations stemming from recent social, economic and political concerns.

The first set of memories (point 1 above) are intertwined in that they all focus on a particular set of ancestral remains within the landscape. Yet, not unsurprisingly the manner in which these remains are memorialised is not synchronous. It is pertinent to acknowledge the relevance of Rowlands' (1993:144) statement here.

"Objects of a durable kind assert their own memories, their own forms of commentary and therefore come to possess their own personal trajectories".

I will go on to show in the following chapter how despite the associated feature interrelationships, each feature also has its own *memory trajectory*. This is essentially exposing some of the particularities and peculiarities of *memory transmission*. I will also explore whether there is a coherent pattern concerning which stone features/locales are remembered and which are forgotten and what this could mean. It is these patterns that obviously influence the nature of more recent interaction with these features (point 2 above). So how can we possibly untangle the complexity of contemporary perceptions, so that we can deduce which perspectives derive from present day concerns (point 3 above) and which could potentially be of more historical value? Although this is something that can never be fully reconciled, but rather than just *assume* that their perspectives have something meaningful to offer archaeological analysis and interpretation, I want to *investigate* their value and applicability within the case studies in this research. So how do I intend to do this?

Memory to Material and Material to Memory

Archaeologists having two major choices in how they record local perspectives. Firstly they can carry out an independent study of local oral history/tradition. This might mean recording narratives on a whole range of social, political and economic topics and then at a later stage trying to match up some of these stories to material or temporal evidence of interest. In effect, this is working from *memory to the material*. Alternatively, archaeologists can integrate oral history research

concurrently into their study of material evidence. In this case the archaeologist finds him/herself drawing upon specific bodies of knowledge from within the community by asking direct questions in relation to particular material items, therefore working from the *material to memory*. I have chosen to employ both methodologies.

In Chapter 6 I will use the *material to memory* method by integrating local associations with the specific stone features in order to better understand the interrelationships between them in six case study locales on Uneapa. Such an approach has both advantages and disadvantages. The positive aspects of this approach are:

1. Rather than the researcher making connections between material and memory by carrying out separate oral history research and then applying it to the material evidence, it is community members who construct their narrative through direct interaction with the material remains. The community and researcher can share some aspects of the experience of engaging with the material, working hand-in-hand to produce a joint *discourse* and *interpretation* in regards to the material remains.
2. This approach is particularly apt when applied to the study of cultural landscapes. Concentrating on local perspectives provides a comparison and contrasts between, and within, different features in the landscape that the archaeologist may not have considered. This provides the archaeologists with more diverse ways of interpreting the archaeological landscape.
3. Concentrating on the material provides a context for memorialising and may act as a prompt or mnemonic device in itself even if not much else is known.

The main disadvantage to the *material to memory* approach may well be that by focusing such discussions on the material remains, the creative and organic aspects of people's narratives may be restricted and therefore some broader contextual information marginalised. For example, people may no longer be

conscious of the relationship linking certain stories to the material remains present, even if they do have a link.

In order to overcome these limitations, I will also employed the *memory to material* method in Chapter 7 by employing what is remembered about past bigman social structures and clan boundaries as a way of analysing inter-locale patterning. In Chapter 8 I effectively use both the *material to memory* and *memory to material* methods in order to understand the impact recent practices have had on the development and perception of the contemporary archaeological record. Devising these different kinds of methods means that local perspectives can be used to create different kind of frameworks in which the material evidence can be further explored.

As well as local perspectives providing frameworks within which I am better equipped to interpret and analyse Uneapa's archaeology, there is also another important implication of this approach which substantially influenced why I chose such a methodology i.e. it allows me to situate community knowledge more prominently. I believe that framing archaeological analysis in terms of local perspectives represents a form of *community archaeology* yet to be properly explored. In order to better understand what I mean by this, I will briefly review a number of commentaries on community archaeology so as to provide a better context for such a statement.

Desired Implication: A Form of Community Archaeology?

In the last few years, *community archaeology* has surfaced as a buzzword in archaeological dialogue. Some archaeologists have identified stages (Marshall 2002) and methodologies (Clarke 2002; Field *et al.* 2000) suitable for the practice of community archaeology, others have called for more explicit definition of what it means (Crosby 2002; Greer *et al.* 2002; Moser *et al.* 2002). Greer *et al.* (2002:267-8) point to the fact that "conventional approaches to community consultation in archaeology involve a process of negotiation in which the archaeologist sets the research agenda and the community has the opportunity to *react* to this". They propose that community-based research needs to be *interactive* rather than *reactive*.

I will use and develop this *reactive/interactive* dichotomy in order to discuss why and how the local community was involved in this research project.

I wanted to involve the local community in as many stages of research as was possible and indeed as was desired by the community. There are no hard and fast rules for practising community archaeology and it is important to develop flexible strategies that can be adapted to the different kinds of communities archaeologists find themselves working within. If we take into account Crosby's (2002:363) point that "there is an important divide between archaeology that attempts to incorporate or involve local communities into externally devised projects and those initiated by the communities themselves" then this project falls in the former category. It was designed, instigated and implemented by the author.

This highlights an important point. Communities need to have an agenda to direct what they want to study within their own cultural heritage. The most common agendas have been political, economic and educational (in that order). Such agendas may develop independently within a community or may be kick-started due to interactions with external researchers. As Papua New Guinea is an independent nation, the agendas governing the practice of archaeology are not directly synchronous with places such as Australia and New Zealand. Only a few archaeologists have actively been involved in or have written about the political implications of heritage research in Papua New Guinea. Such projects have focused on land rights issues caused by multinational logging and mining companies (e.g. Banks and Ballard 1997). On the whole, the political ramifications and potential of archaeology have yet to be realised within most Papua New Guinean communities; this is the case on Uneapa. Most people are unfamiliar with the process of using their heritage towards any kind of political or economic gain, although our presence quickly prompted discussion as to whether the island's archaeology could appeal to tourists and boost the local economy.

Although this project was externally devised, the issues at the heart of this research (i.e. relationship between social practice and perception) meant that community perspectives were integral. Rather than the community *reacting* to the implementation of a research project on Uneapa, I was keen to encourage as much

interaction as was possible. This was primarily done by involving people in surveying and recording the archaeology but this was also achieved through educational outreach (discussed in detail below).

Combining outreach with practical involvement within a research project is both *reactive* and *interactive*. The community is given a chance to react to the proposed research and then interact with the execution of the project itself. But rather than just accepting that such involvement is a form of community archaeology, more serious questions need to be addressed. For example, I need to pose the question whether this involvement is anything more than just local employment. Does it do anything else for the community? And most importantly can such involvement allow the community to actively exert an influence on the analysis and results within the research and contribute to the dialogue that goes into the writing of their own history.

Archaeological Analysis and Intellectual Partnership

Archaeologists have often been criticised for how they present the past of indigenous peoples because it has "little or nothing to do with how descendants of those cultures describe their pasts" (Whiteley 2002:408) and for the fact that "native specialists in the preservation of oral traditions are not treated as peers, colleagues and intellectual equals" (Echo-Hawk 1997:89). Involvement of such communities is too often seen as being ethical archaeological practice when, in the right circumstances, it can be much more than that. As Franklin (1997:44) aptly points out "as academics we often think about how our scholarship can enrich the lives of others. Seldom do we consider how our own lives, including our research, could benefit from knowledge and experiences of non archaeologists".

As I was interested in exploring the relationship between community memory, perceptions and social practice in relation to Uneapa Island's stone features, community involvement functioned more as an intellectual partnership through which the ancestral landscape was explored. I was an outsider, entering into a foreign landscape with my own archaeological purposes, perspectives and preconceptions. Their familiarity with all the nuances of the landscape had been formed through lived

experiences and memories within the landscape. The intersection of such radically differing approaches can make for stimulating analysis and better understanding. Learning takes places on both sides; the intimate understanding communicated by the community challenges the archaeologist to interact with the landscape with fresh eyes and the archaeologist can help untangle complex community perspectives by weighing up and assessing the relevant archaeological evidence. It also helps prompt local people to see additional aspects of their landscape and encourage discussion of their heritage.

Such partnerships are often dubbed as the writing of *alternative histories* (e.g. Schmidt and Patterson 1995), but I view this as a misnomer. Surely the history written and edited within the walls of a western academic institution from a few fragmented material remains and presented to a handful of interested scholars is as alternative as you can get? Within oral societies (which Uneapa still predominately is) mainstream history for the community is that which has been lived through, reworked and memorialised and continues to hold meaning. Indeed, perhaps local perceptions and the landscape under investigation on Uneapa are not as different as they might first appear. Both are constituted by fragmented remains of the past moulded into their present day form through the accumulation of previous social interactions, practices and perceptions. This ties in with a key point made in Chapter 2: perception and landscape are involved in a continuous process of 'becoming'. As a result, studying them in tandem is an intriguing and stimulating prospect for archaeologists.

4.3 Archaeology and Local Perspectives: How?

4.3.1 Survey Strategy

I will now explain how I recorded the archaeology and oral history on Uneapa. Given that I was recording different strands of information, (each with their own research methodologies) a clear survey strategy was essential. On an archaeological level, one of the pressing concerns was to systematically survey the standing remains. Whilst the different methodologies were devised separately, in the practice of

surveying they often intersected. The important point here is that the memorialised

landscape and archaeological landscape were not recorded in isolation from one another. Indeed, one the key aims of this thesis is to explore how these intersected and diverged in relation to one another. During the first phase of fieldwork (July-September 2004), I concentrated on surveying the archaeology which enabled me to understand the characteristics and variants within the island's standing remains. Whilst I recorded everything local people told me about the stone features, I decided not to do any targeted oral history research during this phase. There were a number of reasons for this decision.

I was interested in gaining an understanding of broader community perspectives in relation to the stone features on Uneapa. Rather than concentrating my attention on the specialist knowledge of elders, I felt that understanding wider community opinion was extremely important in order to get an impression of how the stone features were memorialised. By postponing the bulk of oral history research until the second season, I also had time for my conversational *Tok Pisin* to improve and to get to know the community better. I felt it was important that the community adjusted to our presence on the island and that we had some opportunity to become aware of any culturally sensitive issues regarding the stone features before we began asking detailed questions. I was very conscious of approaching the oral history research in a way that felt acceptable to the community. I had observed that the islanders had a specific understanding of anthropologists as people who 'paid for stories'. Therefore, I used this time to also conduct community outreach programmes in which the differences between the work of archaeologists and anthropologists were discussed.

4.3.2 Surveying the Archaeology

Introduction

Prior to fieldwork, I had intended to carry out an island-wide survey of Uneapa's stone features concentrating on the areas not visited by the 2002 survey. The first two weeks of the 2004 fieldwork season were spent being introduced to community members in different villages on the island, visiting ancestral areas known to the

community as well as re-visiting localities surveyed by Torrence, Specht and Vatete in 2002. During this period, an exploratory survey of the whole island was carried out in which I was able to assess the extent of archaeological remains and develop a suitable survey strategy. During this initial reconnaissance, it quickly became apparent that the size and scale and variation in the surface archaeology on Uneapa far exceeded any previous estimates. Given that the majority of these areas were considerably overgrown and could only be revealed through extensive bush clearing, I decided that an island-wide survey would not be possible within the time frame of the project. I felt that more detailed analysis of one area would allow for more targeted field-walking and analysis ultimately leading to a more comprehensive understanding of the characteristics of Uneapa Island's archaeological landscape.

Study Area

After careful consideration, Western Uneapa was chosen as the study area. I define Western Uneapa as the region west of Mt. Kumbu (see Figure no. 4.1). It is important to point out that this is not a topographic or indeed a remembered or present day social boundary but one I imposed for the purpose of the survey. There were a number of reasons why Western Uneapa was chosen as a suitable case study within this research.

(1) Social Practice

As exploring the *social practices* associated with Uneapa's stone features is the central agenda in this thesis, I wanted to try and understand the interrelationships between the various stone features both within and between different locales as fully as possible. The initial survey of Uneapa revealed that a good cross-section of *all* stone feature types and different size locales were represented in Western Uneapa making it a good case study area through which the island's archaeology could be comprehensively analysed.

(2) Topography

Since I am also interested in exploring how landscapes can be approached when framed by a study of social practice I wanted to pick a study area with topographical variation. Western Uneapa has the full range of the island's physiographic zones: i.e. coastal, ridge, valley, foothills and highland areas. This meant that information in regards to the setting of different locales could be readily compared and contrasted.

(3) Changing Relationship between Practice and Perception

I was keen to explore how the islanders' relationship with the stone features might have changed over time. Western Uneapa was deemed the best area in which the longer-term histories of Uneapa's stone features could be examined because it was the area most impacted by European contact. In the early 20th century the German Imperial Government established Bali Plantation in this area. This uprooted at least seven clans (*Magarugaru*, *Vunaloto*, *Kulubago*, *Rulakumbu*, *Vuniduguru*, *Tanekulu* and *Lovanua*) from their traditional lands. These clans were subsequently re-located by the Australian Administration into new villages such as Manopo, Penata, Nalagaro and Penatabotong. Today, a clear temporal division exists between how people engage with the plantation area as opposed to present day village areas. Many people memorialise about their ancestors by looking towards the plantation area. As there is both plantation and non-plantation land in Western Uneapa, the temporal division in terms of how local people understand the landscape can be further explored by analysing differences in the stone feature complexes found within the plantation and those beyond it.

(4) Clan Histories

Some of the strongest memories about clan histories prior to colonial times on Uneapa relate to those from within the plantation area (possibly because the area has been contested). As an important aspect of this research is to study the island's archaeology within local frameworks, these memories provide an interesting context in which locale distribution patterns can be analysed. They establish an avenue through which the role and function of stone arrangements prior to European colonisation can be explored.

(5) Headquarters of Cargo Cult

Another benefit of using Western Uneapa as a case study is that it includes the headquarters of the island's cargo cult (Perekuma Kompani) at Penata village. The cult's involvement in moving and re-erecting stone features provides interesting insights into recent perspectives and processes impacting the distribution of locales on Uneapa. It also raises issues about the role of interest groups in the development of the cultural landscapes.

(6) Access to Local Knowledge

As studying local perspectives on Uneapa's stone features is a key aspect in this research, it was important to choose an area where I would be able to talk to a wide range of people both on a formal and informal basis. On a practical level, the fact that our house was on the western side of the island meant that we were directly involved with the different community groups there and therefore knew many people with whom I could converse about such locales.

Survey Control

The main methodological challenge in this research was to control how and when I recorded the archaeology and the local narratives. My desire for community involvement in all aspects of this research process meant that it was commonplace for people in different villages to bring us to specific ancestral places. Whilst I was interested in the discrepancies between what was remembered and what was forgotten which was highlighted by this informant-led survey approach, I was equally keen to carry out a systematic archaeological survey. Therefore, I needed to formulate a survey methodology that would cover sufficient areas within Western Uneapa without losing the dynamic of interacting with the local community. As a result I decided to control the survey in two ways.

Firstly, I sampled the different physiographic zones within Western Uneapa. Some survey days I concentrated within only one zone: e.g. by surveying sites in the valley areas due to the fact that our starting point (base-camp) was also on the valley

floor. Most days we cut across these zones: i.e. to get up to the highland areas we had to go through the foothill areas or to get to the coast we had to go up on top of the ridge and then descend to the coastal areas and so on. Our route around the island also depended considerably on suitable path-ways. In some cases, we had to zigzag through overgrown areas to create a new pathway. In other cases, we had to climb up the side of the volcano only to come down the other side as there was no route across. It was in the Bali Plantation area, in particular, that we had to grapple with these access issues, moving through thick vegetation full of rotting coconuts with only a small number of functioning pathways. For these logistical reasons, surveying in Western Uneapa was not completely *restricted* to or *governed* by the physiographic zones. What is important is that once I got to a certain physiographic zone I spent most of the day there field-walking within that zone. I also used these physiographic distinctions to record on a map of Uneapa how much of each zone I had actually field-walked and therefore to decide on areas that needed additional survey.

The second way I framed the survey strategy was governed more by local understanding, memory and perception. In the second field season I spent a number of days exclusively locating the extent of remembered clan boundaries. The north-south boundaries in the plantation areas were largely agreed upon as they largely correlated with the incised creeks. The east-west boundaries, on the other hand, were more contentious. These boundaries were discussed, re-analysed and revisited throughout the duration of the project. The community made strong correlations between the presence of stone arrangements and pre-colonial clan groups. After a few weeks on Uneapa, and increasing familiarity with the different areas we would often plan the next day's survey in terms of the different ancestral clan areas. Comments such as 'let's go walkabout in the Tanekulu area tomorrow' or 'let's look around the lower areas of the Rulakumbu area' were common.

This process of discussing and contemplating these places in similar frameworks to those of the local community not only meant that we obtained a closer understanding of how such areas are perceived, but I would also argue that it complemented our understanding of the archaeological evidence as a whole. It is not a case of putting oral history to the 'test' against the physical evidence, but it is also

about centralising community knowledge and exploring how such understanding is based on, or re-enforced by, patterns still visible in the archaeological landscape or whether such understanding is largely guided by memory or on-going engagement with ancestral landscapes.

In summary, by framing the survey strategy in two ways, i.e. in terms of topographic landscape and the social/remembered landscape, I was able to assess and analyse the intersection and variability between and within such landscapes.

Locales Surveyed

The project surveyed a total of 152 locales that were given individual numbers. How the different locales are defined will be discussed in the following chapter. In general, a 'locale' is equivalent to a location of archaeological interest. The places surveyed by the 2002 team were all re-visited. Of these 152 locales recorded only 8 did not have any form of modified or constructed stone feature present but instead marked the presence of artefact scatters or named but unmodified boulders. The majority, 104 (or 68%) of these locales were in the case study area of Western Uneapa. The other 32% were in areas of Eastern Uneapa, visited during the exploratory survey in the first two weeks.

I carried on the numbering system started by Torrence *et al.* (2002) but replaced the use of the name Bali or B/ as code prefix with Uneapa or U/ due to the fact that Uneapa is the locally recognised name of the island and Bali the colonially imposed one. I was particularly conservative when allocating numbers to locales. Often areas that were initially thought to be two or even three distinct areas were later realised to be only one large interrelated stone feature complex. In these cases I only assigned one number to such locales.

The survey at each locale involved taking GPS (Global Positioning System) points using a hand-held *Garmin Gecko* and detailed sketches and photographs were taken. The following variables were recorded at each locale:

1. Types of stone features.

2. Type of materials
3. How features were positioned in relation to one another.
4. Dimensions of these features.
5. Whether there were modifications or not on such features.
6. Number of features present and dimensions of area.
7. Locational information, including place, hamlet, village name.
8. Topographical information about where the site was located.
9. Any oral history relating to these locales.

Some locales were surveyed more comprehensively than others. Six locales were surveyed in detail in order to provide close inspection of feature interrelationships. These were chosen because they varied in complexity, size, stone feature types present, topographic settings and the amount of associated oral history. They were mapped at 1:100 using tape and offsets and bamboo poles. Each stone feature was individually numbered and measured. These sites are Bola Ke Voki (U/161), Kite Vuaka Taki (U/37), Nabugou (U/1 34), Vunedeko (U/1 56), Vatumadinidiri (U/1 18) and Nidabadaba (U/73). In the second season excavations were carried out at each of these locales. Details of what was found at these locales will be analysed in Chapter 6. The survey team was comprised of the author, Kenneth Bazley, Bruno Pengeti (Project Supervisor), Stephen Baule (Assistant Project Supervisor) and a selection of people from within the community.

4.3.3 Recording Local Perspectives on Uneapa Island

I will now outline the different strategies employed when recording local perspectives related to the stone features on Uneapa. I will discuss how I tried to maximise the potentials of conducting research from the *material to memory* and *memory to material* perspective (see Figure 4.2).

During the first phase of fieldwork I recorded information volunteered by the community when visiting the different areas. I asked people some basic questions such as what were the place names, names of specific stones, whether they knew what the areas were used for, etc. I had many informal conversations about the stone features both in our walks around the island as well as in the evenings back at

the hamlet in which we were staying. During this season a very strong pattern emerged in regards to what the stone features represented to the community. These perspectives will be outlined and discussed in the next chapter. The aim of season two was to go beyond these general impressions and perceptions gathered in season one and concentrate my attentions towards finding out more specific information in relation to the *meaning* and *function* of the stone features.

Who was interviewed?

During season two I spoke to a number of prominent elders recommended to me because of their more specialised knowledge about what ancestral activities took place in relation to the stone features. In a number of villages, concern was expressed that there were only a handful of people alive who held such specialised *kastom* (TP) knowledge. For example, in one of the largest villages on the island, Manopo Village, only one man, Andrew Kakalave was said to be a guardian of such knowledge. As a rule, the elders with whom I worked were those that were recommended by the community. As a result there were to be some biases: for example, they were all men.

I interviewed nine elders, all from different parts of Western Uneapa. In most cases I interviewed each individual on two to three different occasions. These men were Andrew Kakalave (Manopo Village), William Tupi Tatau (Manopo Village), Katu Barte (Manopo Village), Cherry Takili Dakoa (Penata Village), Bitō Rave (Niboboranga), Vagelo (known as Vaki) Kavulio (Vunelingabo), Hendrik Rupen (Kumbu), Pengeti Baule (Nigilani) and Dakoa of Nalagaro. For photos of these men see Figure 4.3 - 4.5 (inclusive).

In contrast to the previous season, where I was interested in exploring *collective narratives*, I gained more insight into a certain number of *individual narratives* during season two. I was interested in comparing in what ways opinions diverged and intersected with the collective narratives. In order to encourage and stimulate dialogue and debate, I also held a number of group interviews.

Where were they interviewed?

Most of the information during season one was collected during visits to particular locales. I was keen to keep and further develop this *material to memory* methodology. I decided, therefore, that when possible I would conduct the oral history research *in-situ* i.e. within stone feature complexes. I felt that more could be achieved if the place at the centre of discussion could be interacted with and the stone features and carvings were visible to all. The process of the researcher and local elder experiencing the site together, walking and talking in and amongst the stones, I believed, would make way for much more lively and focused discussion. Other researchers have also noted the potential benefits of such an approach. In an article entitled 'Ways of Listening', Slim *et al.* (1998 [1993]:148) point out how "revisiting a place and conducting an interview *in situ* or during a 'walkabout' can also free the mind and allow someone to recall the past more easily". Whilst their concern focuses more on the use of *props* as mnemonic devices, I was more interested in using this method as a way to understand the relationship between memory and place. The stone features do not merely act as mnemonic props; rather, they are the actual focus of research itself.

As a result, I hoped that such *in situ* recording could lead to a more engaging discussion about whether the patterns emerging from the archaeological evidence were rebuked or upheld by those being asked. The fact that we had carried out extensive bush clearing in this project meant that the visible character of many of these sites had changed. I was also keen to assess whether such changes had affected people's perceptions and memories of the places or caused disorientation or debate and, as a result, provided some insight on the relationship of remembering, forgetting and visibility.

When interviews took place

I planned to carry out meetings at each of the 6 locales (Vatumadiridiri, Nabogou, Bola Ke Voki, Nidabadaba, Vunedeko and Kite Vuaka Taki) that had been surveyed in detail (season one) and excavated (season two). The locales were thought to be ideal arenas in which to base discussions on both the particular qualities of that

place as well as comparisons with other areas. However, meetings at all six sites were not carried out. In one case the relevant informant was too frail to walk to the site. In another case, a recent death within the community meant there was restricted access to a certain locale for a number of weeks and, thirdly, very little was known in the community about another locale. While these circumstances are themselves informative about the relationship between practice and memory, it meant that I only held 3 out of 6 meetings on-site and conducted the rest of the oral history research in people's own homesteads. In many respects such circumstances turned out to be advantageous in the sense that I was able to evaluate whether there were differences in being on-site or not.

How were they interviewed (i.e. what was asked?)

Much has been written on the most effective and ethical ways that oral histories can be recorded (Ives 1980; Humphries 1984; Perks and Thomson 1998; Yow 1994; Ritchie 1995). Anthropologists and sociologists have expended tremendous energy into thinking through the interviewing process, carefully designing and weighting questionnaires in order to achieve the least biased results. Although I had outlined a number of key questions I was interested in, concerning Uneapa Island's stone features, I did not want to create a formal question/answer type interview setting. Instead I hoped to use general questions in order to prompt discussions therefore making the conversation less like an 'interview' and more like a 'dialogue' between two people. When holding group meetings, such dialogue happened more easily. In a one-to-one scenario it had to be encouraged by keeping the flow of conversation going.

At the initial interview stage, I asked a few informal questions about people's lineage etc. as an icebreaker before trying to direct them on to discussions of the stone features. I followed up such initial questions with a number of both *general* and *specific* questions (see Appendix 5) that were linked to my own research interests in the project. General questions related clan history, social activities associated with the stone feature complexes, the impact of European colonisation and the role of the cargo cult etc. These questions helped inform the *memory to materia* approach.

Specific questions tended to be *place-specific*: e.g. I asked whether any names of stones were remembered, what clan group the place being discussed was in, whether other similar places were known in the same clan area and how they were related to one another. I asked questions about whether they knew if there had been any buildings or settlements present in relation to stone feature complexes. I also asked questions about particular features such as mortars, rock art, cupules etc. In the cases where not much was known about specific features I always asked for an opinion so that features with no direct associations could be speculated about and hypothesised together. These questions helped inform the *material to memory* approach.

A number of questions relating to the cultural context of local knowledge were also posed: e.g. from whom was the information passed down; how often did they visit the ancestral locale being discussed, and lastly, I asked all informants what they thought about our research project on Uneapa. All interviews were carried out in *Tok Pisin* and were recorded using a mini-disc player (see Appendix no. 2 on attached CD).

Community Archaeology in this Research

As I discussed above the involvement of the community in this research was carried out in two ways by *outreach* and *field practices*. So what did these consist of?

Outreach

Although permissions had been granted by the West New Britain government for this project, only a few people from Manopo were aware of our research trip before we arrived. Therefore, it was essential that we spent time at the start of our work introducing ourselves and the project to the wider community. With the help of Blaise Vatete, we organised meetings in all of the larger villages on the island. These meetings were attended by village elders, councillors, committees and villagers and the numbers in attendance ranged from ten to up to 100 people. In these meetings we outlined why Uneapa Island was chosen as an area for archaeological research and discussed the nature of the work that we wanted to do. We also asked whether

there were any objections to these plans and indicated that if any issues arose later that I should be contacted directly. I continued to do outreach within the community as the project progressed. In seasons one and two, I ran a number of workshops in various schools throughout Uneapa discussing Papua New Guinean history and archaeology, the role of archaeologists, etc.

Field Practices

During season one of the fieldwork, representatives from various hamlets within Manopo area participated in the survey and recording of the stone feature locales. Training was provided in site planning, rock art recording and photography. As the project progressed, the wider community became more interested in the stone features. Many people were surprised and delighted when the scale of some of the locales was revealed as well as when a number of elaborately carved boulders, not seen in living memory, were uncovered from the bush. Many people began actively looking for sites and carvings in their own time. At the beginning of season two, wider community interest was voiced towards involvement in the project and particularly the excavations. After negotiation with the chairman and members of the local *Lokal Kristen Kamuniti (TP)* (Local Christian Community), a roster was set up for the seven week season so that each community group had adequate representation. This roster went through various stages of negotiation before a final draft was decided based on community opinion. In this respect the community began to exert direct influence on decision making within the project. For those representing their communities, a training day was held at Bola Ke Voki (U/161) to explain the principles behind excavation. In total, some fifty people took an active part in the excavations over the seven week season (see Figure 4.6).

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided a context in which the design and implementation of this research project could be better understood. I highlighted why I chose to place local perspectives so centrally and discussed both the context and complexities of doing so. I also indicated that I have defined the approach in two ways i.e. the *material to memory* and *memory to material* method. Finally, I outlined the practicalities and

procedures followed in recording the local perspectives and archaeology on Uneapa. This approach has the potential to improve our archaeological understanding whilst simultaneously involving local people more intimately in the process of interpreting their ancestral past.

The benefits, limitations and outcomes of this integrated approach will be made apparent in the following three chapters, in which I will analyse Uneapa's archaeology. Local perspectives will be integrated into this research in a number of different ways. They help define a typology for the stone features/locales (Chapter 5). They will be compared and contrasted against the material remains and create a framework for analysis that encourages alternative interpretative strategies (Chapters 6, 7 and 8). In the following chapter, I outline both the physical and memorialised characteristics of various feature/locales on the island. This chapter (5) forms the basis through which the more rigorous analysis within the case studies can be carried out.



Chapter 5

UNEAPA ISLAND'S FEATURES AND LOCALES

5.2 Features Level: An Explanation

5.2.1 Introduction

There are three reasons why features-level analysis is particularly important in this research and that subject is more attention in this chapter.

1. These features are stored in social practice. They are either the direct product of a design team's use of social practice.
2. The combination of these feature types is limited to very strict. As it is the feature's specificities that will define the feature type. It is important to explore both feature type in depth.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter represents the first stage of the integrated approach. I have employed both the physical characteristics and cultural associations in order to establish a workable typology of individual stone features and how they are grouped together to create locales. In doing so, a *discourse between contemporary indigenous perspectives and archaeological analysis* is established at even the most basic level of analysis.

There are three different kinds of local perspectives under investigation here: local knowledge about individual stone features, locales and the broader social context to which they belong. Bearing this in mind, I have structured this chapter accordingly. The feature level typology will be discussed first, followed by the locale level. Information on the broader social context cuts across both of these sections. Establishing a typology in this way allows us to question to what degree Uneapa Islander's perception of the features and locales are tied in to memories of social practices, therefore contributing to the central theoretical concern on the *relationship between practice and perception*.

5.2 Feature Level: An Exploration

5.2.1 Introduction

There are three reasons why feature-level analysis is particularly important in this research and thus, subject to more attention in this chapter.

1. **Stone features are closest to social practice.** They are either the direct product of or frame some kind of social practice.
2. **The combination of stone feature types at locales is very varied.** As it is the feature interrelationships that will define the locale types, it is imperative to explore each feature type in depth.

3. This is the first typology of Uneapa's Archaeology. As a result, these features need to be described and contextualised in sufficient detail

I will begin this section by providing a short outline of the material types of the stone features on Uneapa. Then each feature will be discussed in terms of (i) their physical characteristics (ii) cultural associations and (iii) frequency and distribution patterns on Uneapa.

5.2.2 Stone Feature Material

Rock types from the Bali-Vitu region have been the focus of geological attention (Johnson and Blake 1972; Johnson and Arculus 1978; Johnson 1979; Woodhead, Eggins and Johnson 1998) because of their compositional heterogeneity both between and within the islands. Uneapa is home to a broad selection of volcanic rocks, most commonly basalts and high silica andesites. No summit craters are present on the three post-caldera volcanoes Mt. Kumbu (597 m), Mt. Tamangone (529 m), and Mt. Kumburi (495 m); instead their cones are comprised of cliff-forming outcrops of lava in the form of andesitic coulées (Ambrose and Johnson 1986). The andesite on these cliffs has columnar joints and is very fine grained, caused by the rapid cooling and restricted flow of the lava. I have identified four kinds of material being used in the construction and modification of stone features in this project. I have categorised these as *columnar andesite*, *vesicular andesite*, '*beach slate*' and '*basalt*' (Figure 5.1). These categories are not geologically specific but are suitable for the culturally orientated analysis in this project.

Sources of Columnar Andesite

A number of columnar andesite sources and/or possible quarries have been identified on Uneapa. There are several locations, particularly on the eastern slopes of Mt. Kumbu, where columnar outcrops are found. Broken andesite slabs are frequently found strewn on the ground but whether these are the result of quarrying or have naturally cracked and fallen from the cliff-faces has not been determined. Although it is likely that a substantial number of different sources of andesite were

exploited by the islanders in the past, only two areas have been identified as possible andesite quarry sites. One was identified by the 2002 survey team (Torrence, Specht and Vatete 2002) some 550 m ASL on the eastern slopes of Kumbu called Bibim (U/5) (Figure 5.2). This was the location also visited by Ambrose and Johnson (1986:494-495) following Blythe's (1984) report of a possible obsidian mine. It is likely that the oral history relating to that mining was actually linked to quarrying of columnar andesite but had somehow got muddled in memory or was misunderstood by Blythe as there are no obsidian sources on the island. Large cliffs of columnar andesite are present at this location and could easily have provided a good supply of raw material for construction of stone features. Another possible source was identified by Blaise Vatete in 2004 at Diarumu creek (U/115) in the Manopo village area. In this creek a small outcrop of columnar andesite exists overhanging a plunge pool. Andesite may have formed here as the result of lava cooling in crevices abutting the ridge wall.

The term *vesicular andesite* has been given to a certain kind of andesite used in the construction of stone features. This material is quite distinctive because rather than having the smooth and consistent texture of other columnar andesites it is rough and has regular holes, possibly formed due to irregular lava cooling. A concentration of this kind of andesite was noted on the Manopo/Penata ridge area and indeed a source may well exist in that area.

Source of 'Beach Slate'

The material that I have called 'beach slate' is only used extremely rarely in the construction and modification of stone features on Uneapa. What rock type it is, is not known. The slabs I recorded were characterised by thin horizontal layers of rock suggesting it is a sedimentary rock. What is more significant, in the context of this research, is that this material has only been noted on the western ridge areas of Uneapa. This indicates that people in these parts were also exploiting more locally available materials, possibly because they did not have easy access to inland sources of columnar andesite. A possible source of the 'beach slate' used in the stone feature complexes on the Manopo/Penata ridge was identified at the cliffs along the Penata coastline.

Source of Basalt Boulders

Basalt boulders of different sizes and concentrations are found scattered throughout Uneapa. Dense concentrations have been noted in certain areas (e.g. in the north western area of the island on the slopes of Mt Kumbu near Makin). Whilst the boulders in that area seem to be in their natural position, it is less clear whether this is the case in regards to boulder groups found within stone feature complexes or whether they had been moved and placed there by human hand. Which it is obviously influences how we think about the development of these locales. A good example of this is at the large stone feature complex at Bola Ke Voki (U/161) where a high concentration of boulders was noted. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Material Types: Frequency and Distribution

In some stone feature complexes, the amount of columnar andesite far outweighs the number of basaltic boulders and in other cases the reverse situation is true. To get an idea of the frequency of materials at these different locales we can look at the numbers for the presence or absence of certain materials. Of 109 locales surveyed in the case study area of Western Uneapa, 27 locales had only andesite present, 45 basalt only and 37 had a combination of andesite and basalt. Vesicular andesite is only found at 8 locales, 7 of which are on the Manopo/Penata ridge. 'Beach slate' is found at 7 locales, 5 of which are also on that western ridge area.

5.2.3 Stone Feature Types

I identified 11 different stone feature types on Uneapa Island. They are classed according to both distinctions noted in their physical morphology as well as differentiations made by local people. Whilst I have tried to create a typology harmonious with the majority viewpoint, there are some exceptions to these categories; these will be discussed in due course. A number of key factors need to be noted here. Whilst the discussion of feature types below will include stone features from both Eastern and Western Uneapa, statistical analysis is only carried

out on features within the case study area of Western Uneapa. There are only two exceptions to this. First, is where I discuss island-wide figures for mortars (Type 4) in order to stress their high density on Uneapa in comparison to those previously recorded for West New Britain as a whole. Second, is where I discuss the anthropomorphic carvings found at Malangai Village (Eastern Uneapa) because they are so unusual that discussion is warranted.

Feature types have been split by two overarching criteria: whether they are *constructed* or *modified*. This split relates to both the primary qualities of the feature as well as the social practices governing their creation. Constructed stone features are those whose primary form has been created through either the placement or erection of stones in a particular fashion. Modified stone features are those which were created by having their external surface modified in some way due to carving, grinding or pounding. It needs to be noted that the feature types discussed here were given numbers before the constructed/modified division in this chapter was imposed. As a result, the features are not in numerical order in the discussion below. The first section on constructed stone features deals with Types 1, 2, 3, 10 and 11. The second, on modified features discusses Types 4-9. This is just a reflection of recording strategies and doesn't impact on the analysis in any way.

The source of the cultural associations in regards to each feature type needs some explanation here. This information is a summary of the most commonly held associations in relation to the different stone features, observed over the six months spent on the island. I recorded views from all sectors of the community encountered whilst visiting/recording the various locales during both seasons of fieldwork (for details see locale gazetteer, Appendix no. 1). Whilst these observations do not claim to represent some kind of *conclusive* collective memory, I would argue that they are the closest thing to general opinion expressed by the islanders in regards to what the various types of stone features represent. These associations largely tie in with what people remember about how such features were 'used' in the past. In the case where features have been forgotten, I will discuss the most commonly provided suggestions, when given.

As the cultural information in this chapter primarily acts a summary of general viewpoints, I have not included specific quotes from individuals interviewed. These narratives will be referred to in due course within the case studies (Chapters 6-8). It needs to be pointed out that these associations are predominantly from the western part of the island where most research time was spent. Whilst one might think that the associations in such a small island might be similar on both sides of the island this really can't be presumed. Indeed, these areas experienced different post-contact histories; Western Uneapa saw the development of a large plantation whereas Eastern Uneapa did not. This is likely to have impacted on how such ancestral remains are perceived and interacted with in the present day. The following information and indeed all the analysis in this research is based on the database I created for this project, which can be consulted in Appendix no. 6 (on CD).

Constructed Stone Features

Seats (Type 1): Physical Characteristics

I have classed the most common form of constructed stone feature on Uneapa as *Type 1*. It is dolmen-shaped with a capstone resting on number of supporting andesite legs. The capstone is almost always placed horizontally. Usually the capstones are made out of columnar andesite and their average size ranges from 50 cm to 120 cm. A few cases of erected basalt boulders occur. The numbers of legs ranges between 2 and 5 but the majority have 3. The erected height varies from 40 cm to 80 cm. Columnar andesite legs are most common and the height of these legs varies between 30 cm and 70 cm. In many cases these features are now found collapsed with accompanying legs strewn nearby. A few examples were noted where the capstone was erected on smaller basalt props or where a combination of columnar andesite legs and a boulder support the capstone.

The only modifications noted on the capstone of these features are small cupule marks. Cupules on Uneapa are small circular indentations some 1.5 cm in diameter. Despite cupules being omnipresent throughout the island they are quite uncommon on Type 1 features. In some instances cupules have been noted on the

legs but this is very rare. For variations in Type 1 features, see Figures no. 5.3 and 5.4.

Seats (Type 1): Cultural Associations on Uneapa

Type 1 stone features are most commonly identified by local people on Uneapa Island as being *seats* or *vatu mianganga (U)*. More specifically, they are said to have been seats erected for and used by prominent male ancestors (*bikmen (TP)* or *tuni taranga (U)*). These features are thought to have acted as the main component or furniture of the ancestral meeting places or *mudina lupuanga (U)*. Specific names have been remembered for some of these features. Such names usually directly refer to the name of a male ancestor. For example Vatu ke Nale (U/23), literally means the *Stone of Nale*.

The physical form and height of these features mean that they could quite easily have functioned as seats. This association is also supported by two photos (Figure 1.4) taken by the German anthropologist Richard Parkinson (1999 [1907]: 90 and 99). Whilst these photographs only offer a small glimpse into how these features may have been used and may not be fully representative they do support the hypothesis that these features functioned as seats. Indeed, the fact that there are consistently more Type 1 features or *seats* than Type 2 features or *tables* at stone feature complexes would further support the hypothesis that they are just that, with more seats being needed than tables. People on Uneapa are very familiar with this feature type. In recent times, these features have been moved more frequently out of their 'original' context and re-erected elsewhere than any other feature. Such dynamics will be dealt with in Chapter 7.

Seats (Type 1): Frequency and Interrelationships

Type 1 is by far the most common form of constructed stone feature recorded in Western Uneapa. 54 of the 104 locales surveyed have Type 1 features present. These features are usually found in association with other features with only 8 locales having exclusively Type 1 present. They almost always occur in groups together, and only 3 single examples are known.

Tables (Type 2): Physical Characteristics

The most common form of Type 2 is a large columnar andesite slab propped up on small basalt boulders. Type 2 capstones range from 100 cm to 250 cm in length. In a few examples, basalt boulders are used as the capstone and columnar andesite legs have also been noted. This feature is normally raised only slightly and in only two cases was the capstone completely raised off the ground. The majority of capstones are aligned horizontally but a number of sloping examples were noted (either due a slab's natural slope or because of unequal sized props).

Two factors distinguish Type 1 from Type 2:

- (1) The larger size of capstone (in terms of thickness, area and weight)
- (2) Method of erection of the stone feature.

These factors are interrelated in that the size of the capstone may have affected the method of construction: i.e. it is more difficult to erect larger and heavier capstones to any great height. These capstones are mostly found propped up on basalt boulders whilst lighter and smaller capstones are found erected higher on thinner columnar andesite legs.

Cupules are commonly found on Type 2 features, particularly notable on the outer perimeter of the capstone. Cupules have also been frequently noted on the small boulders on which the capstone rests. Axe-grinding grooves and grinding hollows have also been found on these features but in only two cases has curvilinear rock art been noted. For variations in Type 2 features see Figure. 5.5.

Tables (Type 2): Cultural Associations on Uneapa

People on Uneapa refer to these features as 'tables' (*vatu kira mianganga (U)*) As with feature 1, they form part of the *furniture* of ancestral meeting places (*mudina lupuanga (U)*). Many of these features are specifically associated with cannibalism and are sometimes referred to as 'slaughter tables' for carving up human flesh. It

was said that such 'slaughter tables' (*vatu mira votavotaghanga (U)*) ideally should be slanted so that when the throat of the captured enemy was cut, the blood would flow towards the ground. It is commonly believed that these features were always placed outside of both village areas and the central areas of the meeting places. These features are also referred to as 'serving tables' and are thought to have been used for serving cooked human flesh and other forms of foods during feasting to senior male ancestors or *bigmen*. In a rare number of cases these larger stone features were called 'seats'. In quite a number of cases people refer to these features as being mats (*bola (U)*) belonging to such ancestors. These features often have individual names and in some cases this gives the surrounding area its name which indicate their significance e.g. Nalevatupango (U/150).

Tables (Type 2): Frequency and Interrelationships

Type 2 stone features are far less common than Type 1. Out of the 104 locales recorded in Western Uneapa only 37 have Type 2 features present. These features are almost exclusively found in association with other features. Only 2 locales (U/77 and U/150) have this type on its own and in these cases they are single examples. Finally, unlike Type 1 it is not usual to get groups of these features located together.

Standing Stones (Type 3)

The third type of stone feature found on Uneapa are standing stones. Both columnar andesite slabs and basalt boulders have been erected in this manner. The height of these features varies from 80 cm to 280 cm. Some of the smaller examples of standing stones may actually be the legs of Type 1 with the capstone removed. Clear examples of deconstructed Type 1 have not been classified as standing stones. No rock art or cupules have been noted on standing stones. To see variations in Type 3 features, see Figure no.5.6.

Standing Stones (Type 3): Cultural Associations on Uneapa

Uneapa Islanders do not express much insight on the meaning or function of standing stones. The Uneapa name for them is *vatumadiridiri*. Two translations were

offered in relation to this term either 'erected stone (vate) to look out from (madiridiri)' or 'a stone that stands up'. Two areas (U/118 and U/8) are called Vatumadiridiri after large standing stones present there. It is interesting to note that the name for standing stone was not commonly preserved in local memory but the term had been preserved through traditional place names. The idea that a standing stone may have been used literally as a lookout post is interesting. Only in a few cases did people directly ascribe meaning to these features. One example was at Nabare (U/141) where a standing stone was considered taboo because those who had erected it allegedly died at a very young age. Other more general stories also talk of how ancestors would knock over stones in order to curse their enemy (also reported by Blythe 1995: 212) before battle but no stories have been directly ascribed to standing stones, so whether there is a direct link to them or not is not known.

Some people suggested that standing stones were put up to mark an important event or person, therefore as a result were commemorative in nature. The only particular examples I was told about though relate to more recent times. At 5 locales, four of which are in Western Uneapa, standing stones are said to have been erected to celebrate Papua New Guinea's Independence in 1975. These are found both within important ancestral meeting places and within modern hamlets in association with other stone features. These will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Standing Stones (Type 3): Frequency and Distribution

Type 3 features are much rarer than Types 1 and 2 occurring at only 26 out of 104 locales surveyed in Western Uneapa. Like Type 2, these features are almost exclusively found in association with other features.

Mumus (Type 10): Physical Characteristics on Uneapa

Type 10 refers to traditional ovens known as a *mumus* (TP). On Uneapa Island, *mumus* are constructed by placing a number of medium sized boulders known as *tabapa* (U) as an outer perimeter circle. A pile of smaller stones or *gharodomo* (U) are then placed inside this circle. These are between 5 cm and 10 cm in diameter and act as the main cooking stones which need to have good conductive properties.

Some stones less than 5 cm in diameter (*bakana ghumungu (U)*) are placed on top of the food parcels during cooking. A fire is lit in amongst the stones and when they are hot, food is wrapped in leaves (most commonly banana leaves) and placed underneath the hot stones. Cooking can take between 20 minutes to a few hours depending on the size and contents of the food parcel. Pig, chicken, sweet potato, yams, taro and bananas are commonly cooked in this way.

Mumus (Type 10): Cultural Associations on Uneapa

Mumus are particularly interesting because they have continued to be used right up until the present day and therefore are in a unique position in terms of how they are used and perceived. Some differences in contemporary *mumus* as opposed to those found in ancestral stone feature complexes have been observed. Most *mumus* being used today are on average 1 m in diameter, adequate size for *mumuing* (*tagotagongo (U)*) for one hamlet of c. 10 people. Considerably larger *mumus* have been noted at some of the ancestral locales recorded. One *mumu* (U/161) was particularly notable because it stretched over 4 m in diameter and excavation revealed that it had stones present some 30 cm under the ground. This may represent activity by a larger group or a number of different hamlets for a bigger feast (*dadamanga (U)*). People believe these large *mumus* were used both in large-scale feasting as well for *mumuing* human flesh. To see variations in Type 10 features, see Figure 5.7.

Mumus (Type 10): Frequency and Distribution

Mumus are found in almost every household on the island. I obviously didn't record the location of these contemporary ones and the only *mumus* included in this study were those found within ancestral stone feature complexes. Only 5 of the 104 locales surveyed on Uneapa included *mumus* and these are all associated with other feature types. This figure is surprisingly low. As will become clearer in due course, cooking/feasting is associated with a much larger number of locales than this. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6. Of the 5 locales with *mumus* only one locale had multiple *mumus* (i.e. at Bola Ke Voki (U/161) where seven different *mumus* were identified).

Keeping Places (Type 11): Physical Characteristics

The final type of constructed stone feature recorded are small enclosures (average 1 m in diameter) that are framed by andesite slabs and house either a collection of stone artefacts, volcanic stones or pieces of coral. As I did not hear of a local or Tok Pisin term for these features, I have named them *keeping places*. Interestingly, a patrol report from 1962 identified them as *lookput* (presumably a Tok Pisin word). Behr (1965:10) wrote that a *lookput* "was kept for anthropological specimens such as stone axes and knives which had been used by these people in their cannibalistic days". I noted objects such as axes, pestles, hammer-stones, barkcloth beaters and sharpening stones within these enclosures. Oddly shaped volcanic stones, locally known as *Poi (U)* and bits of coral were also noted. To see variations in Type 11 features, see Figure no. 5.8 and 5.9.

Keeping Places (Type 11): Cultural Associations on Uneapa

The artefacts within keeping places are widely recognised by Uneapa Islanders as objects their ancestors once used. Certain volcanic stones and coral pieces are said to be reminiscent of different food types: i.e. lava bombs represent fruits, coral represents breadfruit, other suitably shaped stones represent taro, yams and banana etc. These stones are said to be fertility stones that were traditionally buried to ensure good crops. The most well known area for these fertility stones is at Vatu Vitolongo (U/168) (*lit. trans.* Hunger Stones) (also reported by Blythe 1995:213).

Keeping Places (Type 11): Frequency and Interrelationships

Keeping places are not very common and occur at only 8 out of 104 locales surveyed in Western Uneapa. Seven of these are in association with other feature types and only one example (U/92) has been found on its own.

Modified Stone Features

As it will have become clear from the discussion above, constructed stone features are primarily classed according to their form. For example, if a stone feature had the form of a table (Type 2) but also had cupule marks on it, it was classed as a table (Type 2) with cupules rather than a cupuled boulder (Type 5). As a result, I had imposed some form of hierarchy of the elements that govern classification. Giving precedence to the form of the stone feature was a logical step, particularly when concerned with related social practices. The situation in regards to the classification of modified stone features was less straight-forward.

Many of the boulders surveyed displayed a number of modifications on them. For example, it was common to find a combination of axe-grinding grooves and grinding hollows or curvilinear and three-dimensional rock art together on the same boulder. As a result of these overlaps, I ended up defining these features according to what I saw as their most defining characteristic. Whilst this was obviously subjective, how this was done is much less important than actually being consistent in how I did it so that I could compare and contrast these combinations. Combinations of modified features have obvious implications in terms of trying to understand the kinds of activities that may have occurred in conjunction with one another. Also, their co-presence, particularly in the case of cupules and rock art (where there is evidence for superimposition) has the potential to provide insight into activities that took place at different times and indeed why and how certain boulders might have been re-used in this fashion.

The way I classified these features is as follows; first and foremost *stone feature form*, then if there was rock art present (three-dimensional first, curvilinear second), following that whether there was a mortar bowl on the stone and finally axe-grinding grooves, grinding hollows and cupules in that order. Although this sequence is not essentially meaningful in its own right it does correlate, to a certain degree, with the frequency of such modifications. For example, it is logical to put cupule marks right down at the bottom because they occur so frequently on all kinds of

stone features across the island while grinding hollows are more commonplace than axe-grinding grooves.

Mortars (Type 4): Physical Characteristics

The stone features classed as Type 4 are boulders with bowl-like depressions or mortars. Mortars are consistently found in basalt boulders and only two examples have been noted in andesite. The size of mortar bowl on Uneapa is quite consistent with the most common sizes being between 24 and 27 cm in diameter and 10-15 cm deep. In a few cases, bowl dimensions were as small as 10 cm x 10 cm in diameter but these are rare. Double-bowled mortars have also been found in a few instances. A small number of mortars have been found with linear engravings possibly linked to the pouring of liquids. In one case a small panel of curvilinear art was noted near a mortar but whether it is contemporary with the mortar is unclear. Cupule marks are consistently found in association with mortars but whether this reflects a direct link in terms of social activities in which they were used is also not known. Cupule marks are so prevalent on boulders on Uneapa that they may have been present prior to or after the mortar was being used. Most mortars are in good condition although broken and damaged examples were noted. Mortars have been further sub-divided in this research based on their physical characteristics:

Type 4a Portable mortars.

These mortars are found in small portable boulders with a surface perimeter area (average 30 cm in diameter) surrounding the bowl itself. Mortars commonly have cupules engraved on this area.

Type 4b Immovable Mortars

These mortars are found on larger immovable boulders and in many cases more than one mortar bowl has been noted on the same boulder. Cupule marks have been found in varying degrees on these boulders. For all variations in Type 4 features, see Figure 5.10.

It needs to be noted that *portable* is defined as anything that it is possible to lift by the human hand including by groups with ropes and pulleys etc. and *immovable* as a large boulder firmly rooted in the ground.

Mortars (Type 4): Cultural Associations on Uneapa

Very little seems to be known on Uneapa about the function of these mortars. Whilst people are aware that they are ancestral objects, only a handful of the literally hundreds of people we asked about these features described them as having been used in food preparation i.e. For pounding wild taro (*kambiri* (U)) or galip (*tangari* (U)). They are locally known as *vatu tsiromanga*, literally meaning *mirror stone* and it has been suggested that they functioned accordingly. Indeed I have observed that in the right light, water within the dark base of the bowl does indeed create a very good reflective surface. Some people also believed that these were used in the past to give water to pigs but this seems more linked to current practice.

Mortars (Type 4): Frequency and Interrelationships

48 separate boulders which have mortar bowls on them have been found at 29 different locales on Uneapa (island-wide) to date. This is large number when we consider that only 18 have been reported previously for West New Britain as a whole (Swadling 2004). Some boulders have more than one bowl on them and the total of individual bowls is actually 58. On boulders with more than one bowl, the majority have two but three have also been noted. In most cases these bowls are both of average dimensions but in a few rare cases there is one small and one average bowl.

Out of the 29 locales recorded 22 are in Western Uneapa. Portable mortars were noted at 12 of the 22 locales and immovable mortars also at 12 locales. 5 mark the spot of isolated examples and in comparison to previously discussed features this figure is quite high. This is due to the fact that people have purposefully moved mortars into their village areas to act as pig's drinking vessels. In contrast, a number of these mortars have also been found 'in situ' within larger stone arrangements. The best examples are 5 mortars found in direct association with *mumus* at the large

monumental complex at Bola Ke Voki (U/161).

Cupuled Boulders (Type 5): Physical Characteristics

There is only one word to describe the fifth type of stone feature: omnipresent. Boulders with cupule marks can be found in almost every creek, every pathway, in every village throughout the whole island. Cupule marks are consistently the same size: 1.5 cm in diameter and 1.5 cm deep. In some rare cases, larger cupule marks of 3-4 cm diameter and only 1 cm deep have also been noted. Cupuled boulders have been found in isolation, but more commonly they are found in a group with other cupuled boulders or within larger stone feature complexes. Cupule marks appear on almost all types of stone features on Uneapa to varying degrees. They form their own underlying landscape which cuts across the various features and locales. Some boulders display only one or two cupules whilst other boulders are covered in thousands. Cupules are commonly found on the top of or on protruding edges of boulders, but they are also found on the sides of boulders. In some cases cupules seem to have been purposefully joined up to form linear/curvilinear engravings. Some just form lines whilst others are joined up to form elaborate rock art panels. In all such circumstances cupules lie underneath other rock art forms and are therefore older. It is also likely that they continued to be made over a long period as they also appear on all other stone features *except* standing stones. For variations in Type 5 features, see Figure no. 5.11.

Cupuled Boulders (Type 5): Cultural Associations on Uneapa

We made extensive enquires to try and find out local explanations for these enigmatic features. This was mainly because local people had absolutely no memory of what these small indentations represented. It was intriguing that the majority of people didn't pay the slightest bit of attention to these boulders and mostly saw them as being part of the natural landscape. But perhaps this is not that surprising considering that features are everywhere! These boulders created plenty of debate, often resulting in long discussions about them during the evenings at our house. These debates often hinged on whether they were caused by breaking galip nuts (*canarium indicum*). Some people did associate these marks with galip but as far as

I can tell this association was more linked to the fact that the round cupules are convenient places in which to crack galip. When I asked people whether they, themselves had ever created cupules as a result of breaking galip no one seemed to think so. By and large how these features were formed and what purpose they played is forgotten. In saying that, suggestions were plentiful. Some people suggested that cupules, particularly those found on tables (Type 2) were some marking system that could have been used to count the number of feasts or number of men cannibalised at a specific meeting place and others pointed out how they might have been marks made by people to send messages or a way of marking that such a big social occasion had taken place.

Cupuled Boulder (Type 5): Frequency and Interrelationships

I obviously didn't record the location of every cupuled boulder on the island because that would have meant mapping virtually every boulder on the island! Indeed a conservative estimate for cupuled boulders in Western Uneapa alone is 3000+. This means that these features cannot be analysed in same way as others. The 68 of 104 locales where cupuled boulders were recorded in Western Uneapa effectively were locales where other features types were also present.

For all this discussion, we still do not know how cupules were produced, what they may have been used for or indeed what they might have represented. I would not like to make any firm statement here in regards to their manufacture/meaning. What is needed is a specifically dedicated research project, with controlled experiments to asses what type of cracking, pounding and grinding activities could produce these small indentations in the rock. But I would say that my own instinct, from walking across the landscape so many times is that these indentations are so numerous that it seems more logical that they are the result of some form of habitual activity such as, but not necessarily, nut cracking. This does not disregard the fact that they may well have functioned on a ritual level as well assuming various social meanings when used/created in the different social circumstances.

Axe-grinding Grooves (Type 6): Physical Characteristics

The next stone feature type identified on Uneapa are boulders with axe-grinding grooves (*ravuravuanga (U)*). The shape and size of these axe-grinding grooves are generally consistent. Average dimensions are 20 cm L x 6 cm W x 2 cm D. In a few examples longer, thinner grooves average 35 cm L x 1 cm W x 1 cm D were noted and these may either represent arrow grinding grooves (cf. Hampton 1999) or the axe side sharpening grooves. These features are distributed throughout the island with particular concentrations in creek beds where water needed for grinding was readily available. Boulders displaying such grooves are also found within stone feature complexes. For variations in Type 6 features, see Figure no. 5.12.

Axe-grinding Grooves (Type 6): Cultural Associations on Uneapa

In direct contrast to cupuled boulders, Type 6 features are recognised by almost everybody on the island as resulting from grinding axes. They are largely seen as being commonplace and not imbued with much significance. In some cases, recent knife scratches have been noted over the axe-grinding grooves where people re-used boulders to sharpen their metal knives.

Axe-grinding Grooves (Type 6): Frequency and Interrelationships

26 of 104 locales recorded in Western Uneapa have a boulder with axe-grinding grooves. Unlike in Eastern Uneapa (see U/142 and U/130) no locales are known just with axe-grinding grooves present. Those in the western part of the island have all been found in association with other features. There is a notable correlation with grinding hollows and a strong co-relation with cupules. A number have also been found incorporated into panels of rock art, but whether this was deliberate or whether they are two separate events is not clear. In most cases somewhere between 2 and 5 axe-grinding grooves were noted together although isolated examples were also noted. At one location, Malome Creek (U/130) >300 axe-grinding grooves were recorded and another creek bed >50 were noted (Tiromanga Ke Dakoa U/142) but both these locales are outside the case study area.

Grinding Hollows (Type 7): Physical Characteristics

Type 7 stone features are boulders with grinding hollows. These depressions are usually quite shallow and are broadly circular in profile. The size of the ground area is usually 10-40 cm in diameter and 0.25 cm-3 cm in depth. Deeper grooves, up to 7 cm deep have also been noted. In one case (Vatu na Puroko U/107) a boulder has been ground so excessively that there is a large hollow (some 50 cm deep) in the centre of the boulder. At one locale a pestle was found in direct association (U/37). For variations in Type 7 features, see Figure no. 5.13.

Grinding Hollows (Type 7): Cultural Associations on Uneapa

The majority of people did not remember how grinding hollows were made or what they were used for. Some people recognised that they were probably linked to the pounding or grinding of some kind of foodstuffs but the specifics of their use has been forgotten.

Grinding Hollows (Type 7): Frequency and Interrelationships

Type 7 features have been recorded at 20 of the 104 locales surveyed in Western Uneapa and all were in association with other features. A particular correlation and association with cupules and axe-grinding grooves was noted.

The next two feature (Types 8(a & b) and 9) will be described here in a slightly different format. I will describe each of them in terms of their *physical characteristics, distribution elsewhere in Melanesia and frequency and interrelationships* but I provide a combined discussion on cultural associations. This is due to the fact that all of the rock art is viewed pretty much in the same fashion by the islanders and therefore one discussion suffices. The separate rock art categories have been imposed because archaeologically meaningful differences were noted.

Curvilinear and Rectilinear Rock Art Type 8: Physical Characteristics

I have split Type 8 into two groups. Type 8a are boulders with curvilinear rock art and Type 8b are boulders with rectilinear rock art.

Type 8 a

Curvilinear motifs are the most common form of rock art on Uneapa Island. These include anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, geometric and abstract designs. Curvilinear rock art always superimposes cupule marks, indicating that in those cases cupules are older. Cupules commonly appear next to or within panels of curvilinear art and in certain instances motifs have been carved by following patterns laid down by cupule marks. For variations in type 8a features, see Figure no. 5.14.

Type 8b

Boulders displaying rectilinear rock art are quite rare on Uneapa Island. Where they have been found, they correspond quite closely with recent design motifs. For an example of Type 8b, see Figure no. 5.15.

Curvilinear and Rectilinear Rock Art (Type 8a&b): Frequency and Interrelationships

28 locales with curvilinear rock art (Type 8a) and 4 with rectilinear rock art (Type 8b) were recorded out of 104 locales in Western Uneapa. No locale had rectilinear rock art on its own and it is only found in conjunction with curvilinear motifs. Although Types 8a & b have been noted within stone feature complexes they are more commonly found outside of these areas, most often grouped with other Type 8 boulders, cupuled boulders (Type 5) and in some cases also three-dimensional carvings (Type 9). In these locales there is a strong association with water with 14 out of 16 rock art locales. Such spatial patterning has some very significant implications (see Chapters 6 & 7). Because rectilinear rock art always occurs with curvilinear rock art it suffices to make them one group for further analysis, therefore from here on in Type 8 represents both curvilinear and rectilinear rock art.

Three-dimensional Rock Art (Type 9): Physical Characteristics

Three-dimensional rock carvings have been classed as stone feature Type 9. These boulders have been substantially carved away on their sides to create specific shapes. In many cases the carvers seemed to use the natural shape of the rock to create an intended shape. It is important to note that there is evidence of cupule marks overlying these three-dimensional carvings (at Malangai U/7), suggesting that in some cases these three dimensional carvings pre-date the cupules. The majority of these 3-D carvings on Uneapa depict anthropomorphic motifs. For variations in Type 9 features, see Figure no. 5.16.

Three-dimensional Rock Art (Type 9): Frequency and Interrelationships

Type 9 features are quite rare and are only found at 8 locales island-wide, 5 of which are in Western Uneapa. The largest concentration of Type 9 features is outside of this case study area but nonetheless warrants a brief discussion here. Twelve carved boulders, previously recorded by Riebe (1967), are arranged on a high area of ground at the eastern extent of Malangai village high up the slopes of Mt. Kumbu. Ten of these features have three-dimensional carvings. Malangai village was only established after WW II but there is evidence to suggest that a large stone feature complex originally stood in the area and the carvings marked its western boundary. Seven previously unrecorded examples of such three dimensional carvings were also found in other parts of the island (all within the case study area). Of particular note is a carved anthropomorphic pillar now standing in Nigilani village (U/45), a small anthropomorphic carving at Kiballa (U/1 55) and elaborately carved boulder at Bola ke Voki (U/161) (see pl. no 5.17).

All Rock Art (Types Ba, Bb and 9): Cultural Associations

I have grouped the cultural associations in relation Types 8a, 8b and 9 rock art together because they are generally not distinguished by the community. The local name for these carvings is *matabubu* (U) which literally translates as *face design*. It was suggested that this was linked to the fact that designs had to be placed in front

of one's face to be seen. *Matabubu* is the generic term for all forms of traditional design on Uneapa. In general, there is a distinct lack of memory about the meaning or function of all forms of rock art on Uneapa. People young and old readily admit that they had no context in which to understand the role of these markings, indicating how they must belong to an era long ago (*long taim bipo yet* (TP)). This lack of memory is particularly true in regards to curvilinear (Type 8a) and three-dimensional (Type 9) carvings.

The only case where less detachment was observed was in regards to the less numerous forms of rectilinear rock art (Type 8b). An example of this was at Ngoke (U/113) where a large rectilinear panel is recognised by people as resembling traditional patterns still painted today. Examples of this were seen in paintings on Penope Catholic Church, Kakalave's traditional boy's house (*haus boi* (TP)) as well as in some paintings by local artist Pengeti Baule (used as chapter insets in this thesis). This correlation with recent design and greater local familiarity as well the fact that rectilinear rock art has been found superimposing all other forms of rock art may well suggest that it is the most recent carving type of the three. Some local people also suggested that the rectilinear panels might have been carved using metal blades rather than stone tools. Although their method of production would seem to suggest some form of scratching rather than solid pecking, this hypothesis may relate more to the fact that many of these panels have been recently scratched over. People were not doing this to destroy the motifs but in order to enhance the outline of the carvings. We tried to discourage them from doing so, explaining the detrimental effect this would have on the carvings.

People readily admitted they were unfamiliar with and had no knowledge relating to the meaning or method of manufacture of the majority of rock art, i.e. all Type 8a and 9 stone features. For example, although the stone carvings at Malangai village are known to some people around the island, others have never seen nor heard about them. Malangai villagers simply refer to the different carvings as a man, women, pig, snake or cat etc. and I heard no detailed stories about them. Riebe was also surprised by such lack of memorialising and she deemed (1967:375) the only associated story relayed to her to be "short, colourless and unsophisticated both in plot and character" in the context of Uneapa Islander's usual standards of story-

telling. In short, the meaning of the rock carvings on Uneapa were as much a mystery to the local people as they were to us and people seemed particularly perplexed about their ancestors' ability to carve stone in this manner.

In light of such a paucity of local knowledge we asked many people what they thought they might represent and a number of suggestions were put forward. One of the most interesting suggestions made to us first by Andrew Kakalave and reiterated at a later date by Bito Rave was that rock carvings may have acted as a *memory archive*. By placing the designs in such a permanent form as stone each generation would not forget their clan motifs and be able to remember them and then transfer them to other media such as wood etc. This suggestion is somewhat ironic given the fact that the rock art is largely forgotten. Another common suggestion that the rock art was linked to certain kind of sorcery known as *veneka* (U) in which a carving was made in order to put a curse on somebody before battle.

During our survey of the island we uncovered many rock carvings than had not been known to the community and there were some very interesting responses to these finds. In one case, after we had discovered a carving from Dumedumeke Creek (U/1 19) somebody tried to carve the same motif on a nearby rock with a knife, almost as a way of marking the presence of that stone carving. Another example was when I returned to see the exquisite carving at Bola Ke Voki (Type 9) at the start of the second season of fieldwork I noted that the boulder had been covered over with andesite slabs, likely the result of cargo cult activity (the cult will discussed in more detail Chapter 8).

A more recent example of how people on Uneapa have marked their landscape also needs mention here. A cement road constructed (sometime in the last 50 years) near Malangai village is quite extraordinary. It has been completely covered in impressions of both workman's tools such as pliers, spanners, nails. as well as local objects such as slingshots, all made when the concrete was still wet (see Figure 5.17). Some of these impressions were also combined in order to create certain traditional designs.

Bits and Pieces Outside of Feature Typology

The feature typology above covers all variants of stone features I identified on the island but there are some components that do not fit directly into this but do not need formal classification. Many of these pieces are likely to be remnants of stone features i.e. original capstones or legs of now collapsed or dispersed features. Such 'debris' is important in its own right and I always recorded its presence. This is because its existence might well indicate processes of neglect, destruction or abandonment. Therefore such debris has the potential to be read as direct evidence for change in the use and history of the locale.

Another type of feature outside of the remit of the typology above, but which are often found in stone feature complexes are *unmodified boulders*. Some may well be in their natural position but others may have been rolled or moved. Such movement is difficult to deduce. The presence of natural boulders in certain areas may have contributed to the reason why many of the locales were constructed there in the first place. In the same way as andesite 'debris', the presence of unmodified boulders was recorded but they were not given a separate classification.

Just as there are physical characteristics that do not slot directly into the feature typology, some cultural factors need consideration. There are instances where Uneapa islanders ascribe meaning to or have a name for stones that are not (from an archaeological perspective) constructed or modified in any fashion. Interestingly, in all the field-walking I did on Uneapa only one such feature was pointed out to me (i.e. Vatu Kaluga (U/101)). This might give the impression that ascribing meaning to unaltered boulders is quite rare on Uneapa but I would be very wary of saying this. In the course of interviewing elders in regards to the island's archaeology it became apparent that naming of unaltered boulders was more common than at first appeared. This raises interesting methodological issues in regards to the fact that what archaeologists identify as meaningful or significant does not necessarily tie in with what the community does. Indeed the fact that I concentrated so much of my attention to locales that *had* physically altered stones may well have meant that I was not told about unaltered ones because people didn't think I would be interested in them. This is one of the implications of carrying out a *material to memory* methodology.

5.2.4 Feature Level Insights and Patterns

I will now briefly highlight some of the *patterns* resulting from an analysis of Uneapa's archaeology on a feature level. These will be developed further in the case studies in Chapters 6 and 7.

Patterns of Memory

From the description of feature types above it can be seen that, just as each feature has its own physical characteristics, each one also has its own memory characteristics. Indeed, one of the most fascinating aspects of this research is trying to gain an understanding of why certain stone features have rich and widely corroborated narratives associated with them whereas others seem to have been largely forgotten.

So what are the memory patterns in relation to stone features? As a general rule, there seems to be a more commonly articulated rhetoric in relation to constructed stone features i.e. standing stones (Type 3), stone seats (Type 1), tables (Type 2) and *mumus* (Type 10). In contrast, with the exception of axe-grinding grooves (Type 6), the function and meaning of all other modified stone features i.e. mortars (Type 4), cupules (Type 5), grinding hollows (Type 7) curvilinear/rectilinear/three-dimensional rock art (Types 8a, 8b, 9) has largely been forgotten. The pattern of memorialising on Uneapa Island seems to be that those which are widely remembered are those directly associated with particular practices and those that are forgotten are not.

It may seem a strong declaration that certain stone features on Uneapa are forgotten and therefore this warrants some discussion. Features I characterised as forgotten were those that Uneapa Islanders *explicitly* expressed lack of knowledge about, seeing them as features belonging to the remote past (*long taim bipo yet* (TP)). I was always aware of the possibility that certain taboo or sacred knowledge about the ancestral past might be withheld from me and in these circumstances deeming something as forgotten would be a misnomer. All I can say in regards to

this issue is that in contrast to other experiences I have had interviewing other Melanesians (i.e. Solomon Islanders and Ni-Vanuatu) where issues of private knowledge were very apparent, my experience on Uneapa Island was not comparable. The lack of knowledge I observed in regards to certain stone features I do believe was a result of the fact that people genuinely no longer had memories of them. This may well be a result of the fact that for the majority of islanders, stone features no longer play a central role in present day ceremonies or social events and are largely viewed as ancestral structures. Indeed, the only group that continue to engage with these features in a more active manner are the cargo cult or *Perekumu Kampani*. Interestingly, I did experience considerably more secrecy and reticence amongst its members when discussing the meaning of stone features. What is important to note here is how present day memories are far from linear or predictable. Memories of different feature types have had their own trajectories in terms of what knowledge has been passed on and what has been forgotten and this is further divided and affected by concerns of present day interest groups. This is very important as it shows how processes involved in the memorialising of the ancestral landscape are disjointed but this is something that is likely to have been an on-going process throughout their history.

As would be expected, these different memory trajectories collide and intersect on both a feature and locale level. For example, there are many cases where the 'function' of particular feature is remembered by the community but the modifications on it are forgotten e.g. stone table (Type 2) with cupule marks. Such instances clearly highlight the discrepancy between physical and memorialised evidence. As would be suspected, such linearity is also lacking in the relationship between how locales are memorialised. As I will discuss in more depth below, there are many cases in which people hold particular associations with the places where stone features are found grouped together but do not necessarily remember details regarding all the features found there. Examples of this include a number of rock art locales on Uneapa where people clearly state that they know nothing about the meaning or creation of rock carvings themselves, but nonetheless there is the suggestion that such areas would have functioned as ancestral *resting places*. Highlighting such a disjuncture between memory of place and features is an active

way of understanding the processes of memory as “not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings” (Portelli 1998 [1979]:37).

An interesting idea to pursue here is whether such selective memorialising is linked to the visibility of the different feature types across the landscape. It suffices to say here that this does not seem to be the case. For example, if anything, some of the features that are clearly visible throughout the landscape, notably cupuled boulders (Type 5), are the ones most widely forgotten. Similarly, many widely remembered features e.g. seats (Type 1) are regularly found collapsed, buried by soil or covered by the bush. This emphasises that local perspectives are not just about present day responses to material remains but there is also knowledge passed down from previous generations. Therefore could these patterns actually indicate some kind of temporal differences between the features? I will consider this possibility in the analysis of the archaeology in Chapters 6 and 7. So far in this chapter, I have discussed the different characteristics (both physical and memorialised) in regards to each of the stone feature type. I have also highlighted some patterns as a resulting from these memory trajectories. It now is the time to move on to explore how these features are found in relation to one another.

5.3 Locale Level: An Exploration

5.3.1 Introduction

When I first encountered Uneapa's archaeological landscape it seemed dauntingly complex. I quickly became aware that defining the *characteristics* and *boundaries* of these places was not going to be straightforward. Locales vary both in terms of layout, size and what features are found together. Whilst many share similar characteristics, no two are exactly the same.

Locale Boundaries

Once I familiarised myself with the landscape and local oral history, the process of deciding where locale boundaries were became easier. There were two main criteria

influencing how I defined separate locales. First, was observation of spatial patterning i.e. when there was a clear concentration of stone features occurring together and then a distinct lack of related features for a 'considerable distance'. It is not possible or practical to quantify what I mean by a 'considerable distance' here because every stone complex is different. In some cases, the stones appear tightly packed together but in others features can often be found some distance apart. I also consulted local perspectives, but did not want to base my interpretation solely on these. In some cases, local people had completely forgotten about the existence of certain locales, in other cases only certain features were remembered and others (obviously spatially related) were forgotten.

Locale Characteristics

Out of 104 stone feature locales surveyed in Western Uneapa, 36 have only one feature type present. Of the 68 remaining locales, 42 have different combinations of features (for listing of different combinations see Figure 5.18), which effectively means that only 26 locales have the same combination of feature types. Such a low number clearly indicates how varied these locales are and how there is no overarching pattern governing which features are found together. Despite such variation, as I became more familiar with Uneapa's archaeology I became aware that certain types of features appeared more consistently together than others. Therefore, I was keen to analyse what feature correlation patterns could be garnered from the survey data I had collected and ultimately to assess what this could say about past social practices within these locales.

Constructed and Modified Features at Locales

As a basic first step, this variation can be better reviewed by considering whether constructed or modified features are present. As can be seen in Figure 5.19, 41% of the locales surveyed in Western Uneapa have only modified features present. The figure for locales with only constructed features present is substantially less at 21%. The percentage of locales with both constructed and modified stone features falls somewhere in between at 38% of locales. What this shows is that there is a quite a significant propensity for only modified features to be found on their own whilst

constructed features are more commonly found in conjunction with modified features. Although this is quite a broad analysis, there is already an indication of some differentiation between locales and this will be more fully explored in due course.

Feature Types at Locales

The next step here is to get an idea of the number of feature types present at each locale. As I explained previously, the number of features was not counted at every locale but instead their presence/absence was recorded. As can be seen from Figure 5.20, this patterning creates a distinct fall-off curve indicating that the number of locales decreases as the number of different feature types increases. Of the 104 locales surveyed, 36 locales have only 1 feature type present, 23 have 2 types, 16 have 3 types, 10 locales having 4 feature types, following that there 5 locales with 5 types, 6 locales with 6 types, 5 locales with 7 types, 2 locales with 8 types and only 1 locale has 9 types present. No locale has either 10 different types or all 11 types present. Over fifty percent of locales have only one or two feature types present and the numbers are quite small for other combinations. This essentially shows how the more complex locales (in terms of having more feature types together) are not common. This patterning can be made more meaningful by investigating what feature types actually make up these figures.

5.3.2 Locales with only one feature type present

The first group I need to discuss are locales that have only one feature type present. A substantial 28% of all locales surveyed fall into this category. This group is best divided into two ways:

Single Feature Locales

This type of locale is defined by the presence of a single isolated stone feature with no obvious related features. I was interested in what may have motivated people to construct or modify a stone feature in isolation and whether this might reflect any differences in practice or chronology. Thirteen locales with single features are found

in Western Uneapa. As can be seen in Figure 5.21a not all feature types are found in isolation i.e. axe-grinding grooves (Type 6), grinding hollows (type 7), curvi/rectilinear (Type 8a & b) and three dimensional (Type 9) rock art and mumus (Type 10). Mumus are not found in isolation (Type 10) because I only recorded those that had other features in association. The lack of isolated feature types 6-9 is more significant and emphasises further the pattern suggested above, that modified features are more commonly found together.

Of the feature types found in isolation, a significant number are seats (Type 1) or mortars (Type 4). People identified these two feature types as the ones most commonly moved around in recent times which may explain higher incidences of isolation. The meaning of these single features will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 but it suffices to point out here that it is possible that single feature locales are a more recent phenomenon.

Same Feature Locales

This type of locale is defined by the presence of two or more features of the same type occurring together. 26 locales have two or more of the same feature types present (see Figure 5.21 b). There are two peaks here; seats (Type 1) only are found at 8 locales and curvilinear rock art only at 9 locales. These peaks are important on two accounts. Firstly, it shows the tendency for curvilinear rock art to be found in its own distinct locales (also upholding the pattern noted above in regards significant numbers of modified features occurring separately from constructed ones). Secondly, it begs the question to why locales would contain only seats (Type 1) and what this might mean in terms of the social function of such locales. Insights into this provided by local perspectives will be discussed explored further in Chapter 7.

I need to make a final point here in relation to both single and same feature locales. As can be seen in Figure 5.21 a & b, I recorded one cupuled boulder as a single feature locale and four as same feature locales. As I have already pointed out this feature type is so omnipresent across Uneapa that I did not record every one and therefore these figures are not exact. There were only a few instances where locales with only cupuled boulders were recorded: (i) where there was clear

evidence for their movement or deliberate arrangement (U/94, U/159), (ii) when a specific name or story was attached (U/74), (iii) when they marked an area where other stone features once stood but were said to have been removed (U/70). One locale was also recorded because of the overwhelming density of cupuled boulders there (U/38).

5.3.3 Locales with more than one feature type present

In order to analyse what feature types were commonly grouped together (at locales with more than one feature type), I established an index so that these groups could be meaningfully compared. I did this by applying the *Jaccard Co-Efficient Index*¹ to pairs of different feature types. This formula enabled me to establish how frequently different pairs of features were found together. The first noticeable thing about these indices (see Figure 5.22 a-c) is that no pair has a particularly high index. For example, the highest index is between seats (Type 1) and tables (Type 2) and this was only 0.3578. The best way to understand this index here is to think of 1 as effectively representing 100% i.e. in this example some 35% of the time when seats and tables are found in locales in Western Uneapa they occur together.

To take this analysis further, I used these indices to carry out multivariate cluster analysis (average linkage), shown in a dendrogram (Figure 5.23). This dendrogram provides a very good overall picture of the data-set and feature interrelationships in Western Uneapa. A dendrogram essentially is a tree of relationships that shows particular attributes clustered together. It is best to read this graph from the bottom of the y axis upwards and to note where the tree is cut, so to speak. The values on the y axis in Figure 5.23 are not real values but rather indices of similarity between features. For example, the point at which a relationship is established is marked by a value, in this case out of 100.

What is clear is that the data set is very varied. No two features are commonly found together; despite this there are still interesting patterns. These can be best summarised in the following groups.

¹ $J(A,B) = [(A \cap B) / (A \cup B)]$ see Shennan (1988).

Group 1: Seats (Type 1) and tables (Type 2) have the strongest correlation (correlation 37.5). They form their own cluster. Standing stones (Type 3) also form a close relationship with this group (correlation 32.3). And then there is a further relationship between seats, tables, standing stones and cupuled boulders (Type 5) (correlation 27.0).

Group 2: Axe-grinding grooves (Type 6) and grinding hollows (Type 7) are the pair of features which have the next strongest correlation (correlation 33.9) forming their own cluster. Mortars (Type 4) also have a relationship with this group, but it is weaker (correlation 20.5).

Groups 1 and 2 ultimately form a relationship with one another creating their own group that included Types 1-7. What this essentially means is that there are some locales where features from groups 1 and 2 occur together. The dendrogram shows the intersection of these groups at a similarity correlation of only 20.5. This basically means that in about 20% of the cases features in group 1 are found together with features in group 2 at the same locale.

Group 3: The last correlation the dendrogram shows is between *mumus* (Type 10) and keeping places (Type 11). This not as strong correlation as seats and tables for example, and these features only intersect at an correlation of 27.1 i.e. meaning that 27% of the time when they are found at locales, they occur together. Three-dimensional rock art (Type 9) also correlates with this group at a lower correlation of 15.3.

Singleton: The dendrogram shows how curvi/rectilinear rock art (Type 8) is out on its own and doesn't form a strong correlation with any other features. In statistical terms Type 8 is seen as a 'singleton'. Although it does link up with the Group 1 and 2 at a correlation of 15.4. It is does not form a relationship with group 3.

So what can be read from this analysis of feature interrelationships? What do these patterns tell us about related social practices? Does it suggest any temporal

differentiation? How does this compare with the oral history? How can this help in establishing a meaningful locale typology in this research?

5.3.4 Meaning of Feature Interrelationships

Insights on Practice

I created a subsidiary diagram (Figure 5.24) in which feature groupings and sub-groupings are more clearly depicted. The analysis of locales has show that modified features are often found on their own in groups whereas constructed features are not; constructed features are more commonly in conjunction with modified ones. This pattern also carries through here but the picture is, unsurprisingly, more complex. There is a close relationship between constructed stone features (seats, tables and standing stones) and similarly in Group 4 (*mumus* and keeping places). Group 2 shows a close relationship between modified features (mortars, axe-grinding grooves and grinding hollows). This might suggest two different kinds of practice arenas, one where only maintenance activities such as grinding and pounding were carried out and another where stone features were purposefully constructed to frame a wider range of social practices. Indeed, as can be seen in Figure 5.24 a relatively close relationship also exists between constructed and modified features i.e. cupuled boulders with seats, tables and standing stones and three-dimensional rock art with *mumus* & keeping places. What this suggests that whilst maintenance activities are often found on their own, they are also found in conjunction with locales that have evidence for other activities.

Indeed, the only feature that is out on its own is curvi/rectilinear rock art. It needs to be explained here that this does not mean that curvi/rectilinear rock art does not have any relationship with other stone features but rather it means that statistically speaking it is present enough times on its own not to form a group with other features. This suggests that either the practice of carving was purposefully kept separate from other activities or indeed that there might be some temporal differences between the feature types.

Temporal Differentiation

The cluster analysis also raises a number of other questions in regards to temporal differences. This will be outlined here but will be further developed in the case studies.

1. Age of RockArt and Different Styles

I have already suggested that the lack of memorialising about rock art may well reflect that these features are older. The fact that the majority of curvi/rectilinear rock art is found out in its own in the dendrogram might also imply that it had a distinct history. What is particularly interesting is that the three-dimensional rock art does not form a statistically high enough correlation with curvilinear rock art for them to be grouped (even though they are found together at some locales). The position of cupules had already suggested that these different styles are from different periods and the statistical correlations seen here further support such a hypothesis.

2. Age of Standing Stones

In the description of standing stones above, I pointed out how a large proportion of them are associated with more recent activities. Therefore the fact that these features form a relatively close correlation with seats and tables might seem unusual. I will elaborate on this issue in due course.

3. Mumus and Keeping Places

A correlation that was quite unexpected was the one between *mumus* and *keeping places*. The fact that keeping places are more likely linked to post-contact activities and mumus continued to be used might suggest that this correlation is a more recent phenomenon. What is interesting is that keeping places and mumus share some formal characteristics in the sense that they both are circular and both contain piles of stones (or artefacts). Indeed, the correlation between these features, albeit small,

makes us question whether the whole process of gathering and grouping ancestral artefacts was somehow influenced by the processes of constructing *mumus*.

4. Cupules as a long-term phenomenon

The dendrogram shows how cupuled boulders are the features with the most relationships with other feature types. They join both the constructed and modified features and also have a relationship with the curvilinear rock art. This is undoubtedly reflects the fact that cupules are found at most locales on Uneapa and therefore are likely to have had the longest history.

Relationship to Oral History

Local people's interpretation of these locales also fits in with the patterns identified in the cluster analysis. For example, the pattern of locales with a wide variety of different kinds of features correlates with the idea of 'meeting places'. The most common local association in relation to the stone feature locales on Uneapa is that they mark the site of an ancestral meeting place or *mudina lupuanga* (U). A rich local oral history exists on these places which are depicted as being multi-purpose public arenas where an array of social events and activities took place in pre-contact times. These activities included singing, dancing, oratory, feasting and cannibalism. The size and complexity of the various meeting places was said to be determined by whether it was owned by and functioned as the meeting place for a small hamlet within a clan group or whether it was the central meeting place for the clan group as a whole. Without exception, locales identified as *mudina lupuanga* (U) always had some form of constructed stone feature present. As a bare minimum, there were a number of stone seats but in most cases a variety of features (i.e. most commonly seats, tables and cupuled boulders, sometimes axe-grinding grooves, grinding hollows, standing stones, mortars, rock art and *mumus*). A number of carefully chosen *mudina lupuanga* (U) will be analysed in the next chapter.

The pattern of some locales having modified only features present and rock art out on its own also has its equivalent in the oral history. Unlike the memories about the meeting places, these are less specific and detailed. Indeed, in some

cases, the way people talked about these places I felt that they were offering a suggestion rather than a shared oral tradition or memory. Nonetheless, they do provide some important insights. Locales with modified only features are associated as being:

1. Resting Places

These areas were said to be suitable locations where their ancestors would take a break during their journeys around the island, relax, chew betelnut (*Areca catechu*), grind their axes etc. This association was *never* ascribed to areas where *constructed* stone features were present, only areas where there were *modified* features. In most cases this association was linked to the location of a group or groups of boulders displaying modifications such as cupules and axe-grinding grooves. In most cases, it is not possible to tell whether the boulders had been purposefully arranged or not. In a few rare cases, rock art locations were also ascribed as being possible ancestral resting places and the idea was that they were where people returned time and time again carving different motifs each time they visited.

2. Lookout Places

A small number of locales with modified features, on the higher more exposed slopes of Mt Kumbu were said to be areas where, in the past, men gathered to keep watch during time of inter-clan fighting. Again the suggestion was that activities such as grinding axes and carving rock art panels would have been carried out during these waiting periods.

3. Hide-out Places

A small number of locales were believed to have been used as hideout areas in the past. In particular this association was linked to groups of modified boulders on the valley floor in Western Uneapa. This area is believed, by some, to have been 'no man's land' separating the various clans on Mt. Kumbu and those on the Manopo-Penata ridge, making it a good area in which people could hide during times of inter-clan fighting.

Locale Typology

As much as the patterns from the dendrogram above are interesting, it needs to be remembered that none of these correlations are particularly high and the overall thing that the dendrogram is telling us is that Uneapa's archaeological landscape is ultimately very varied. So where does this leave us in regards to defining a locale typology? I will use both the elements from the statistical patterning as well as memorialised patterning in order to establish a typology. Just as I cannot take every possible dimension from the statistical analysis into account nor can I take every possible cultural association. Therefore I have attempted to combine the main ideas and patterns from both strands of evidence in order to establish a workable typology. The typology proves essential for analysis carried out in the thesis case studies e.g. Chapter 8.

The most interesting thing I have found in this whole process of going from recording locales in the field and subsequent post-field analysis is how differently I experienced the same data-set during both these stages. As many archaeologists I am sure feel, it is very hard to express the instinctive understanding you can get for a cultural landscape after being exposed to it over time. I felt this was especially true on Uneapa due to the fact there was such a density of standing remains over a relatively small area. Although the inherent variation between Uneapa's locales was of course, apparent in the field it was relatively easy to get a feel for the similarities and differences between locales but these patterns are harder to see within post-fieldwork analysis.

As a result of previous discussion and analysis I have chosen to use 4 categories of locale in this research:

1. Single Feature Locales

Single feature locales are deemed significant enough to be recorded as their own entity both because of their unusual spatial patterning and the potential that they might be the product of more recent social interaction.

2. Boulder Group

Both local perspectives and statistical analysis point to locales with modified only features. Therefore, this category is best defined as a *boulder group*. This is defined by two or more boulders with any type of modification i.e. mortar bowls, cupules, axe-grinding grooves or grinding hollows. It also means that there are *no* constructed features present.

3. Rock Art Locale

It will be clear from the statistical analysis why curvi/rectilinear rock art deserves its own locale. Rock art locales are also locally differentiated because their meaning has been forgotten. This locale category applies to any form of rock art found out on its own with no interrelationship with other features.

4. Stone Feature Complex

As I have continually reiterated, there is so much variation in the features found together and even though there are some locales with constructed only features the greater propensity is for them to be found with modified features. Therefore I decided that I needed a good generic category which could incorporate such variation. I chose the term *stone feature complex* towards this end. This translates as a locale with the presence of *two or more* constructed features, or a combination of constructed and modified features. This more often than not correlates with local perspectives of what constitutes a meeting place or *mudina lupuanga (U)*.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed and analysed Uneapa Island's archaeology in terms of both the physical and memorialised evidence. By focusing on the feature-level in sufficient detail, I have suggested how the various feature interrelationships determined how locales may have been used in the past. Combining statistical analysis and local oral history provided a platform through which a workable locale

typology could be established. It also prompted consideration of the differences between the locales in terms of social practice and temporality.

The implications of the feature/locale typologies established in this chapter will become apparent in the large analysis chapters that follow. In order to understand the structure of the next two chapters, it is important to reiterate the two over-arching questions within this research:

- (1) What is the relationship between practice and perception in the formation and development of 'monumental' landscapes?
- (2) Why and how can archaeologists create a discourse between contemporary indigenous perspectives and archaeological analysis?

In the following three chapters, I will explore these theoretical and methodological concerns by analysing Uneapa Island's archaeological landscape in a number of ways. Chapter 6 focuses on the role of past social practices in relation to six case study locales, most of which are remembered as meeting places. Local perspectives are placed very centrally in this chapter; they frame and lead the interpretation of the material remains. I follow the *material to memory* method in this chapter. The overall aim of the chapter is to explore the intimate relationship between practice and perception on a locale level. Chapter 7 extends the concern with practice and perception to a broader landscape level, where I will analyse locale distribution patterns in relation to remembered clan boundaries by employing the *memory to material* method. Chapter 8 focuses on the locales and features linked to more recent practices.



Chapter 6

PRACTICE ON A LOCALE LEVEL

6.1 Introduction

The central argument in this research is that the desire to carry out social practices was the primary motivation behind the creation and re-creation of Uneapa's locales. I also argue that perception of these places would have been irrevocably linked to the practices carried out within them. In the previous chapter, I highlighted how varied Uneapa's locales are. I see each locale as having its own set of structuring principles created through various social practices over time. This viewpoint lies at the heart of the "bottom up" approach in that "instead of departing from large scale pre-given entities, we should better start from the analysis of local settings, working upwards towards looking for generalities" (Fahlander 2003: website introduction). My argument is that rather than starting with a holistic understanding of a landscape, we need to build up towards it by first focusing on the different settings of interaction within it. Locales are not necessarily "parts to wholes" (Tilley 1996:161) (in relation to landscape), but are the centres of analysis in their own right.

In this chapter, I have chosen six stone feature complexes through which I will assess the physical and memorialised evidence relating to social practice. The majority of these locales are remembered as clan meeting places (*mudina lupuanga (U)*). Given the wide range of different social activities associated with these places, they offer the best potential for demonstrating the relationship between practice and perception in the development of Uneapa Island's locales. Local perspectives are integrated centrally in this chapter and effectively guide the interpretative process. I employ the *material to memory* method by exploring the relationship between the material remains and memories local people have of them. I will analyse and assess the characteristics, spatial patterning and feature interrelationships within each locale in terms of practice. I pointed out previously how it is the *transformative* and *formative* qualities of practice that act as the life-blood of this thesis. This chapter focuses on the *formative* qualities by analysing how the archaeological landscape and perceptions may have been formed through practice. *Transformative* qualities will be explored in Chapter 7 when I go on to discuss the relationship between practice and structure on Uneapa.

Chapter Outline

This chapter is divided into four parts. In the first part (6.2), I outline why the case study locales were chosen and how they are going to be compared and contrasted. The next two parts explore two different aspects of social practice and its role in the formation of place. Part 6.3 focuses on the *making of* and Part 6.4 on the *doing within* these locales. In the final part (6.5), I will summarise my findings and discuss the theoretical and methodological implications arising from the analysis carried out in this chapter.

6.2 Case Study Locales

The six locales selected for detailed analysis are Bola Ke Voki (U/161), Kite Vuaka Taki (U/37), Nabogou (U/134), Nidabadaba (U/73), Vatumadiridiri (U/1 18) and Vunedeko (U/156) (see Figure 6.1). All locales were mapped at 1:100 using compass, tape and off-set. Measurements of each stone and GPS points were taken over the extent of the locales and a detailed photographic record was made. All locales were mapped to their fullest known extent except for Bola Ke Voki. Three full weeks' survey time was allocated to Bola Ke Voki (by far the longest period of time given to any locale) and even then it was too big to complete on time. At least 2/3 of the locale was mapped in detail and notes were taken about the remaining areas. In season two, 2-3 test pits (1 m² & 2 m²) were excavated at each of the six locales. Excavations revealed a clear occupation sequence at five out of six of them. The excavation data is not going to be subject to any detailed analysis in this research. This is because I wanted the main focus of the thesis to be on the relationship between the standing archaeology and local perspectives. I felt that the thesis already had a wide enough scope and multiple avenues of analysis available and the incorporation of another data set would make the thesis too long.

So why were these case study locales chosen? As I noted in chapter 4, these locales vary in complexity, size, types of stone features present and topographic setting (see Figure 6.1). This allowed them to be nicely compared and contrasted. The factor most influential in picking case study locales was the manner in which they were perceived by the local community.

Local Associations

Four of the six case study locales are remembered as being *central* meeting places of a specific clan group: i.e. Kite Vuaka Taki (Rulakumbu Clan); Nabogou (Lovanua Clan); Vunedeko (Vunidiguru Clan) and Bola Ke Voki (Kulubago Clan). I felt that it was imperative that some of the case study locales were perceived by the community as sharing similar qualities as it would strengthen the *material to memory* methodology. The motivation behind the choice of the remaining two locales was also linked to the way in which they were memorialised.

Vatumadiridiri (U/118) was chosen because, although it is of the same scale and shares some of the same physical qualities as other stone feature complexes identified as meeting places, it has been forgotten by the community. This may well be due to the fact that the majority of stone features are buried. What is also interesting is that Vatumadiridiri is believed to be within the traditional Rulakumbu clan area, but people identify another complex Kite Vuaka Taki (U/37), as the main meeting place of this group. The presence of *two* large complexes within the same clan area prompts interesting debate on the reliability of local memory and the temporality of the locales and indeed of the clan unit itself.

I picked the last locale, Nidabadaba (U/73), because although it was identified as a subsidiary meeting place of the Givalolo clan (whose main meeting place is said to be at Tagataga (U/34)), very little else was remembered. I also chose it because it is located in the middle of Manopo village and I was interested to assess whether it had been subject to more recent changes. One of the interesting things I observed about Manopo village was that most people lacked detailed memories about ancestral stone feature complexes there (the exception being Andrew Kakalave). This is undoubtedly due to the fact that Manopo is not the ancestral area for the majority of the current residents. It was created as a village by the Australian administration after the First World War. Most of the villagers claim lineage with traditional clan groups formally located within the plantation. Given this situation, I was interested in the relationships people had with stone feature complexes that were not from their own ancestral lineages.

The fact that four of the case study locales are remembered and two are largely forgotten adds weight to the *memory to material* methodology. It

allows

me to assess whether local perspectives about the remembered locales are in any way meaningful when applied to the forgotten one. If so, this would suggest that local perspectives on Uneapa are more than just contemporary responses to the archaeological evidence and they do have some historical value. I will now go on to explore the role of two different aspects of social practice in the formation of place: i.e. the *making* of, and the *doing* within Uneapa's locales.

6.3 Making of Locales

I will explore the *making* of Uneapa's locales by analysing the *size*, *construction materials* and the *spatial patterning* of each case study locale. This analysis is largely drawn from scaled plans of each place (see Figures 6.2-6.7). These figures warrant some explanation. The stones coloured in grey with black outlines represent columnar andesite, the black outline is basalt. Only in one locale, Nidabadaba are other materials found. In this case, beach slate is outlined in red and vesicular andesite in green (see Figure 6.7). Modified features depicted on these plans correspond with those previously outlined: i.e., mortars (Type 4), cupuled boulders (Type 5), axe-grinding grooves (Type 6), grinding hollows (Type 7) and different forms of rock art (Type 8a, 8b, 9). As cupuled boulders are so prevalent and have proven so much of a mystery, I have attempted to better understand their distribution and possible function by splitting them into three groups, whether they were found in *rare*, *moderate* or *frequent concentrations*. The only constructed stone features outlined on these plans are *mumus* because they are easily identifiable. Identification of other constructed features is more challenging and therefore requires specific plans (discussed later).

The alignment of these plans is deliberate and important. Five of the six locales are roughly aligned east-west on the page. During fieldwork, I always approached these locales from a westerly direction (due to the location of our base camp). It was this viewpoint I became increasingly familiar with. As result, I analysed potential routes of access. The most prominent natural landmarks in Western Uneapa, i.e. the ridge and Mt Kumbu are most easily traversed moving from an east-west (or vice versa) direction. Added to this is the fact that the majority of traditional clan territories are believed start in the west at the base of the Manopo/Penata ridge, rising to the east, up Mt. Kumbu. These factors,

together with my own research experiences influenced the alignment of the plans.

Even with a cursory glance at plans of meeting places a number of things become apparent. First is that the locales are different sizes and second is that the similarity in spatial patterning within these locales is not pronounced. Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, the layout, extent or boundaries of each locale are not particularly clear-cut or well-defined. Locales are 'arbitrary' in nature, the significance and implications of which will be discussed below.

6.3.1 Size of Locales

The size of the six locales varies i.e. Kite Vuaka Taki (85 m (N-S) x 70 m (E-W)); Nabogou (100 m (N-S) x 38 m (E-W)); Vatumadiridiri (70 m (N-S) x 50 m (E-W)); Bola Ke Voki 80 m ((N-S) x 54 m (E-W)); Vunedeko (93 m (N-S) x 58 m (E-W)); Nidabadaba (31 m (N-S) x 25 m (E-W)). With the exception of Nidabadaba, which was chosen due to its small size, the sizes of the other five locales are not hugely different: i.e. the N-S distance falling between 70 and 100 metres across and E-W between 38 and 70 m. What is more varied is how stone features are clustered and distributed across these locales.

There is also a notable difference in the number of individual stones at each of the locales: 778 at Bola Ke Voki, 217 at Kite Vuaka Taki, 106 at Nabogou, 82 at Vatumadiridiri, 63 at Vunedeko and finally only 20 at Nidabadaba. Features such as seats (Type 1) and tables (Type 2) are composed of a number of stones i.e. the capstone and accompanying props and legs. Identification of these features is often difficult due to the fact that the locales are no longer maintained and the majority of standing features have now collapsed. Consequently, the original shape they assumed is not always obvious.

6.3.2 Construction materials

As pointed out in Chapter 5, the two main materials used in the construction of Uneapa's locales are fine-grained columnar andesites and various kinds of basaltic boulders. Columnar andesite is the material people most commonly associated with ancestral bigmen. It is believed to have been used in the construction of their seats (Type 1) and tables (Type 2). The use of columnar

andesite and basalt has different implications. Basalt boulders were not quarried. Either *in situ* boulders were incorporated in these places or they were moved in from elsewhere. In contrast, it is highly likely that columnar andesite had to be purposefully quarried. Whilst the andesite coulee outcrops on Uneapa are susceptible to natural fracturing, it is unlikely that this process would have provided enough andesite for the construction needs in the island's meeting places. In saying this, it is also important to keep in mind the fact that the more arbitrary spatial arrangement of Uneapa's meeting places may indicate that these places were not created quickly, but built more slowly over time. Therefore the addition of new columnar andesite stone features may have been more of an occasional event. I have already made the point that each locale should be seen as an amalgam of unique events and practices that went into their creation and this perspective should be extended into how we think about the building practices involved in the creation of these places. So what are the frequencies of the different materials within each of the case study locales? What might this tell us about the different building practices there?

Columnar Andesite

In analysing¹ the use of columnar andesite and basalt it immediately became apparent how the use of materials was similar in four out of the six locales (see Figure 6.8). At Kite Vuaka Taki, 72 % of total stone pieces were made from columnar andesite, at Nabogou this was 74%. Vatumadiridiri and Vunedeko had the slightly higher figure of 81 % and 84% respectively. Therefore, the main material component within these four locales is columnar andesite. The preference for this material in the construction of seats and tables is perhaps not surprising. Columnar andesite fractures into slabs that are generally very flat, making ideal horizontal surfaces on which to sit or place things.

Basalt Boulders

Basalt boulders are used both as props and as stone features in their own right. Figure 6.9 shows that the number of props and features in the case study locales. The figure is close to half and half at Vunedeko, Nabogou and Vatumadiridiri. In contrast, a much higher percentage, (73%) of basalt used is in the construction of

¹ The analysis of the different materials is based on the total number of stones at each locale.

features at Kite Vuaka Taki. Indeed, a number of large boulders (with cupules and rock art) were noted in the central area of the meeting place there. Some of these boulders might have been purposefully moved into these positions while others could be in their original positions with the stone feature complex effectively being built around them. Since groups of naturally occurring boulders are found throughout Uneapa, identifying whether boulders have been moved into place is difficult.

Whether basalt boulders were moved or not is particularly important in understanding the building processes that went into the creation of Bola Ke Voki. This locale has a completely different material usage pattern. Of the 778 stones at this locale only 52 are columnar andesite. This means an overwhelming 94% of the locale is made of basalt boulders. Although Bola Ke Voki is a very large locale, the time invested in constructing this space may not be very different to other smaller locales if many of its boulders were *in situ*. So is there any evidence for boulder movement at Bola Ke Voki? Figure 6.10 shows boulders that had to be moved, either because they are involved in the construction of a *mumu* (yellow on the plan), or they are props (in green). There also is a clear boundary line of boulders in the south-western area of the locale (in orange). Whilst it is likely that other boulders were also moved into position, these cannot be conclusively identified. Therefore, we have to consider that a large number of these boulders may have been *in situ* and features were modified and constructed around them.

Finally, the material usage patterns within Nidabadaba deserve a special mention. Of the 20 pieces of stone at this locale only one is made from basalt and six from columnar andesite. The majority of features (11 of the 20) at this locale are made from 'beach slate'. The source of this 'beach slate' is likely to be nearby, from the cliffs on the Penata coast. So what is the differentiation in the use of materials here actually telling us? Although columnar andesite is likely to have been brought down from the Mt. Kumbu area and brought up the steep Penata/Manopo ridge to this locale, this does not necessarily explain the patterning. Such distance was not a deterrent elsewhere, e.g. large amounts of columnar andesite used in nearby locales, Tagataga (U/34), Nalavaru (U/87). The fact that the majority of features at this locale come from locally sourced materials may well be linked to the fact that this place was not a prominent meeting place. This may suggest that the types of materials used in these subsidiary places was

not that important, more important was actually having some kind of meeting place in the first place.

My analysis of the six case study locales has revealed how a diverse set of building practices were invested in the making of Uneapa Island's *mudina lupuanga*. I noted how construction practices at four of the six locales mainly involved the procurement, movement and arrangement of columnar andesite for the creation of stone features. But I also highlighted how more locally available materials were used at Nidabadaba which may have required less negotiation to get, and less effort to erect. Also significant is how the presence of *in situ* boulders at Bola Ke Voki seems to have influenced building practices resulting in only minimal effort being invested in the erection of columnar andesite stone features. The natural characteristics of Bola Ke Voki effectively meant that decisions where to erect features was limited. In contrast, other locales were less restricted by these physical parameters. Therefore what might have motivated people to arrange stone features as they did in these locales?

6.3.3 Layout of Locales: Making for Doing?

I will now discuss the spatial patterning within each case study locale. By placing local memories on the function of these places very centrally, I explore the possible relationship between *doings* within and the *making* of these locales. This approach deliberately centralises the argument that it was the desire towards *doing* that motivated the *making* of Uneapa's locales. What do the case study locales actually look like and what might account for the manner in which they are laid out? What do these patterns tell us about possible processes and practices invested in the making of these places?

The 'idea' of the meeting place

Given that the majority of the case study locales are believed to be ancestral 'meeting places' (*mudina lupuanga* (U)), I will investigate whether the layout of these locales upholds this idea or not. First, it is important to highlight the qualities associated these places. *Mudina lupuanga* are believed to have functioned as multipurpose arenas in which a wide range of social practices took

place e.g. oratory, feasting, cannibalism, singing and dancing etc. Dakoa from Nalagaro describes² Bola Ke Voki (U/161) in the following terms.

This place, this place in which we are now is called Bola Ke Voki. It's like this. In the past our ancestors used to meet here, they would meet here to carry out custom practices. Suppose they wanted to carry out a custom practice here, they would call out to all the bigmen and they would come up here and meet together. It is here that they would make plans and think about some custom or event, and afterwards it would be carried out here. In the same way, suppose a fight was to happen, perhaps because someone disrespected someone else, then all the men would come up here and sit down and plan their strategy for a fight. If one man from Bola Ke Voki was shot, his kin would carry this bigman back and place him on top of Bola ke Voki (The "Mat of Voki"). After he had slept for three days, he would get up again and would be cured and would be walking around again. This is the job of Bola Ke Voki, this is how it works. So these were all the kind of plans of the bigmen. They always sat down and worked them out. At another time suppose they all helped to kill another man. When he was dead they would bring him up to a place up there, called Niparabou and that's where they cut him up. Then they would come down here (to Bola Ke Voki) and cook him in the *mumu*, and afterward they would eat him (6.1 Dakoa: Appendix 3).

The idea that these places were used both for the planning and the execution of a range of different social practices and events is reiterated time and again. Andrew Kakalave elaborates on this when he describes Tagataga, a meeting place in Penata village.

If you were planning a *sin gsing* or something like that, or if they wanted to carry out a small feast, if they wanted to carry out these things they must meet and talk about it. They would have had to go to Tagataga, if they wanted to carry out this kind of thinking or carry out these activities, if a *singsing* is being planned or if they are planning to build a house that we call *rogomo* (*men's house*), they would talk and work out a plan and it would go ahead then. They would go and talk to the headman, and then they would start cutting down trees and start building the men's house. When this men's house was finished they would get lots of pigs and they would all come inside and have a *sin gsing* and then it would be finished (6.2 Kakalave: Appendix 3).

Each traditional clan group was said to have its own meeting place. As Vaki Vagelo pointed out:

Nabogou was the meeting place for all Lovanua in the past. When the time came that they wanted to talk about something they would round up all the bigmen, the fathers of this place. They would all come and meet here and discuss and look at the things they wanted to do, and if they

² It should be noted that the English translations provided here are by the author and that the original corresponding Tok Pisin narratives can be consulted in Appendices no. 2 and 3. As people also used Uneapa language terms, I have highlighted these in italics.

wanted to get something ready they must work on getting it ready. They would mark a day now, and then come together on that day here (6.3 Vaki: Appendix 3).

These places are remembered as being public places where men, women and children all gathered together. Gender differentiation at these places seemed to be linked to particular social practices rather than any taboos about the space itself (discussed below). Indeed, these meeting places and the stones within them are not believed to have been taboo in the past. This is very important. Stone features that act as manifestations of spirits/ancestors have been given most research attention (e.g. Kahn 1990, Blythe 1995). Whilst such a relationship with stones obviously exists in certain communities, it is interesting to consider how this might have only been with certain stones and not with others. I was told of the existence of taboo/spirit stones on Uneapa but they were found in a particular context.

Sarah: So where would you find these spirit stones?

Bito: You find these kinds of stones outside of the meeting places.

Vaki: Yes, outside.

Bito: They would not be found in... the area where men are....in the meeting area. The taboo stones they were located in the bush. The stones you find inside this meeting place, they are good stones.

Vaki: Yes you just find good stones in these meeting places.

Bruno: They are just seats and tables if you know what I mean (6.4 Sarah/Bito/Vaki: Appendix 3).

This idea of meeting places being free of 'bad' stones may well re-enforce the idea that Uneapa's *mudina lupuanga* (U) were arenas used by all sectors of society. Whilst these places may not have been socially exclusive in terms of who could attend the meetings, it is likely that the actual use of these spaces was governed by more formal rules. One of the key elements in the local narratives on these places focused on the presence of a central area, the 'hub' of action where the senior 'big-men' sat together and carried out meetings. Do all these locales have a clear central area and if so what do they look like?

A Central 'Hub'?

At Kite Vuaka Taki³, local people clearly identified where they believed the central area of this meeting place to be (Area A, Figure 6.11). This is a raised area of land that can be clearly seen from all other parts of the locale. It also has the highest density of stone features, arranged roughly in a circular manner (Figure 6.12). This area is quite clearly the focal point of the locale. Indeed, it is interesting to note that when Blaise Vatete held a meeting about the future of Bali Plantation, it was in this area that everybody gathered, sitting in various positions on the different stone features strewn about this area. At Nabogou, the central area (see Figure 6.13, Area A) is even more pronounced, although the layout of stone features is not so clear. Given the fact that Nidabadaba (Figure 6.14) is so small there is no 'central' area because the majority of features are arranged together in one semicircle. In contrast other locales, where there are a number of different activity areas, Nidabadaba is likely to only have had one. The spatial patterning at Vunedeko (Areas A-C Figure 6.15) is different in that it lacks a dense concentration of features in one area. Even in Area B where the majority of features are located, they are found considerable distances apart. Rather than a group of features, one feature seems to act as the focal point of this place. It is an andesite table (no. 47) composed of two slabs resting on each other measuring a massive 298 cm (L) x 233 cm (W) x 32 cm (D) (the largest table surveyed in the whole of Uneapa). The table is believed to be used as a platform for oratory which raises an interesting hypothesis, that the way in which dialogue was carried out at these places may have varied i.e. at Vunedeko the focus may well have been on a single standing orator rather than a group of seated people as suggested by the more circular arrangements seen elsewhere.

Although there is no oral history determining how Vatumadiridiri may have functioned in the past, it falls within the same overall size range and shares some spatial patterning with other locales. It is quite plausible that this locale once functioned as a meeting place. The majority of features there are buried and only their capstones are visible. When I excavated feature # 24, the legs of this feature were found completely intact (6.16), which suggests that many of these features are in their original positions. The features in the southern area of the

³ I have divided Kite Vuaka Taki into five areas (marked areas A-E, Figure 6.11). They are not all physically separate from one another (i.e. areas A-C are interlinked) but have been distinguished due to certain physical and memorialised characteristics.

locale are aligned in an arc (except for those recently disturbed and placed as a frame to the kitchen garden) (Area A Figure 6.17) and could feasibly have functioned as the 'meeting' area of the locale.

The layout of Bola Ke Voki deserves some discussion here because it differs so greatly in size and layout from other locales. When I asked why it was such an extensive locale, Dakoa pointed out

It is big because many people would come up here. Those from Penata, even though Penata had three of its own places like this they would come up here too, Rulakumbu, Kulubago and Vunidiguru and also those from up on top at Kumbu, Lovanua, too. It would have been clear when they should come up here to Bola Ke Voki. Marilee is another place. They were not joined with us. There are on the other side (of Mt Kumbu) it's another place to here. They all would meet here to work, so this place didn't have dwellings, maybe a small house but that would be all because here is the place where they sat down and plan things or have a *singsing* or a big feast. This also happened in other places too, this place is just one, Vatekambeke is another similar place, also there is one in Naletongopo (6.5 Sarah/Dakoa: Appendix 3).

The idea that Bola Ke Voki was used by other clan groups is important. I would argue that the archaeology clearly reflects this and ultimately explains why the locale is laid out as it is. Rather than having a central area this locale has multiple activity centres, each with its own *mumu* (Figure 6.18)⁴. Given such egalitarian patterning, is there any area that might have been reserved for the senior men? I would suggest the raised platform (see Figure 6.19) in the southeast of the locale where a circle of a variety of stone features (reminiscent of Kite Vuaka Taki's central area (Figure 6.12). Another possibility is the north-eastern edge of the locale where a raised platform created out of small andesite slabs (unique on Uneapa), is flanked by a purposefully placed elaborate stone carving to the east and a mortar to the west (Figure 6.20). It has to be considered, though, that this locale may not have had one focal point and focus would have shifted to different parts of the locale depending on both who was in attendance and what social event was taking place.

⁴ Due to the layout of Bola Ke Voki, it has not be separated into separate area codes, it is best analysed in respect to each *mumu*.

Other Patterns

In surveying locales in Western Uneapa, another pattern governing the layout of many of these locales became apparent. I had noticed how a line of stone features was commonly found away from the main cluster of features. Do any of the case study locales display such patterning and if so, how is it interpreted by local people?

At Kite Vuaka Taki, a row of stone tables is found down-hill from the central area (Area A), marking the southwest boundary of the locale. This area (Area E, Figure 6.21) is believed by Uneapa residents to be purposefully separated because of the presence of the 'slaughter' table on which rival's bodies were placed and butchered. The idea that cannibalistic practices needed to be carried out in a distinct space, away from the main meeting area was reiterated by many people in relation to this and other locales. For example, when Kakalave spoke about Kite Vuaka Taki he pointed out how:

Kite Vuaka Taki, it has all these stones too, there are stones on top where people used to sit down and talk and there were other stones down below there where they would put a man on top and cut him up, they would have killed him and then carried him to this place (6.6 Kakalave: Appendix 3).

When I questioned him further by asking why they were separate areas he pointed out how:

It was taboo, it was really taboo for women or children to see a man cutting up another man on this stone (6.7 Sarah/Kakalave: Appendix 3).

The pattern of a row of features outside of the central area can also be seen at Vatumadiridiri (Area B, Figure 6.17) and Vunedeko (Area A, Figure 6.15). It is interesting to note one that even though Nidabadaba is a very small locale, the feature identified as the 'slaughter table' is also located down-slope away from the main cluster of features.

A distinct line of tables can also be seen in the north-western extent of Nabogou (Area B, Figure 6.13). What is interesting here is such patterning is interpreted differently by the islanders. Nabogou is remembered as the main meeting place of the Lovanua clan. Lovanua, the name of the clan, literally translates as 'law-makers' and people believe that clan members did not partake in fighting in the past (also relayed to Blythe (1995:211)).

Lovanua, they did not practice killing men, in other places they had spears for killing men, such as at Nabare for instance but in Lovanua they didn't have these....My ancestors had spears but they were not sharp, they didn't make other men afraid, arguing and fighting was prohibited" (6.8 Bito: Appendix 3)

Instead, they were said to be responsible for the dissemination of laws to other clan groups.

Vaki: They used this place for thinking and good work. They would get all the side together, and if something new arose they would do it. The ancestors would go up there and give this information.

Bito: Lovanua, they were the ones responsible for creating this knowledge (6.9 Vaki/Bito: Appendix 3).

I was keen to pursue whether people believed this ban on fighting was in relation to the people or spatially defined within the clan, and if cannibalism was also prohibited.

Sarah: Talk to me a bit more about the Lovanua clan. I know they didn't fight but were they allowed to consume the flesh of another man?

Bito: No, no. They could only eat a man outside of their own area. For example suppose they had an uncle of theirs who lived on top there, a relation who was looking after his spirit house. If someone came up there and started a fight or an argument in this house, then they could fight.

Bruno: Inside of Nabogou or other hamlets they were not allowed to fight..if they wanted to fight, they had to go to another area.

Sarah: So the ancestors did not bring men who were killed back here to Nabogou?

Vaki: No our ancestors, if they killed a man down below there or on top there, they ate him there. They didn't bring him back here (6.10 Sarah/Bito/Bruno/Vaki: Appendix 3).

As I was interested in how different perceptions of the past created a different reading of similar spatial arrangements within these meeting places. I focused my questioning to the large table known as Goboroko (no. 86) (Figure 6.13) because from previous experience of surveying locales throughout Uneapa, I had become familiar with the fact that people most commonly associated the largest table as being the 'slaughter table'.

Sarah: So this stone down there called Goboroko, what did people in the past use this for?

Hendrik: They would get up in the morning time, and come here to this stone. It was a pillow. They would sleep on it. They would also break galip nuts or almonds on it. That is all, Goboroko is this stone. Before the ancestors had a shorter name for this stone. It was Goloko, now it is Goboroko...it was a lot of work making these tables. They were our tables, in the past they were for everyone. There is one here (pointing around the site). Another one there. Another one there. Our ancestors were here. These were their tables (6.11 Sarah/Hendrik: Appendix 3).

The fact that no table at Nabogou is associated with cannibalism is the exception rather than the norm in regards to Uneapa's meeting places. What is important here is how the spatial organisation of locales is interpreted differently in respect to clan histories.

Spatial Patterning: A Discussion

In this section, I discuss some of the possible reasons governing the layout of Uneapa's locales. Whilst the case study locales do share some similar characteristics their layout is also quite variable. Construction and maintenance of a focal point seems to have been concern within some but not all locales. We also have to consider that even where concentrations of features exist this may have "originated in neither idea or plan, but rather in the practice of the project" (Barrett 1994:23). Each meeting place had its own independent history, its own set of social practices and events that formed the spatial patterning we see today. One could quite easily think of Uneapa's locales being created through the erection of features sporadically, over the long-term rather than in one distinct building phase. The reason why the central areas in the larger locales are pronounced may simply be due to the fact that more features were added there over time.

The need for a focal point within these locales may also have been dependant on what social practices were being carried out. Local interpretation of Bola Ke Voki as a feasting place where the different hamlets of the Kulubago cian or clan groups gathered and prepared food is a plausible explanation for the multiple activity centres found there. Even today on Uneapa, the preparation and distribution of food is similarly carried out during large-scale feasting. What is particularly significant about Bola Ke Voki is the possibility that each distinct activity area developed around the *mumus*, with people adding and adjusting features accordingly. In other words, the place was 'made' as result of a

particular social practice i.e. cooking and feasting. This idea emphasises the two-way relationship between practice and place: just as the natural boulders at Bola Ke Voki might have structured the practices that took place there so too have the practices structured the place itself.

I outlined above how a separate row of features was noted at 5 out of 6 locales. Local people largely interpret this as being linked to the practice of cannibalism. Such a perspective reminds us to think through some of the social processes that might have been involved in the arrangement of these spaces. Working from a material to memory perspective here also has highlighted some differences in how this pattern is interpreted. Local perception of the spatial similarities between Nabogou and Kite Vuaka Taki vary. There are a whole range of reasons underlying why these perceptions may be different. These differences could reflect a re-working of clan history since European contact. Indeed, remembrance of cannibalism, a practice abhorred by European and Christian sensibilities might have been embraced or rejected within the narratives about these places as a form of resistance against or acceptance of the Christianity on the island. But equally, we need to consider how these memories might actually indicate some differences existing between the clan groups. If these differences existed they might not have been contemporary with the arrangement of stone features. So for example, it could be that the Lovanua clan did organise and divide this space with cannibalistic practices in mind but then turned away from such activities. Or equally, such arrangement of space has nothing to do with cannibalism and this is but a later interpretation of these places. These meeting places would have functioned and been perceived differently at different times during their history.

One final thing is important to note here in regards to the spatial patterning of Uneapa's locales. The variability between the locales was much more pronounced during post-fieldwork analysis and was less obvious during the actual survey. Indeed, after I had been in the field for a month or so, the experience of being in many of these locales, especially those identified as meeting places, felt very similar. This feeling was equally shared by my research assistant, who would often lament something to the effect of 'not another one of these places!' It is hard to directly pinpoint why these places took on such a sense of familiarity, but to point out that they each have a clear enough 'central' area where one would naturally gravitate towards and then move from there to

explore the rest of the outlying related stone features. My point is not to get preoccupied with the context, reasons or implications behind our sensual experience of these places but rather to point out the fact that I began to gain better insight on how and why these places were being identified by the community as essentially being the same kinds of places. These places have their own kind of spatial order to them even though the choice of features and spatial pattern does not conform to a single model. I refer to this as an *arbitrary* order.

The idea of Uneapa's locales being ordered arbitrarily is not a contradiction as might first appear. There can be little contention that there was some sense of organisation in terms of how the stone features were arranged within Uneapa's meeting places, but they also seem quite arbitrarily arranged. In order to better understand what I mean, it is useful to compare Uneapa's locales as meeting places to a number of typical examples of Polynesian meeting places or *marae*. For instance, if you look at both a plan and perspective rendering of a typical Society Island's *marae* (see Figures 6.22 and 6.23 (after Emory 1933)), major differences from Uneapa's *mudina lupuanga* can be clearly seen. The structure of Uneapa's *mudina lupuanga* are less structured than that of a typical Polynesian *marae*. Unlike the Polynesian *marae*, Uneapa's meeting places do not have clear cut boundaries. They do not have walls and, as a result, there is not as clear a demarcation of which space is 'inside' and where is 'outside' of the meeting place.

One other fundamental difference is that the stones within a typical *marae* are believed to have primarily played a symbolic role in structuring the ritual space (see Kirch and Green 2001) Although the stones within Uneapa's meeting places may well have functioned symbolically in certain instances, they are also said to be directly involved in particular social practices (i.e. sitting, grinding, pounding, cooking etc.). In this respect, the structural qualities of Uneapa's meeting places allow a more subtle reading of the impact social practices had on the formation of places there. This also allows better exploration of the argument that it was the desire of carrying out certain social practices that primarily motivated the creation, maintenance and development of Uneapa Island's locales.

6.4 Doing within Place

I have already emphasised the strong correlation existing between local perceptions and memories of past social practices in relation to Uneapa's locales. These remembered practices fall into three groups: (i) Community Dialogue; (ii) Food Related Practices (including cannibalism) and (iii) Community Performance. The different aspects of these practices and the features people correlate with them are summarised in Figure 6.24. In this chapter, I will explore the evidence for these past social practices at the six case study locales. I want to investigate the impact these practices had on the formation of these locales, and explore how past people's perception of these places may have equally been driven by memories of practice. Whilst I recognise that the contemporary perspectives used in this research naturally differ from perspectives when these places were actively used, I would argue that such a close relationship between practice and perception reflects something much more fundamental, also affecting how these places were experienced in the past. Participation (or non-participation) in social practice at a place is irrevocably tied in with the formation of perception of that place. This aligns with Blumer's (1969:4) position in that he "sees meaning as arising in the process of interaction between people. The meaning of a thing for a person grows out of the ways in which other persons act toward the person with regard to the thing".

I pointed out in Chapter 2, how too much emphasis has been placed on the perception of monumental landscapes to the detriment of identifying social practices. The following section explicitly investigates the material evidence for a range of different social practices (as suggested by local perspectives) and in doing so, conceptualises ways in which these stone features and locales may have been perceived in the past.

6.4.1 Community Dialogue

The Practice of Sitting

The central clan meeting places are widely believed to be the spaces in which the political, social and economic issues relevant to each clan were proposed and discussed, e.g. building of a men's house (*rogomo (U)*) and/or the organisation of

a large feast. Local memorialising about these kinds of discussions, more often than not, focused on the presence of seats (Type 1) at these locales.

These stones, everyone knew that they were for sitting down, where everyone sat down, and you had a bigman who told people to put these stones there, and then they all sat down on them and they talked and met on these stones, and they would carry out what plans they would like, what ever they wanted. They might like to plan a *sin gsing* or talk about a women or about planning a fight. These are these stones. Yes, there were men, bigmen of ours who knew how to talk like this and how to meet together and sit on these stones (6.12 Kakalave: Appendix 3).

How and where people sat within these meeting places must have been a key factor structuring how they experienced and, arguably, perceived these places. I will therefore investigate the position/location of these seats (Type 1) in each of case study locales

Identification of seats

In Figures 6.25 - 6.30, I have shaded in features in the six case study locales in terms of the presence of seats (Type 1). The identification of seats is far from straightforward because the majority of them have collapsed. Indeed, only one seat was found still erected on its andesite legs. This was at Vunedeko (see Figure 6.31). A number of seats erected on lower props were also noted in the central area of Kite Vuaka Taki. Figure 6.32 depicts the more common state of a seat i.e. the capstone is found collapsed with its andesite legs or basalt props nearby. Andesite slabs with similar dimensions and characteristics to Type 1 are also found isolated from their legs. As a result of these complexities, I have used two categories in examining their presence. Features marked in red are those which are clearly Type 1 seats because their collapsed props/legs are nearby (marked in yellow), those marked in blue are possible seats either because they are similar dimensions and characteristics or are found in a context with other seats.

Each locale is unique in terms of how seats (or possible seats) are arranged. They are both found grouped in clusters but are also dispersed intermittently around these locales. Clear concentrations can be seen in the arc of Type 1 seats at Nidabadaba (Figure 6.27), and the row of seats at Vunedeko (Figure 6.29). In other sites, the distribution of these features is less coherent. For example, at Nabogou these features are found in different clusters in the central

area of the locale (Figure 6.26). The fact that there is not one definite seat in all of Bola Ke Voki (Figure 6.30) and that features other than Type 1 seats frame the central area at Kite Vuaka Taki, raises the possibility that people may have sat on a range of different stone features. Indeed, there is no reason to presume that features with the physical characteristics of Type 2 tables were not also sat on, at certain times and in certain circumstances, as people do today. After being in and around these locales for a considerable period during survey, I observed how people position themselves on them. Most stone features of a reasonable size act as adequate seats, although some boulders are decidedly more rounded and distinctively less comfortable than the horizontal andesite slabs of Type 1! Although people might sit on these stones today without the knowledge of or ascribing to the social rules that might have existed in the past, I would think that the logic of how many of these places are arranged suggests that it is highly likely that people would have sat on a variety of different features. The fact that only Type 1 features are actively remembered as seats may express how their construction had its own particular cultural significance. This brings me on to the next issue, what evidence is there to suggest that there were social rules governing who sat where and on what features within these meeting places?

Rules of sitting

Type 1 seats are associated with senior male ancestors and are often named accordingly. The naming of these features may well indicate that they were erected, owned or used (or all three) by prominent *bigmen* in the past, and ownership may well have descended down the generations. Indeed, ownership of particular stones is still remembered and claimed today. For example, Kakalave claims ownership of a stone seat (Type 1) in an ancestral hamlet which he no longer lives.

Kakalave: I don't know the meaning of all these stones but there is one stone belonging to us, at Nikalava, its name is Korai. Korai is our name, this is still a stone belonging to our family, it's ours but it still stays down there at Nikalava (6.13 Kakalave: Appendix 3).

If stones were owned in similar ways in the past did this translate into where people were allowed to sit? Could it have been that the features identified as seats were those reserved for more prominent people? I did not record any oral history pertaining to social rules of how people positioned themselves within

these meeting places in the past. Despite this, it is possible to examine the six case study locales in order to assess whether there is any exclusivity in where seats are found

As I pointed out above, five of the six locales have some sense of a central area and Bola Ke Voki has multiple activity centres. I will now briefly compare and contrast where seats are found in these areas and suggest what this might imply about how these features were used. At Nabogou seats are generally only found in the main central area of the locale to the south (Figure 6.26) and not in the row approaching the locale. Although not clearly arranged, it is easy to conceive of people sitting on these various seats (and possibly other features) whilst holding community discussions. The fact that Type 1 seats only appear in the central area might indicate exclusivity of use. But this is not true of all locales. Whilst there is a clear concentration of seats in the northern extent of Vunedeko, two seats were also identified at the other edge of the locale in Area C (Figure 6.29). In a similar vein, whilst a clear arc of likely Type 1 seats can be seen in the south of Vatumadiridiri, there are also seats (Type 1) found spread around the locale (Figure 6.28). Even at Kite Vuaka Taki Type 1 seats are found throughout the locale, although there is a slight concentration in the central area (Figure 6.25).

The presence of seats outside of these central areas might suggest that their *form* was not exclusive. It is possible that where they were positioned, who they were named after or even perhaps the memory of the event during which they were erected gave imbued these features with some kind of exclusivity. This raises the possibility that features could play both ceremonial and non-ceremonial roles within these places. Within the context of this research, it is also important to consider that these features may well have been used in different ways depending on the social event taking place, what practices were being carried out and who was in attendance.

Use of Seats

According to oral history, some meetings were said to have been planned in advance. People would have been forewarned that their presence was required as Kakalave points out:

All these areas had bigmen. They usually lived in their own area. But when a bigmen wanted to have a meeting at Tagataga in Manopo he must send out for everybody in his lineage, the same to each area, again and again. He must send word to these areas that they are all to meet to carry out some discussions. Once they all knew now, that there was something to be done, they would come together and meet at the big place. They must come from all the areas. They sent word to everybody and they must come and hear the discussion and they would get up now and go and they would go to the place and sit down in their place and talk all together (6.14 Kakalave: Appendix 3).

These meeting places were also said to have been used on a more impromptu basis. For example, during times of conflict it is said that all the men would gather and plan and discuss what action needed be taken.

One time they were cross like this. If they had a problem, say, with a women, if she was taken away from your group, people would get very cross. Suppose some one found out about a wrong-doing, they would come together and talk about it, they would meet at Tagataga now and talk and now this fight would arise. They would get up now and go and find the wrong-doers. If there was no problem now, it would be a good time and the men would stay where they were and there would be no fighting (6.15 Kakalave: Appendix 3).

We need to consider also whether changes in how the space was used and organised during meetings that involved people from allied clans as opposed to meetings for immediate clan members only. In this respect these places are best thought as 'constantly becoming' because on-going social relationships made these places what they were. The constant negotiation and changing parameters of social relations and practices meant that the organisation of these places had to be adjusted accordingly and quite probably that the rules of seating and speaking etiquette.

6.4.2 Food-related Practices

Local Perspectives

A major category of social practices associated with meeting places is the preparation, cooking and consumption of food. Two types of feasting are associated with Uneapa's *mudina lupuanga*. The first is large-scale feasting in which food was either cooked on-site or brought to the site and shared amongst the clan groups during big ceremonial occasions. I refrained from calling this 'feasting' because food may well have been consumed at these locales during

times other than big community events. In answer to my enquiries about what kind of food people might have eaten at such feasts, people largely identified traditional foodstuffs, such as wild taro (which is no longer consumed today). As Dakoa points out in relation to Bola Ke Voki:

They got food all right which they would bring here. Before, our ancestors didn't have plenty food, only wild taro, we call it 'kambiri'. It was bush food for all. They would get some wild taro and *mumu* it and have it with the man that they had killed and cooked (6.16 Dakoa: Appendix 3).

People also pointed out how senior men would have eaten special foods, for example, *lio* (a deliciously sweet dish of taro pounded up with and cooked in coconut cream) which were served and displayed on certain tables. The second type of feasting associated with these places relates to cannibalism. I have already pointed out how the organisation of these cannibalistic rituals may have influenced the layout of these locales. Although the cultural parameters surrounding the consumption of human flesh may have been very different to regular foods, I have incorporated it into the general discussion here largely following the perspectives of my informants.

Feasting at these locales is thought to have been rigorously planned.

We had men like this. In the past, our ancestors had bigmen the same as at Vunekambiri, bigmen like that. They worked on developing work. If they wanted to make a feast, a spirit house, if they wanted to make something like this, the bigmen would all talk and as time went on now, these men would go walkabout and assess/measure the pigs, decide what kind of work that would go into the preparations. What little they had, they shared food, pigs, plenty of pigs. This was all done by the bigmen. This walkabout was similar to the *tultul* (TP), or the committee. They went around looking after things, they would sit down and make laws, talk, there were such men in the past" (6.17 Bito: Appendix 3).

Bito Rave's description highlights an important point. Feasting within these locales was a culmination of various social negotiations and practices, taken place elsewhere and at other times. This is akin to Latour's notion of interaction in that there are "elements which are already in the situation coming from some other time, some other *place*, and generated by some other *agency*" (Latour 2005: 166). I will now focus on whether the food-related practices associated with Uneapa's ancestral meeting places have some coherence in the archaeological record.

Material Evidence

Five feature types have been linked to the preparation, cooking and serving/consumption of food.

Cupule Marks (Type 5)

As I pointed out in chapter 5, the 'function' of cupule marks is not widely remembered, but the one association people do have with them is that they were produced by cracking galip nuts (*Canarium indicum*). Galip is a common seasonal food source in this region that still plays a very important role in local diet. Including cupuled boulders in a discussion of food preparation is very much in the spirit of this research. Whilst controlled experiments may be needed to conclusively determine whether cracking galip could produce cupules, the local perception that they could do still provides us with an interesting interpretative strategy through which the material evidence can be explored. There are a number of factors that could uphold this theory but there are also those that might negate it. It is important to explore both sides of this argument.

So is it physically possible to create these cupule marks from cracking galip? Cherry Dakoa Takili pointed out how

you get the galip like this and one galip goes into one hole. Sitting down and cracking the galip, all of us together, plenty, plenty people... one galip, one hole the stone is soft... you can prepare the galip like this (6.18 Cherry Dakoa: Appendix 3).

Some comment is needed here on the physical qualities of a galip nut in order to more comprehensively understand the process of cracking these nuts. Galip nuts have a hard outer husk (blackish colour when ripe) (see Figure 6.33a.) and the size of the ripe galip is known to vary in natural populations (see Figure 6.33b.). Although, measurements for the average size of the kernel and the bottom part of the husk falls between 1.25 and 1.75 cm, which does indeed correspond with the size of an average cupule mark i.e. 1.5 cm in diameter.

The possibility that cupules were produced by galip cracking may feasibly explain two factors about them, their sheer density and varied context in which they are found. Figure 6.34 shows a Solomon Island lady and some young boys on Uneapa cracking galip. What is important to note here is the large volume of

nuts that can be cracked in any one sitting. Despite the loss of many native species on Uneapa, galip trees continue to be wide-spread and when in season they produce a staggering amount of nuts. The point is, if these marks do correspond with galip cracking it might go some way to explain the sheer numbers of cupule marks found on features island-wide. Uneapa Islanders consume galip in diverse ways based on traditional recipes. Some are simply eaten raw or roasted but others are prepared by being pounded and mixed with coconut cream and other foodstuffs and either cooked in the *mumu* or open fire. In the short time I was on the island, I ate galip prepared in at least eight different ways. When preparing galip for particular recipes, it is the women or children who usually crack the nuts in large quantities, and then the women who pound them together with other foodstuffs of choice. But galip are also very popular because they make a great snack and can be eaten 'on the hop', so to speak, whilst taking a break from gardening, walkabout, fishing etc. So if cupules did correlate with this practice it might further clarify why they are found in so many different contexts throughout Uneapa.

On the other side of the argument, I didn't witness anybody create cupule shaped marks when cracking galip. Indeed, the method used by the Solomon Island lady (Figure 6.34) of cracking with a flat stone and hammer stone also seems to produce no discernable cupule-like marks. Dakoa's idea that people choose softer stones in which to make these marks doesn't fit either because cupules are found on a variety of different stones, ranging from softer basalt boulders to hard andesites and the cupule marks do not look any different on these materials. It may well be, that people had a different method for cracking galip in the past that did make these marks. Cherry Dakoa Takili's suggestion that one cupule mark represents one galip is unlikely, but what may be important is that breaking galip has the *potential* to create these marks. Perhaps people purposefully chose to crack galip in a particular way i.e. on the same spot in the rock over and over again in order to create these holes. What would be the purpose of creating cupules?

It might be that these marks were created not as a *result* of galip cracking but rather were created *for* galip cracking. Currently people use the old cupule marks as a convenient place in which to place the galip. Interestingly, this action doesn't seem to break the cupule down any further and it still retains its original shape. We also need to question, though, if cupules were actually created for

galip cracking then why were so many needed? If one person could use the same cupule mark over and over then surely a small number would facilitate a lot of nut-cracking? Even if these marks were produced through a more habitual activity such as galip-cracking it does not discount that there may well have ritual meanings attached to them. For instance, the actual performance of making these marks, how they decorated the stone and where they were placed on it etc. may well have been culturally significant. Indeed, the very deliberate marking of the perimeter of some of the large tables with cupules on Uneapa could be a sign of this (Figure 6.35). The sound of making cupules has been considered in other contexts (Rainbird 2002; Boivin *et al.* 2007) and perhaps it might even have acted as a signal for people to come to these places. Bearing all these factors in mind, I will explore whether the frequency and distribution pattern of these cupule marks within the case study locales could be related to the preparation or consumption of galip. By doing so, I will pay particular attention to the relationship they have with other food-related features, i.e. mortars, grinding hollows and *mumus*.

Mortars

As with cupules, mortars are not widely memorialised but they are much more likely to be linked to food preparation (cf Swadling 2004; Swadling and Hide 2005). As I pointed out in chapter 5, one of the major hypotheses for mortar use is that they were used to pound foodstuffs such as taro and galip. Indeed, when I asked Katu about the mortars, he pointed out that they were used to break up food. When I asked him what food types he indicated it was most likely to have been taro or galip. When I analyse mortars within the case study locales, I do so with these hypotheses in mind.

Grinding Hollows

The role of grinding hollows in the preparation of food in Melanesia has been given very little attention and I did not record any specific oral history about them. Therefore what evidence is there to suggest how they might have been used in the past on Uneapa? Indeed why associate them with food preparation at all?

Most grinding hollows on Uneapa assume a rather circular profile that corresponds with what Seligman and Strong (1906: 353) observed for grinding hollows in Southeast Papua New Guinea. Grinding hollows recorded on Uneapa

are almost identical in profile to those found amongst Australian Aboriginal communities (see Figure 6.36). The Australian examples have been much better studied (Gorecki *et al.* 1997). In most cases these are thought to be directly linked to the grinding of seeds into flour which then was mixed with water to create dough in order to make seed cakes/damper loaves. In his discussion of edible plants of Oceania, Barrau (1965:287) commented on the "relative complexity of the processes used by the Oceanians to render edible the wild food plants". He is also aware of the fact that "since root crops were dominant in the subsistence horticulture which European discoverers found in the Pacific islands, the ancient role of plants and edible seeds may have been overlooked" (1965:291). Indeed Bulmer (1964:147) who studied the Karam people in Highland New Guinea, suggested that "wild seeds could have had considerable past importance as a foodstuff". He based his opinion on the fact that there was evidence for mortars and some local oral history to do with seeds but sadly he doesn't distinguish between mortars or grinding hollows (if indeed the Karam actually have grinding hollows). In the absence of any specific ethnographic evidence relating to Uneapa's grinding hollows, I think it is important to pursue the idea that they might have been used to grind seeds but further research is needed to verify this hypothesis.

Mumus and Tables

The use of stone tables to serve food is not that surprising. The importance of keeping cooked food up off the ground and away from insects is still one of the common concerns when holding a large feast on Uneapa today. To this end a high table is usually constructed out of bamboo. This is a temporary structure, specially built for the feast. It is possible that these temporary structures may well have been built in the past within the meeting places. This raises the question of whether the stone tables might have been restricted to the serving particular foods or to serving more senior members of the clan. The use of *mumus* on Uneapa was fully discussed in Chapter 5.

Food Processing and Preparation in the Case Study Locales

Locales with cupules only

The amount and type of evidence pertaining to food related practices within the case study locales varies considerably. In two locales there is no evidence for food related practices except the presence of cupules. No grinding hollows, mortars or *mumus* were found at Nidabadaba or at Vatumadiridiri. Interestingly, neither had local people associated food preparation or consumption with these places. This may be because Nidabadaba is not considered a central meeting place (possibly reducing the likelihood of large-scale food preparation) and of course, nothing is remembered about Vatumadiridiri.

A brief discussion is warranted on the frequency and distribution of cupules within these two locales. In Nidabadaba, cupules are only found on two of the features. They appear rarely on one feature but more commonly on the table identified as the 'slaughter table' (see Figure 6.37). These represent only 10% of the total features. The presence of many cupules on the so-called 'slaughter table' might support the notion that these marks were the result of some ritual rather than habitual activity.

These marks, yeah, the time a man would have killed another man, he would usually put a mark on a stone in this way. These are marks of men, of how many men they would have killed in their fights. When they would come here to eat the dead man they all must put their marks here (6.19 Dakoa: Appendix 3).

The frequency of cupules in Vatumadiridiri is also quite low, with only 14% of features displaying them. If we compare that frequency to that of other locales, we can see that the presence of cupules is consistently higher there. 38%, 35% and 32% of features displaying cupules marks are found at Vunedeko, Nabogou and Kite Vuaka Taki respectively (Figure 6.38). If cupule marks were created by the cracking of galip, the lower percentages at Nidabadaba and Vatumadiridiri might indicate that only 'snacking' of galip took place rather than preparation for more complicated galip dishes. Bola Ke Voki once again stands out. Even though this locale has the most evidence for feasting, only 9% of the features display cupules. I do not think this necessarily undermines the hypothesis that cupules are related to galip cracking. Bola Ke Voki has the highest density of features of

any locale surveyed and many of these boulders are likely to be in their natural position, therefore it is perhaps more meaningful to assess cupule frequency in terms of use i.e. feature numbers rather than percentages. This figure suggests a more comparable amount of activity between it and other large meeting places, e.g. 70 features at Kite Vuaka Taki and 72 at Bola Ke Voki.

Relationship between cupules, mortars, grinding hollows and mumus

I will start the discussion of the remaining four case study locales with Bola Ke Voki. This locale is most orientated around the activity of cooking due to the presence of eight *mumus* there. It therefore represents the best place for assessing the relationships between all of the food-related features. Indeed, it is the only case study locale where *in situ mumus* are present. The *mumu* at Kite Vuaka Taki is most likely related to later domestic use of the site because a house was located in that area in the 1970's. The fact that there were no other *mumus* noted at these locales was very surprising given the elders whom I spoke with insisted that feasting (involving the *mumuing* of foods) took place at all of the bigger meeting places. Indeed, I noted in Chapter 5 how in the cluster analysis *mumus* did not have a strong correlation with features one would expect to find in meeting places. So why might Nabogou, Kite Vuaka Taki, Vunedeko have no *in situ mumus*? I put this question to a number of interviewees.

Sarah: In Bola Ke Voki there are lots of *mumus* and some of these *mumus* are very large. But I have seen other meeting places where there is no evidence of *mumus*. So in some places do you think the women had to bring the prepared food and in others they cooked it there? What do you think about this?

Bito: All of these meeting places they would have had *mumus* before. They would have had big *mumus* too. The women would bring the food and work with the men from their hamlets. They have a *mumu* for 'real' food, but also when the bigman would fight, they would kill a man and then dispose of him and *mumu* him there. (6.20 Bito: Appendix 3)

There are a number of scenarios in relation to the locales that had no *mumus*. Either the oral history is wrong or cooking of food in *mumus* never took place there. Yet, given the presence of other food-related features there might make this unlikely. It could also be that they have not been preserved, either because *mumus* are only a few centimetres above the ground and therefore were buried, or even more likely is that *mumus* were dismantled. As *mumu* stones need to conduct heat in a particular way, not all stones are suitable. They need to be

especially collected. It is possible that old unused *mumu* stones were removed and used in new *mumus*. This still happens today. The preservation of Bola Ke Voki's *mumus* may largely be linked to the fact that the locale is in the plantation and therefore people did not have free access to these places. Indeed, people have only begun gardening in Bola Ke Voki in the last few years and already one of the older *mumus* has been redesigned by the gardeners there and is being currently used to cook food when people do overnight gardening.

What is really interesting about *mumus* is that people have a memory of a practice that has little visible material correlation. This highlights the fact that such memories are not necessarily in response to or prompted by, the materiality of these places. The relationship between visibility and memory of the locales and features is not as close as might be imagined. For example, despite having extensive knowledge of Bola Ke Voki, when Dakoa from Nalagaro visited the locale in 2004, he told me how he'd never really been in and around the stones there. Instead his mother had passed down all the stories about this place. This shows that such memorialising can occur in conjunction with, but also independent from, the actual visible remains.

Bola Ke Voki

Are cupuled boulders more often found in the vicinity of the *mumus* at Bola Ke Voki? In order to explore this, I counted the number of cupuled boulders within a 5 m radius from the centre of the eight different *mumus* (Figure 6.39). I chose this distance because I deduced it was the best distance to cover the immediate vicinity associated with each individual *mumu*. Figure 6.40 summarises the results. Twenty-four cupuled boulders were counted in total within a 5m radius of the centre of the *mumus*, representing 33% of total cupuled boulders within the locale. This figure is not very large suggesting that marking of boulders with cupules was not exclusively associated with *mumu* use. Whilst there may well have been some correlation between these different practices it was by no means an exclusive one.

There are only three grinding hollows in Bola Ke Voki and two are found close together in the vicinity of *mumu* #4. The other is found in association with a mortar, some 6 m away from *mumu* # 7 (see Figure 6.41). The fact that there are only three boulders with grinding hollows shows that this activity was not

widespread across the locale. The presence of two together might well indicate that preparation of particular kinds of food was only being carried out in specialised areas.

There are five mortars at Bola Ke Voki, three of which are likely to be associated with *mumus* there. Mortar # 2 falls within the 5 m radius of both *mumu* #2 and #5, Mortar #3 is some 6 meters away from the centre of *mumu* # 7. Mortar # 4 is c. 7 m away from # 8 (see Figure 6.41). It should be noted that these three mortars are regular single bowl examples (Figure 6.42). Whilst mortar # 1 may have been associated with *mumu* # 1 (some 10 m away), the prominent position of this feature in the centre of the raised area and the fact that it is a double-bowl example, heavily marked with cupules (Figure 6.43), might also suggest that it was used in a ceremonial context. Cupules are found on other mortars but not to the same extent. Mortar #5 is also more conspicuously placed. There is no *mumu* directly associated with it. It has been purposefully erected on two props in direct alignment with the three-dimensional carving and andesite platform (Figure 6.53). This mortar may well have had a more ritual function. Indeed, just as Bulmer (1964) reported possible 'cult' functions in relation the mortars, people on Uneapa also associate some mortars with ancestral spirits (*vuvumu*). As Bito Rave pointed out:

When a mortar was in a place of ours, it was used for breaking up food there but when it was in a taboo place, what we call *vuvumu* (spirit or spirit place), then it is for looking in..it has water inside. .just like a mirror. This one is for the spirits. But when it is in our place, we used it for food and other things like that (6.21 Bito: Appendix 3).

The idea that mortars can have different roles depending on their context is very important. As in the case of cupules they may well have been involved in both habitual and ritual activities.

If we consider the possibility that each *mumu* represents a different group of people cooking food at Bola Ke Voki, we need to examine how the tables (Type 2) are positioned in relation to these activities and the feasibility of their been used to serve food. In these circumstances, one can really appreciate the importance of columnar andesite in terms of providing a good horizontal surface on which to place things. Figure 6.44 highlights the tables (Type 2) within the locale. As can be seen, all 8 *mumus* have tables in association. Areas

associated with *mumus* # 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7 only have one table but #1, 4 and 5 have two large andesite tables each. It is plausible that the food produced in each *mumu* was then served on adjacent tables and shared out among the group. We could consider whether the presence of two tables in association with a *mumu* suggests a bigger volume of food was being produced from within that group. However, since these areas have some of the smaller sized *mumus*, it does not seem to be the case. Indeed, it is likely that the way in which the cooked food was exchanged, shared out and served in different areas of the locale was subject to a variety of complicated social considerations. But in general, the location of the tables in respect to *mumus* could mean that these tables could quite easily have functioned as the serving tables for each group.

The final food-related aspect to be discussed here is cannibalism. Although this practice is believed to have taken place at Bola Ke Voki, no particular table was identified as the slaughter table. Instead, the discussion of cannibalism largely focused on the size of the *mumus* there and the idea that the larger *mumus* were essentially used for cooking human flesh. Most people concurred with Katu's perspective that:

They used to *mumu* the man in this place, Bola Ke Voki, Yeah. Sometimes you used the *mumus* for food and sometimes they were for *mumu*ing man. But of course if a man dies in your clan, you would not eat him. They only ate a man killed in another area. If a man died from your kin, you would bury him, put him in the ground (Katu 6.22: Appendix 3).

People believe this practice actually structured some of the locales on Uneapa because cutting up the enemy needed to be carried out in a separate area. Whether such spatial differentiation translated to the cooking of human flesh was not mentioned, but if we consider that such activity took place within Bola Ke Voki, no *mumu* is positioned far enough away from other activity areas. Instead they are all in close proximity to each other. The *mumu* most often suggested as the 'man *mumu*' was #5 because of its sheer scale (some 5 m x 4 m) (Figure 6.45).

So how does the patterning of food-related features at Bola Ke Voki compare with Kite Vuaka Taki, Nabogou and Vunedeko? No mortars were found at either Kite Vuaka Taki or Vunedeko, only grinding hollows. Whether these locales ever had mortars cannot be known. It is important to bear in mind (see

Chapter 5) that mortars (particularly portable ones like those found at Bola Ke Voki) have commonly been moved into modern villages. Indeed, what was so remarkable about Bola Ke Voki is the fact that so many *in situ* mortars were found there which suggests that there has been less recent interaction with this locale.

Kite Vuaka Taki

Four grinding hollows were found at Kite Vuaka Taki and all were outside of the central area (Area A) of the locale (see Figure 6.46). Three are over 20 m away from the central area. Grinding hollow # 1 and a pestle (Figure 6.47) are located only 5 m from this area and, interestingly are in direct association with the feature local people identified as the 'serving table'. Whether there was any difference in what was being ground so close to the main area is hard to tell. But the grinding hollows (# 2 and # 3) found further away in Area D may well represent specific areas for food preparation. There are a number of possible seats (Type 1) near grinding hollow # 2 as well as two large cupuled boulders (moderate concentrations). Axe-grinding grooves a few metres away may also indicate that people sat there whilst preparing food. Indeed the presence of a second grinding hollow in that vicinity (#3) reinforces the idea that the eastern extent of Area D was used for food preparation. The fourth grinding hollow in Area E of the locale (the area associated with cannibalism) is on the same table as axe-grinding grooves but how these activities were related is not known. The evidence relating to food preparation at this locale is quite slim but embracing the idea that food was prepared down slope in these different areas and then was served in Area A could fit with the available evidence. There are a number of tables in the centre of Area A which also easily could have been used for serving food on.

Vunedeko

There is only one isolated grinding hollow at Vunedeko and it is found in the far southern extent of the locale. If we take on the idea that food might have been prepared in Area C, then an interesting interpretation of the spatial patterning within this locale emerges. As Area B has a distinct line of large tables running east-west down the middle, this could conceivably be interpreted as an area in which food was served to an area in the north where people actually sat together on seats. This reading would slightly change my division of the locale (Figure

6.15) into a particular reading of the site in relation to food-practices (Figure 6.48), in other words I am suggesting a re-interpretation of the space in relation to a particular set of practices.

Nabogou

Two features with grinding hollows and two mortars were recorded at Nabogou. What is interesting about the location of grinding hollow # 1 and both mortars is that they are within the central area of Nabogou and not outside it. Indeed the large elongated table, prominently placed just to the north of the main concentration of features is believed by my informants to have been the main serving table in the locale (see Figure 6.49). The idea that food preparation might have gone on within what seems to be the main area of the meeting place seems quite unusual. On the one hand, it could be argued that the presence of mortars there does not necessarily indicate that they were used in food preparation and could have had a ceremonial function instead. But on the other, I think it is also necessary to consider variable uses. Although people associate the presence of men's houses (*rogomo*) with most central meeting places, their precise location in relation to the stone features has largely been forgotten. That is, except in Nabogou where Bito Rave, Hendrik Rupen and Vaki Vagelo all indicated that they believed the men's house to have stood just west of the large table known as Goboroko (see Figure 6.49).

Say we are bringing food up to Nabogou. Now we would go and work there and the women would all meet and cook together at this place. When we are working making designs (artefacts), on the other side there, at the men's house, when we had finished making artefacts and the women were finished cooking they would come and give us food and we would eat it in the men's house... this is thatyou would have had *mumus* there (Bito 6.23: Appendix 3).

This raises the possibility that food may not always have been consumed in the central area. Perhaps this was reserved for larger scale feasts or more public events. It is conceivable that the same central space may have been used to prepare food and then subsequently used as a meeting place. Indeed, at times such spaces may have been predominantly used by women and other times by men.

The role of the *rogomo* within these places is not well understood but the presence of such buildings within these meeting places has important

implications. For example, did this building operate as a private or restricted sphere within what otherwise was a largely public space? The use of wooden structures in the creation of different social spaces raises questions about the relationship of these different materials. What is important here is the idea that these meeting places may have had certain flexibility in how they were used. Indeed, perhaps this flexibility is coded in the arbitrary arrangement of these places.

6.4.3 Community Performance- A Place for *Sin gsing*?

Meeting places are also remembered as being arenas in which community performances took place. It is best to talk about these performances in terms of the Tok Pisin term *sin gsing*, as it is the term which most adequately encapsulates the combined actions of singing, dancing and playing of traditional musical instruments. Nowadays *singsings* are one of the primary ways through which Uneapa Islanders continue to uphold and express their ancestral tradition or *kastom*. Just as these *singsings* form an important part of social life on the island today, such events are said to have occurred at ancestral gatherings. For example, Hendrik Rupen points out (in relation to Nabogou)

These were happy places, the meeting place of our ancestors from the Lovanua clan, it was a place for playing the *kundu* drum, when they wanted to drum for all, or to drum inside of the spirit house, they would come up here to Nabogou (Hendrik 6.24: Appendix 3).

The centrality of song and dance is prominent throughout most Melanesian communities and these activities were often carried out in specialised arenas. Indeed, one of the main motivating factors behind the erection of stone features in Melanesia has been to this end. Good examples are the large *sin gsing* circles in the Santa Cruz Islands (Davenport 2005) where each village traditionally had its own open space framed by stones. Other examples are the dance-grounds in parts of Vanuatu (Layard 1936, 1942, 1944). In the Santa Cruz examples, the emphasis was on the use of stone features as a way of framing and enclosing an open space. In Vanuatu, dancing is also said to have taken place on the actual stone platforms themselves. So what is the situation with regard to the lay-out of Uneapa Island's meeting places in respect to the community performances that are said to have taken place there?

Just as certain designs are said to have been exclusively used by each clan group, so too were certain performances. One example of this is the performance of a dance *laleki* involving the use of bamboo 'flutes' known as *patete*. William Tupi explains how:

All the men, they knew how to do these *singsings* but some were just for their own clan. They can perform it in their men's house... these were not all the same. When we come here, we have one which we call *laleki*. It is with bamboos. This *laleki* is belonging to us here. It is taboo for everyone to use it. It does not belong to the lineages on top of the mountain. It is ours, belonging to our fathers and brothers and our ancestors (William 6.25: Appendix 3).

Local perspective on what kinds of *singsings* were carried out within Uneapa's meeting places is two-fold. They were either public performances that took place in the central area of the meeting places or were more exclusively linked to the men's house. Interestingly, certain performances are believed to have been physically separated from the more public parts of the meeting place. For example in performing *laleki*, William further explained:

They used this *karikari*. This is when you built a fence all around the *rogomo*. You made this fence from coconut leaves, and fence it off like that. When this *laleki* was being performed inside, all the women and children would think that it was the sound of the spirits. They did not know it was the men making that noise. So they would all go then and to get bush foods, pigs, fish and put it inside the fence and those who were performing the *laleki* would eat it (William 6.26: Appendix 3).

The idea of temporary structures being used to separate the practice of performance in this way is very important because it emphasises how the meeting place could be transformed depending on what practice was taking place. It needs to be pointed out here that *rogomos* themselves may not have been permanent structures within these meeting places. For example, Andrew Kakalave differentiates between two different kinds of *rogomo*.

There was a *rogomo* for the young men. A brother must ask those who built the *rogomo* if he can go inside and sleep. We call this the *haus boi*. They must sleep with him. To go into another *rogomo* is prohibited. There is another one and that belonged to the spirit. The spirits live in there and only the men can go inside there for *sin gsing*. There at Tagataga they had a house like that. They made one there, one we call a *rogomo*, yeah, but it didn't last a long time. They would all get together to plan the building of this *rogomo* in that place but after building it they has a feast and they killed lots of pigs and when this was finished now, this house would stand up and then it would be broken again and it was gone. Suppose then they

wanted to build another *rogomo*, they must go again and talk with everyone and then build there again. The *rogomo* that stayed longer was the one for the young men but that was build near your mother and father's house not inside the meeting place. This is another kind (Kakalave 6.27: Appendix 3).

This discussion suggests that the majority of *singsings* took place at the senior men's *rogomo* which were temporarily located in these meeting places. These structures were not permanent but were built for special occasions, used and then destroyed. Such processes of destruction are not unusual in a Melanesian context. For example, one well documented example being the destruction of Malangan masks in New Ireland (Küchler 1987, 1988). There are two particular issues relating to the destruction of *rogomos* in the context of Uneapa Island's meeting places. First is the fact that the stone arrangements only offer one perspective on how the meeting places were used. The role of other wooden buildings may also have been important. Second is whether the destruction of buildings made of bush materials, in a context with comparatively permanent stone arrangements, had particular meaning for the islanders in the past?

In contrast to these more private performances, where might the public performances have taken place? Unfortunately, I didn't record much oral history relating to specific uses but only that *singsings* are believed to have taken place in the main areas of the meeting places. One would imagine that a certain amount of open space would be needed for these performances but of course these would depend on the number of people involved. The amount of open space within the central areas of the case study locales varies quite considerably.

It is quite easy to appreciate that singing and dancing could have taken place in the central area (Area A) of Nabogou, in the open area just west of the serving table (see Figure 6.50). Another significant factor about the spatial arrangement at this locale is the pathway which runs along the line of stones to the north of the locale and curves up so that you enter this open area between the large table of Goboroko (no. 86) and another table to the east (no. 85). This is the entrance commonly used today, but whether it was also used in the past is unclear. I recorded no direct oral history to indicate this but Hendrik Rupen pointed out how his ancestors would decorate the thin elongated standing stone known as *Tuguru* (no. 97) (Figure 6.50) to indicate that a feast or *sin gsing* was to take place. This may well indicate that Nabogou was approached from this direction. It is not too much of a stretch of imagination to think of people who

were partaking in a performance within the central area of Nabogou proceeding up alongside these stones.

There is also plenty of space between the stones at Vunedeko where performances could have taken place. In contrast, Bola Ke Voki and Kite Vuaka Taki central areas are so full up with stone features that there may not be adequate space to perform there at all. The one locale whose layout is very interesting in regards to its open space is Vatumadiridiri. The horseshoe arrangement of stone features there is such that if one positions oneself at any of the stone features, even sitting at opposite ends of the locale, you have a very good view of anything going in the large open area to the west of the locale (see Figure 6.51).

6.5 Findings and Implications

6.5.1 Findings

I will now discuss the findings and implications of the analysis carried out in this chapter. I focused on the social practices revealed through the material evidence as well as the plausibility of others suggested by local perspectives. Analysis of social practice in terms of *making* and *doing* raised a number of pertinent issues in relation to the formation and development of the case study locales. I was able to explore a number of factors regarding the construction and arrangement of these places and their feature interrelationships in terms of remembered practices.

Construction of Place

By analysing the frequency of materials I showed that the building practices at 4 out of 6 case study locales were dominated by the movement and arrangement of pieces of columnar andesite into different shapes and positions. Bola Ke Voki broke the mould by having less andesite present, more likely created by rolling boulders into place and using *in situ* boulders. The smallest meeting place, Nidabadaba was also distinct because of its use of more diverse and locally available materials. This suggested that the practices involved in the creation of these places were affected by the natural characteristics of the places

themselves, the ability of the builders to procure raw materials, and the social importance of the meeting place itself.

In Chapter 2, I argued that involvement in social practices would have taken precedence over experience of materiality in how people constructed meaning in relation to these locales. Therefore, I was not interested in exploring the materiality or construction of the case study locales apart from what they were intended to do. The important thing about Uneapa's *mudina lupuanga* is the fact that just as they were created *through* various social practices they also were created *for* practice. The motivation behind creating these places in the first place was likely the desire to have an arena where people could gather and interact with each other. Although archaeologists have recognised how monumental space has the power to restrict, exclude or enable human experience (Edmonds 1993; Thomas 1993, 1996; Barrett 1994; Richards 1996; Bradley 1998a), the focus has largely been on how already *in situ* monuments "orchestrated human experience" (Bradley 1993:48) rather than how a desire for human experience may have orchestrated the construction of these places in the first instance.

Arrangement of Place

In order to explore the relationship between *making* and *doing*, I investigated whether local memories of social practice could explain the spatial patterning within locales. I pointed out how the idea that meeting places had a 'central area' had resonance within the majority of case study locales. Only Bola Ke Voki differed from this with a more egalitarian organisation of space and multiple areas of activity. I also suggested that the local belief that cannibalism had to be carried out in its own separate space might explain how at 5 of the 6 locales a separated row of tables (or table in the case of Nidabadaba) was found. It is important to point out here that I am not saying these local perspectives are conclusive but what I do show is that they provide a stimulating framework through which the layout of these locales can be interpreted. Focusing on the perceived use of the space reveals patterns that may not be considered through archaeological analysis alone. To extend this approach further, I divided my analysis of the locales into three different groups of practices associated with Uneapa's meeting places: community dialogue, food-related practices and community performances.

Community Dialogue

By considering the practice of sitting in relation to the feature patterning within the six locales, I was able to arrive at certain deductions. The position of features would suggest that some features, other than Type 1 seats (i.e. those identified as seats by the community), were used as seats. Type 1 seats were not only found in the central areas of the meeting places suggesting that it may not have been the form of the seats *per se* that was exclusively linked with the senior men but where and how they were positioned. The idea that features on Uneapa could have had multiple meanings depending on their context is also reflected elsewhere in the data.

Food-Related Practices

The idea that food was prepared and consumed within these locales provided another trajectory through which feature interrelationships could be interpreted. The amount of evidence for these activities varied between locales. There was no evidence for food related practices (except cupule marks) at Nidabadaba, possibly suggesting that these practices did not take place at the smaller locales. There was little evidence also at Vatumadiridiri, possibly because it did not function as a central meeting place. In contrast, I showed how food-related practices seemingly dominated the structure of Bola Ke Voki.

My investigation on whether cupule marks could be related to cracking galip was inconclusive. But I did show that 4 out of the 6 locales had quite closely comparable numbers which might suggest similar scales of *cupule-making* took place within these places. What was interesting was that these were the four locales actively remembered as central clan meeting places. I also showed how the distribution of cupules did not suggest an exclusive link with other food-preparation activities. Even at Bola Ke Voki where I could analyse known cooking areas, only a third of cupuled boulders were in the vicinity of *mumus*. Similarly cupuled boulders were found distributed in many areas throughout the locales but I pointed out how more casual snacking on galip could explain this pattern.

A much clearer relationship between mortars (when present) and food preparation was seen. For example the majority were closely associated with the *mumus* at Bola Ke Voki and with other food-related features at Nabogou. But I

also indicated how their spatial patterning could suggest ritual function. Grinding hollows were also shown to be found in conjunction with both axe-grinding grooves and mortars and each other. In some locales, i.e. Vundeko and Kite Vuaka Taki, I suggested that their presence, separated from the central area of the locale, was deliberate and represented a special area for food preparation. There was nothing physically different about the tables (Type 2) local people associated with cannibalism within the case study locales and of course there is no conclusive proof that cannibalism did once occur at any of these locales. That said, a distinct correlation with axe-grinding grooves either on or adjacent to the tables believed to be 'slaughter tables' was noted, as indeed was their separation from central areas of the meeting place.

Community Performance

The interesting thing about considering where and how local *singsings* might have taken place within these locales centres on the fact that no features directly correlate with these practices. Unlike food preparation, there were no particular features on which I could base my analysis. Therefore I had to focus on the space between the stones rather than the stones themselves. This is in line with Barrett's concern that archaeologists also consider "the practices which left little or no direct material trace on this site but were structured by the enclosures" (1994:14). I pointed out how some of the central areas in the meeting places seemed so full with stone features that it is hard to imagine big *singsings* taking place there but I did suggest a number of areas. Of particular note was the large open space created by the horseshoe arrangement at Vatumadiridiri.

An assessment of the theoretical and methodological implications of the analysis in this chapter is now warranted. I will explore what can be said about the relationship between memory and material remains and between practice, perception and social structure.

6.5.2 Methodological Implications

In this chapter I largely employed the *material to memory* method defined and discussed in Chapter 4. I focused on what people remembered about specific features in order to frame the analysis and structure the discussion of the case study locales. This resulted in a number of benefits:

1. It encouraged an analysis of features in more meaningful groups and assessment of whether remembered practices were reflected in the archaeology.
2. It provided a variety of interpretations of the same space depending on what practice was being considered.
3. It also allowed a contrast between remembered practices and material remains.
4. It encouraged an analysis of practices that had no direct material correlation.
5. It allowed more meaningful comparison between locales highlighting differences and similarities that might not have been picked up by archaeological analysis alone.

So what can be said about the relationship between local memory and material remains in this chapter?

While some memorialising occurs in relation to material remains, cases were also noted where there was no material evidence for remembered social practice (e.g. absence of *mumus*) which suggests that memorialising also occurred independent of such remains. Indeed, what is remembered and what is forgotten on Uneapa is not easily predicted from analysis of the most visible remains in the landscape. For instance, cupule marks are highly visible but most people do not have a clue as to their meaning. Indeed, the vast majority of people did not even really 'notice' the cupule marks until I drew attention to them. There is no direct material evidence for cannibalism yet such association with locales is widespread. While this could obviously reflect temporal changes in perception and memory, it also underlines a key point: contemporary local perspectives are more than just interpretations of the visible remains in the landscape and such memories are most likely to be constructed from stories passed on from previous generations.

Another interesting aspect here is how similarities noted in the physical patterning did not always concur with similarities in memorialising. For example, the separate line of tables associated with cannibalistic practices at Kite Vuaka Taki was also seen at Nabogou but was interpreted by local people differently. The dissociation with cannibalism in regards to the Lovanua clan (for whom

Nabogou was their central meeting place) may well reflect more recent concerns but nonetheless stresses how interpretation of the same feature patterning can differ. This underlines how similar places may not always be remembered in the same way. Indeed, differences in memorialising are also likely to have existed in the past and would have equally impacted on how these places were perceived and developed. In this regard, the meaning of place depends on memory.

Despite the actions of a few interest groups, the vast majority of people no longer actively interact with the stone feature locales. These places (particularly the *mudina lupuanga* (U)) are perceived in terms of what social practices their ancestral clan group enacted there in the past. The important thing to consider is why peoples' perception of these places is so strongly tied in with social practice. In attempting to answer this, we need to take into account the temporality of such a relationship.

One of the most interesting things about the social practices linked to Uneapa's meeting places is that all of them (with the exception of warfare and cannibalism) still in some shape or form play an important part within present day society on the island. While the particulars of such practices have inevitably altered, the thing that has undergone most radical change is the environs in which such practices are enacted. *Mudina lupuanga* (U) no longer function as meeting places or as public venues of any kind; such venues have been replaced by the village meeting areas. These ancestral *mudina lupuanga* are now mostly overgrown and abandoned or have been subsumed by the expanding population for dwellings. It could be argued that such a definitive loss of place has effectively resulted in a less intimate appreciation of the components within Uneapa locales. As the particular details and material significance of these stone features has faded it is the memory of them in relation to current social practice that survives. It is *this* context of understanding that makes most sense to people today. As many of these *kastom* (TP) practices still have resonance today, it provides the most coherent link from the present to the past.

While such processes of change may have affected the specifics of memorialising, I would continue to argue that the close relationship between practice and perception depicted in Uneapa Islander memories of their ancestral locales represents something much more fundamental about the relationship

people have with place. The relationship between practice and perception was at the centre of the creation and use of these places throughout their histories.

6.5.4 Theoretical Implications

Practice and Perception

So what does this analysis suggest about the relationship between practice and perception? I have shown how Uneapa's *mudina lupuanga* were multipurpose spaces. As I have argued that perceptions of place were largely defined through practice, such a variety of social practices would equally generate a variety of perceptions. I therefore would conjecture the community's perception of these meeting places (when in use) was determined by a number of factors:

1. **Whether it was their own clan's meeting place or not.** This was likely to influence how people were allowed to act and what practices they could undertake at a particular place.
2. **Whether they were a man, women or child.** Gender and age differences determined what practices people were involved in at these meeting places. Whilst women were allowed at these places and were central in the organisation and execution of certain social practices e.g. feasting, they were also excluded from other practices, most notably cannibalism but also male-only performances e.g. *laleki*.
3. **If they were a man, how senior they were.** Indeed the perception men had of these places may have been determined by where they were allowed to sit within these places and what level their involvement was in the organisation and execution of practices such as feasting, cannibalism or song and dance performances.

The consequence of these factors is that it stresses how no community consensus ever existed on the meaning of these places. Different social roles defined, divided and designated what interaction took place and in turn on how perceptions are formed. Recognising that not everyone is involved in the social interaction within Uneapa's meeting places is equally crucial towards understanding the meaning of these places in the past.

Another important point here is how perceptions are subject to change. Whilst it is essentially obvious that changes in perception of these places would happen from generation to generation, it is important that we also consider how an individual's perception of these social spaces might change over their life-time. For example, a man who rose up in the ranks of Uneapa's society is likely to perceive meeting places in a very different way than he did when he was younger and effectively had no authority. Indeed, what is important about Giddens' point that "like intentions, reasons etc, perception is not an aggregate of discrete 'perceptions' but a flow of activity integrated with the movement of the body in time-space" (2003 [1984]: 46), centres on the idea of perception as a 'flow' which stresses that perception is naturally fluid and affected by experience.

Practice and Structure

In Chapter 3, I discussed how Pacific archaeologists have been too rash in equating stone features with institutional hierarchies without fully taking into account the dynamics of social practice. Starting at a practice-level means no pre-ordained structure is enforced upon the data. Such a 'bottom up' approach does not ignore consideration of social structure; it just doesn't centralise it. Focusing on 'making' and 'doing' within a number of locales remembered as meeting places in this chapter has raised some important questions on Uneapa's past social structure on e.g.:

1. What does the presence of a central meeting place within different groups suggest about past social organisation?
2. What do the social practices associated with these locales i.e. feasting, community performances, cannibalism etc. actually say about the Uneapa's society in the past?
3. What does the use of stone in the creation of more permanent places in the landscape actually reveal about the concerns within Uneapa's society?
4. Is the fluid spatial arrangement of these locales reflecting fluidity within local social structure? If the creation of these places is better thought of as being an accumulation of different practices over time, rather than as

planned constructions, does this suggest a more egalitarian rather than hierarchical society?

5. The use of the same features in different areas of these locales suggests that their form was not exclusively reserved for senior men. Does this further emphasise factors associated with egalitarianism?

These questions have stemmed from a *locale-level* analysis of Uneapa's archaeology. The next chapter, when I analyse the archaeology on a landscape or *inter-locale level*, necessitates a more explicit consideration of the relationship between practice and structure. Discussing both levels of analysis together and in the context of theories of pre-contact Melanesian social structure will make for a better understanding of what contributions Uneapa's archaeology provides in terms of understanding Melanesian social structure prior to European contact.

6.6 Conclusion

The analysis of a number of case study locales in this chapter has been successful in providing a more intimate understanding of the role of social practice within these places. Focusing on practice has encouraged a more meaningful interpretation of the stone feature interrelationships. By embracing local memories about the function of particular stone features, I have been able to suggest certain practice scenarios within these locales, promoting a better understanding of how these places may have been experienced in the past. The analysis has also provided insight into the factors that may have influenced and structured Uneapa's locales. The relationship between *practice and perception* of Uneapa's meeting places has been depicted as being irrevocably intertwined. This has further supported one of the central arguments in this research, as I was able to show how by concentrating on social practices, archaeologists are much better equipped to conceptualise perception.

I now want to extend the practice-centred approach to a broader landscape-level of analysis. In the following chapter, I will explore the interrelationship between Uneapa's locales in order to carry the more difficult task of conceiving social practice on a landscape level. I explore the benefits and limitations of what a practice-centred framework can offer towards understanding how people may have perceived their social world and I will also explore what

these patterns can reveal about pre-contact social organisation and changes brought about by colonialism on Uneapa Island.

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the relationship between practice and perception was explored on an intra-locale level. I now want to extend this analysis to an inter-locale or landscape level. In Chapter 2, I pointed out how holistic views of landscape (popular within postprocessualism) can imply the existence of a consensus in how past communities perceived their surroundings. I argued instead for a practice-centred approach, where people's perception of their social landscape is fragmentary, influenced by the different social practices in which they engaged at different locations across space and time. This approach aligns with Ingold's (2000:195) concept of a *taskscape* in that "just as the landscape is an array of related features, so- by analogy- the taskscape is an array of related activities". This chapter hinges on a central question: how can a landscape be conceptualised and analysed if framed by concern with social practice?

I decided to employ the *memory to material method*; memories of clan boundaries and history act as framework through which locale interrelationships are analysed. I will investigate the relationship between clans in terms of similarities and differences in social practice and explore how these factors may have influenced perception of the social landscape in the past. I will also explore what insights these patterns suggest about pre-contact social organisation on Uneapa. I will suggest that that past social structure was expressed and maintained through practice. Finally, given that these clan boundaries are likely to represent a period recent past, I am also interested to see whether this analysis can suggest any temporal differentiation between the different locale types within the case study area of Western Uneapa.

7.2 Locale Distribution Patterns and Remembered Clan Groups

7.2.1 Identifying Clan Groups

As I showed in Chapter 6, many of Uneapa's stone feature complexes are believed to have functioned as meeting places of different ancestral clan groups. Since memories of these places are so interwoven into clan histories, I felt it was imperative to understand the territory and boundaries of these different groups. I

also wanted to investigate if locale distribution patterns were meaningful when analysed in the context of these boundaries. Nine different clan groups are remembered to have existed in Western Uneapa, namely: Givalolo, Goloki, Magarugaru, Vunaloto, Kulubago, Rulakumbu, Vunidiguru, Tanekulu and Lovanua (see Figure 7.1). All of these clan groups were broken up as a result of European contact and people no longer live together along these kin lines. Seven of these clans were uprooted by the establishment and development of Bali Plantation. The two other clan areas are believed to have been located on the western ridge, where the colonial villages of Manopo and Penata were established. As the territory of each of these clan groups is now a thing of memory, establishing the boundaries of these different groups was a difficult task. Therefore, it is important to stress here that my analysis of these boundaries is only an *interpretation* based on information I collected over the two seasons of fieldwork.

A Question of Clans

Early on in the fieldwork, I began asking as many people as possible about what they knew about ancestral clan groups and where they were located on the island. Some people could only remember the names and locations of clan groups from which they descended whilst others had more extensive knowledge. Three things became apparent at this early stage. First, there was a general consensus about the north-south order of the clans within the plantation area. Second, these clan boundaries were described in relation to creeks. Third, memorialising focused heavily on the plantation areas and I struggled to find anybody who knew about the clan histories relating to Manopo-Penata ridge area. After only three weeks on the island, I had already created a tentative map of clan groups within the plantation. From that point on I tried to refine my understanding by asking more specific questions: i.e. what clan territory is this place in, what clan does that place belong to.

Making sense of spatial descriptions in conversations with local people was often challenging. As would be expected, people who live in a landscape describe it in ways that are not easily comprehended by an outsider. Indeed, this was made even more difficult due to the fact that Tok Pisin is such a highly contextual language. Its restricted vocabulary means that words that describe spatial relationships such as *long hap* (there), *hia* (here), *antap* (on top), *daun bilo*

(below), *clostu* (close by), *clostu liklik* (a little close by) etc. can have multiple meanings. One can see the implication of such terminology in Dakoa's description of the area covered by the Kulubago clan.

Ok now, this is our place, now the boundary of it goes up on top (indicating top of Mt Kumbu) and down below to Nibunabuna, this is where the boundary is. It's a big place, its goes round and comes up to this creek which goes down to Bali. Now the side called Naraleke, you end up at the other boundary of Kulubago. If you come on top the boundary is this water, Kulubago extends up the mountain and down below as well (Dakoa 7.1: Appendix 4).

Throughout such conversations with informants I always had a map of the island to hand in order to more meaningfully translate what was being said in regards to the position of these clan groups in the landscape. Most people on Uneapa had never seen a map of their island and therefore it was not a clear case of asking people to point to features on the island's map. In order to clear up some of these ambiguities, I also went on some targeted field-walks with elders to get them to point out the creeks believed to mark clan boundaries. My understanding of overall clan order area did not change much from what I had been initially told but I did achieve a better understanding of which creeks were said to mark the clan boundaries.

There were, of course, some descriptions of the boundaries that contradicted each other. In general, the north-south boundaries of the clans within the plantation area were much clearer in people's minds than the east-west ones. The degree to which clan groups were memorialised also varied. For example, it was not until the second field season that I heard anything about clan histories in relation to the ridge area. Even though people from Penata feature very prominently in stories of ancestral inter-clan fighting, very few people knew how the territory there was divided in the past. This is undoubtedly related to the fact that the majority of people living in these villages claim ancestral lineage with clans from within the plantation. It might also reflect a more active memorialising of the plantation clans because it is a disused and contested area. In summary, my interpretation of the location of traditional clan boundaries on Uneapa resulted from weighing up all I was told and going with the most consistent memories. It is these memorialised structures that I used in my analysis.

7.2.2 Analysing Clan Groups

In order to investigate what the social landscape on Uneapa may have been like prior to European contact, I have created individual maps for each clan group that show the surveyed locales and their corresponding sizes. These maps were created in *ArcGIS* and act as the basis for the following discussion. Each individual clan group will be discussed in two ways. First, I will analyse the patterning between stone feature complexes and second, I will focus on other locale types. Stone feature complexes are the most numerous and most memorialised locale type and are at the centre of analysis in this chapter. I raise two key questions: why are there so many within a relatively small area and what could explain the significant variation in size?

Local Perspectives

Local people have suggested that different *scales of practice* explain the size differentiation between locales i.e. larger complexes are central clan meeting places and smaller ones are meeting places for the individual hamlets or smaller groups.

These bigmen, they would usually talk like this, if they wanted to build a *rogomo* or to have a *singsing* or other things like that. They would sit down and discuss these things at the big place. But suppose they might like to talk about a women they would like to marry, that's just business for his family, the family of the man and the family of the women. So they must sit down and straighten out these arrangements at their own place, you see this stone here, it was owned by the bigmen of his own place so he could sit down and have a meeting, it's for this kind of smaller meeting. There were stones for this (Kakalave 7.2: Appendix 4).

People have also suggested the range of sizes reflects these places being used for *different practices* e.g. some locales were used for large-scale feasting whereas others for public oratory only.

As a result of these perspectives, I will analyse the distribution pattern of the stone feature complexes within each clan group in order to investigate whether the idea that each clan had large central and smaller subsidiary meeting places is expressed in the archaeological data. I am interested in how this idea of "centrality" may have impacted on where different locales were positioned in the landscape. I will also explore whether this size difference could reflect different

scales of practice or *differentiation* between practices. Other locale types will also be considered. It should be noted that I will also take into account locales/features believed to be recently constructed/moved so as to depict a more accurate understanding of pre-contact patterns. I will now go on to describe and discuss locale patterning within each of the nine remembered clan groups. Eleven different locale size codes were applied in this survey (Figure 7.2). Each code corresponds with a number of features. This coding was sensitive to the frequency of different sized locales found: i.e. as large locales were scarce, fewer categories were needed. As smaller to mid range locales were more plentiful, more codes were used.

(1) Lovanua

(i) Stone Feature Complexes

The area believed to have been controlled by the Lovanua clan is the smallest territory analysed (43.22 hectares). Despite its small size, four stone feature complexes were recorded there (see Figure 7.3 and 7.4). Nabogou (U/134, 7) is by far the largest locale, conforming to the hypothesis that it was the clan's central meeting place. Two of the other stone feature complexes, Niboboranga (U/146, size code 4) and Vunelingabo (U/143, size code 4), also contain a combination of features consistent with meeting places and could quite easily have functioned as arenas for smaller social gatherings. These locales are all in close proximity to one another. The majority of features at the other stone feature complex recorded (U/147) were mortars and cupuled boulders. The only constructed feature was a seat (Type 1), believed to have been erected in 1975 to celebrate Papua New Guinea's Independence. Therefore, it is likely that this locale is better thought of as a boulder group within a pre-contact context. Indeed, it is not characteristic of other meeting places in that it doesn't have any other constructed stone features present.

What people remember about the relationship between the different sized stone feature complexes varies from clan area to clan area. Memorialising is largely focused on locales thought to be central meeting places. Lovanua is different in this respect because Bito Rave and Vaki Vagelo clearly indicated that there were three important places in the Lovanua clan; Nabogou which functioned as the central meeting place; Niboboranga as a smaller meeting place

for a the hamlet there and Vunelingabo was the place where senior male ancestors officially handed down laws to the community. I had been told about these places before I had even seen or surveyed them. When I asked Bito and Vaki if Vunelingabo or Niboboranga could have been used in an equivalent ways to Nabogou, Vaki insisted:

That is not right, no. Those places were not for that kind of work, suppose the bigmen were planning something big then they must come up to Nabogou (Vaki 7.3: Appendix 4).

Such clear knowledge about the interrelationships between the locales in respect to specific clan histories was not noted elsewhere. Given that the distribution pattern of stone feature complexes in the Lovanua clan area closely corresponds with the oral history, it raises some important points that need to be considered in the analysis of other clan areas. It emphasises how people distinguish between these places either in terms of differences in the scale or the kinds of practices carried out within them. The idea of Vunelingabo being the centre of law-making raises the question of whether its location high up the slopes Mt Kumbu (above the central meeting place) was somehow symbolic. Indeed, the name Vunelingabo may well suggest that the height of this locale was a significant factor, as its literal translation is 'place of the moon'. A half-bowl mortar and moon-shaped stone within this locale are also believed to represent the moon (see Figure 7.5).

(ii) Other Locales

A small locale at Boga (U/144) which has a few panels of curvilinear rock art present is the only other locale type recorded within the Lovanua clan area. These boulders are on the current pathway on the way up to Vunelingabo from Nabogou, at the back of a present day hamlet.

(2) Vunidiguru

(i) Stone Feature Complexes

Only two stone feature complexes were recorded in the Vunidiguru clan group area (see Figure 7.6 and 7.7). Vunedeko (U/1 56, size code 6) is remembered as the central meeting place of this clan and it has various seats and tables as well

as evidence of food preparation (see Chapter 6). It is only a short distance away from the creek that acts as the boundary with Rulakumbu and has good views over that territory. The smaller complex at Tanari Buroburoko (U/170, size code 3) has quite different characteristics, with only tables (Type 2) arranged roughly in a circle on a raised platform of land. Nothing is remembered of this place and people now living among these stones did not imbue them with any significance.

The location of one complex higher up the slopes of Mt. Kumbu and the other in the lower areas should be noted. Tanari Buroburoko could have acted as a subsidiary meeting place, but I would suggest here that the characteristics of the two complexes differ so substantially, that instead, it might be more likely that different practices took place at these places.

(ii) Other Locales

One boulder group and one rock art locale were recorded in the Vunidiguru clan area. Not much can be said about the boulder group but the rock art locale at Kiballa (U 155) is important. It is a large locale placed prominently on high areas of ground and close to a creek. Two things are interesting here. First, it is located beside the creek believed to form the boundary with the Rulakumbu area. Second, it is positioned down-slope from Vunedeko, on one of the easiest pathways up the mountain. Indeed, the positioning of rock art below a stone feature complex was also noted at Tanari Buroburoko where a rock art boulder is present in the creek down-slope from the stone arrangement.

(3) Rulakumbu

(i) Stone Feature Complexes

The locale patterning within the Rulakumbu clan area is more diverse than in other clan areas. Seven stone feature complexes of differing sizes were recorded (see Figure 7.8 and 7.9). There can be no doubt that the most prominent locale is Kite Vuaka Taki (U/37, size code 8). As I showed in Chapter 6, it is both remembered as such and has all the characteristics of being a large-scale meeting place. The fact that the largest locale is not found higher up the slopes of Mt. Kumbu should be noted. The position of another prominent complex, Vatumadiridiri (U/118, size code 6) on the valley floor means the 'one up and one

down' pattern (also seen in the Vunidiguru clan area) is also seen here. But the situation is more complicated in the Rulakumbu area as there are 5 other stone feature complexes.

Two of these remaining locales have more than 10 features present. Nalagaikapopou (U/103, size code 3) is on the valley floor and has a few seats (Type 1) arranged together and also boulders with axe-grinding grooves. The stone features at Daniel Kadomu Ruku's garden include (U/163) arranged seats (Type 1), a large carved table (Type 2) and a mortar in columnar andesite (both of which are the only examples seen on Uneapa) (see Figure 7.10). The other three locales are all small. At Nidogo (U/104, size code 2), only a pair of standing stones was found. The other locales are associated with more recent events. At Nabega (U/160), the six collapsed seats (Type 1) found in a line are linked with the homestead of a man who violently resisted the German planters at the start of the 20th century. Whether he erected these features himself was not explicitly known but the people with whom I spoke thought it was likely. At Piakamaliuku (U/116, size code 2), a cargo cult member called Bowlai (now deceased) is said to have erected the small standing stone and stone seat (Type 1) by using andesite from the nearby source at Diarumu creek (U/115). This was done some 20-30 years ago. The features are still being maintained by the community and cordylines (*Cordyline terminalis*) and tankets have been planted in association with them. The planting of decorative plants like this in association with stone features is one of the markers of cult activity and is seen at many locales.

Locale patterning in the Rulakumbu clan area would suggest that Kite Vuaka Taki (U/37) could have acted as the clan's central meeting place but there was also another substantial locale at Vatumadiridiri (U/1 18). If these locales were used simultaneously, it may well be that Vatumadiridiri represented both a different scale of meeting place as well as the fact that different practices took place there, for example, there is no evidence for food preparation. The scale and characteristics of Nalagaikapopou (U/103) do not suggest that it could have sustained a large group of people sitting together. It is possible that this locale was used more casually, as an area where people gathered and ground their axes (reminiscent of other similar locales believed to be *resting places* or *hideout places* by the community). There is evidence for more diverse activities happening at U/163. Although this locale is close to Kite Vuaka Taki, they are not joined, but it is possible that there was some link between these places. The

position of the two standing stones (U/104) may well have been meaningful given the fact they are so close to the clan boundary creek.

(ii) Other Locales

Three rock art locales were located in the Rulakumbu clan area. Two of these are located in the creek forming a boundary with the Vunidiguru clan area. One elaborately carved boulder with three panels (see Figure 7.11) was found in Dumedumeke Creek (U/1 18) on the boundary between the Rulakumbu and Vunidiguru in the valley area. The rock art at Vaboko creek (U/158) is situated higher up the slopes of Mt. Kumbu where a boulder with enveloped crosses is located with boulders with cupules and axe-grinding grooves. The third rock art locale at Vunekuluvatete (U/154) is not near a creek, but it should be noted that it is on the quickest pathway between Vatumadiridiri (U/118) and Kite Vuaka Taki (U/37) which might be significant. A single mortar was also recorded in the creek-bed marking the western boundary of this area but this feature may have been moved there from elsewhere. One boulder group was found located high up the slopes of Mt. Kumbu at Babanatoto (U/159).

(4) Kulubago

(i) Stone Feature Complexes

The largest and likely central meeting place in the Kulubago clan area is very apparent (see Figure 7.12 and 7.13). Bola Ke Voki (U/161, size code 11) is located between two creeks on the northern extent of the clan boundary with Rulakumbu. The previous chapter showed that whilst Bola Ke Voki is a large scale locale it differed to the other meeting places on a number of levels. One of the most significant factors was there was not a clear 'central area' and its space seemed largely structured by feasting activities. So could it be possible that the Kulubago clan held their community meetings at a different locale and that Bola Ke Voki was mainly used for large-scale feasting?

Three other stone feature complexes were recorded in this area. Vatekambeke (U/1 1, size code 5) is located on a raised platform of land and a variety of stone features including seats, tables, a mortar, boulders with cupules, grinding hollow and rock art were all found on both the slope and the top of

raised area there. A row of tables and seats are situated right on the platforms edge looking down on the other features below. Although the layout of this locale is quite different to those surveyed in detail, it could have functioned as a reasonably big meeting place. Its location on higher ground above Bola Ke Voki is reminiscent of the pattern in the Lovanua clan between Nabogou and Vunelingabo. The other stone feature complex at Vatu na Puroko (U/107, size code 4) could also have functioned as a meeting place. It is also a reasonably big complex, with seats, tables and boulders with cupules, axe-grinding grooves, grinding hollows and notably a 'keeping place'. Local people living in this hamlet were insistent that this place did not function as a meeting place because there was no slaughter table there. Its position emphasises this pattern of a stone feature complex in the valley area or at lower elevations seen in other clans. The final stone feature complex, a seat and accompanying small standing stone at Nikalava (U/1 06) was only erected in the last thirty years or so by cult members (now deceased) living in the village. It is thought to have been used in their rituals but no-one remembers the exact details.

(ii) Other Locales

Three rock art locales were recorded in the Kulubago area. Whilst two are close to creeks, these are not boundary creeks. Of note are the two boulders with rock art at the edge of sharply incised creek at Gavana Kuriki (U/162). One of the boulders had three panels of rock art on it. This rock art locale was discovered on the track up to the large stone feature complex at Bola Ke Voki (U/161).

(5) Vunaloto

(i) Stone Feature Complexes

Three stone feature complexes were recorded within the Vunaloto clan area (see Figures 7.14 and 7.15). The largest complex is located just outside of Nalagaro village (U/152). This locale was not fully recorded but stone features (seats, tables and boulders with cupules and axe-grinding grooves) were noted over quite an extensive area. This locale has been very disturbed by road building and I was not able to see a discernable pattern suggesting this place may have functioned as a meeting place in the past. It suffices to say, that it is possible. Napatolo (U/1 10) is one of only two substantially sized stone feature complexes

found on the valley floor (the other is Vatumadiridiri). It has seats, tables, standing stones, a mortar, cupuled boulders. Linus Matio from Penata pointed out that he believed this area was used as a special place where men were cannibalised when killed in inter-clan fighting in the valley areas. He indicated though, that he believed this locale to have belonged to the clans in the Penata region which might suggest it was part of the Goloki clan in the past. Indeed, whereas the western borders of the previously discussed clans correlate with the base of the ridge area, the western border dividing the Vunaloto clan from the Goloki clan is less clear. Despite these uncertainties, the situation of Napatolo within the context of this clan area does make some sense in respect to the 'one up and one down' pattern I have suggested elsewhere. Two stone seats (Type 1) were noted at the smallest stone feature complex (U/1 11), but one had its capstone missing and is believed to have been moved by the cargo cult. Indeed, the presence of specially planted tankets in association with these features would support the proposition that there was some cult activity there.

(ii) Other Locales

There is only one other locale in the Vunaloto clan area and that is a boulder group at Narabargama (U/149) (see Figure 7.16). The boulders look to have been purposefully arranged at this locale.

(6) Givalolo

(i) Stone Feature Complexes

The area identified as the Givalolo clan area largely aligns with the area now covered by Manopo village but also includes a segment of Penata village. Whether these villages were divided along traditional clan lines when set up by the Australian Administration in the 1920s is not known, but it is likely. The overall pattern of stone feature complex distribution in this clan group is different to previously discussed clan groups because there are more complexes, and especially small ones (see Figure 7.17 and Figure 7.18).

The biggest complex, by far is at Tagataga (U/34, size code 7) which is also the locale remembered as the clan's central meeting place. Tagataga is quite an extensive locale (with seats, tables, standing stones and boulders with

cupules and grinding hollows) that is located on the highest part of the ridge and has been considerably altered by the building of the road. Two locales that could have feasibly acted as subsidiary meeting places are at Nidabadaba (U/73, size code 3) and Nalatavari (U/27 size code 4). Nalatavari is characterised by a group of large tables (Type 2) arranged in a circular fashion, (largely reminiscent to the locale U/170 within the Vunidiguru clan) and Nidabadaba which is a small arrangement of seats, cupuled boulders and a table.

The locale pattern of one large and two subsidiary places within a clan area does not differ from previous discussed clans. But what does differ is the size of locales in this clan group and the fact that out of the 9 stone feature complexes, 6 are only size code 2 (i.e. between 2-10 features). There are also a high number of single features: 5 in total. It should be noted that only one single feature was noted in all of the five previously discussed clan areas. This pattern seems to support the idea that people had small meeting places within each of the different hamlets, but whether this is the case will be discussed in more detail below.

(ii) Other Locales

Of the 12 single feature locales found in Western Uneapa, 5 were in this clan group. Other locales in this clan area include four rock art locales, three of which (U/96, U/97 and U/99) are on the beach and one at a waterfall (U/1 13). It is interesting to note that no rock art locales were found on the ridge area itself, and all were therefore away from the stone feature complexes. Not much can be said about the boulder groups except that U/70 is believed to once have had constructed stone features but Veronica Kalau told how they were moved to Vunegabe (U/24) some time in the 1960s.

(7) Goloki

(i) Stone Feature Complexes

The locale patterning in the area remembered as the Goloki clan is similar to that seen in Givalolo, but is even more complicated (see Figure 7.19 and 7.20). Fourteen separate stone feature complexes were recorded in this area; 10 of

these are small, i.e. size code 2, and of the remaining four locales one is size code 5, two are size code 6 and one is size code 8.

The presence of four large complexes within one clan area is unusual, especially given that three of these complexes are located within 430 m of each other. Whereas the locale likely to have functioned as a central meeting place was quite obvious in the analysis of the Givalolo area, this is not the case in the Goloki area. The name of the complex (U/93, size code 5) in the northern part of the clan is not known. Although features including seats, tables, boulders with cupules, axe-grinding grooves and a mortar were recorded there, people did not imbue this place with much significance. The layout of this locale has been very disturbed due to road building and clearing the area for a football pitch. Many of the features are now arranged around the outer perimeter of the pitch. Nalavaru (U/87) is a large complex with over 100 different features extending over to the east and west side of the ridge. Seats, tables, standing stones and boulders with cupules and axe-grinding grooves were all found there. Particularly notable was the fact that there were so many big tables (Type 2). Matsitsianga (U/90) is only 221 m down-slope from Nalavaru; it is a smaller locale with only 50 or so features, most prominent being the two large standing stones there. Even further down-slope is the large complex at Nigalani village which has been undoubtedly disturbed by the development of the village green but nonetheless there are substantial remains (over 50 features including seats, tables, standing stones, mortars and cupuled boulders) of what was possibly an ancestral meeting place. Why there may have been three large complexes located so close together and whether so many small complexes and single feature locales could reflect that there were smaller hamlet-level meeting places will be discussed further below.

(ii) Other Locales

Of the 12 single feature locales found in Western Uneapa, 4 were in this clan group. Therefore, 9 of the 12 single feature locales were found in either the Goloki or Givalolo clan area. The significance of this will be discussed in due course. One rock art locale and four boulder groups were recorded in the area identified as Goloki. The rock art is found at the coast. Two of the boulder groups (U/108 and U/109) are found in the valley area with two more down from the ridge, towards the coast. This is similar to the Givalolo group in the way that the

rock art and boulder group locales are found some distance away from the areas with stone feature complexes.

(8) Tanekulu

(i) Stone Feature Complexes

In the Tanekulu clan area no large complexes have been found but three medium sized stone feature complexes were recorded (see Figures 7.21 and 7.22). I asked people if they knew whether the Tanekulu clan had a central meeting place or not but I never got a clear response because people seemed not to have any oral memory of this. Two of the complexes have been recorded as stone feature complexes because of the different features found within them, but they do not contain the range of feature that one might associate with a meeting place. Navatuvatu (U/165) consists of boulders with cupules and axe-grinding grooves and also has one boulder with curvilinear rock art. Three andesite slabs were also noted but it was not clear whether they were seats or not. Vatu na Vitolongo (U/168) is a completely different kind of space. Although there is a standing stone and a few andesite features there, the main focus of the locale is on the two keeping places where the artefacts there are believed to have been used as fertility stones. Therefore, it is likely that this locale was used in a different way to a meeting place. I would suggest that if the Tanekulu clan did have a meeting place, it was at Valuvaluanga (U/166). Although reasonably small, with only 30 or so features, the seats and tables are arranged in such a manner and the space itself is big enough that it could have feasibly functioned as the clan's central meeting place.

(ii) Other Locales

Three boulder groups were given separate numbers in this area. Naparo (U/1 65) is group of boulders believed to be the location of the bed and resting place of a key mythological character on the island known as Mataluangai. These are clustered together in a way that might suggest they have been moved. Modified boulders are prevalent throughout this area as many naturally occur on these slopes.

(9) Magarugaru

(i) Stone Feature Complexes

Although the area believed to be controlled by the Magarugaru clan is the biggest (379.25 hectares), no large stone feature complexes were recorded there, nor did I identify any oral history relating to this clan having a central meeting place. The paucity of large stone feature complexes in this area in comparison to other areas is very marked. Five stone feature complexes were recorded (see Figure 7.23 and 7.24). Two complexes were found in the vicinity of Penatabotong village (U/41, size code 4 and U/42, size code 4). U/42 only marks the spot of a single seat and cupuled boulder. The range of features (Type 1 and 2) at U/41 could suggest it was used as a small meeting place. Similarly at Mangu na Chiro (U/148) a small stone arrangement of c. 15 stone features including some seats, large tables, a large standing stone and cupuled boulders was noted. Both U/41 and U/148 are of a similar size to the subsidiary meeting places in other clan groups. The mumu and stone seats and table at U/1 14 look as though they are currently being used and it is possible that these features were placed in association with the mumu in recent times.

(ii) Other Locales

Two rock art locales were noted in this clan area. One (U/151) was just near Nalagaro and one closer to the coast, south of Penatabotong village.

7.2.3 Clan Groups: A Discussion

I will now focus on what insights these patterns provide towards understanding of the practices within and interrelationships between the different clan groups on Uneapa. I will discuss stone feature complexes first, followed by other locale types.

(1) Stone Feature Complexes

Central and Subsidiary Meeting Places

Out of the nine clan groups analysed, I identified six that had likely central meeting places, two that were marked by the absence of a large stone feature complex and one that has a number of larger complexes in close proximity to one another. Indeed, of the two clan areas where there was no obvious large complex, I was able to provide a suggestion for one: i.e. that Valuvaluanga (U/166) could have functioned as Tanekulu's central meeting place. And given the fact that there are multiple large complexes within the Goloki area, any or all could have functioned as meeting places. Magarugaru is the only clan that does not have a sufficiently large complex. I would argue that the proposition of each clan having a central meeting place is consistent enough within these analytical units to suggest that there is indeed some meaningful temporal link between the stone feature complexes and remembered clan boundaries. By embracing this assumption, we can now move to further speculate what the differences and similarities in locale patterning might actually mean.

One of the patterns that emerged in my discussion of the different clan groups is how there seemed to be some preference for having a stone feature complex in the higher areas of Mt Kumbu and one at lower altitudes (located either close to or in the valley floor). This pattern was not identified by community members but was revealed through an analysis of the material record. This pattern is obviously only relevant in relation to the six clans with territory on the slopes of Mt Kumbu. Of these, I noted that four clans had both high and low level stone feature complexes. If these complexes were being used contemporaneously, then I would suggest that this pattern reflects the fact that particular kinds of social interaction between clan groups occurred at these lower areas.

The oral history depicts the clans living on the slopes of Mt. Kumbu as being closely involved with each other, albeit with relations fluctuating between being good and disruptive. Indeed, meeting places were often depicted as being important inter-clan spaces in this regard: e.g. Bola Ke Voki. In contrast, a strong social divide is believed to have existed between people living in these inland

groups and those closer to the coast (especially people living in Penata). Consequently, descriptions of past inter-clan fighting are nearly always associated with the valley region. Therefore it is possible that the subsidiary stone features complexes, for instance, Tanari Buroburoko (in Vunidiguru), Vatumadiridiri (in Rulakumbu), Vatu na Puroko (in Kulubago) and Napotolo (in Vunaloto), were used as refuge points in such inter-clan fighting or for gatherings that involved participation from the clan groups from the ridge area. Indeed, the presence of a distinct social space or gathering point in these areas might also have allowed people to defend the lower areas of their territory more easily. In this respect, the differentiation between the central and subsidiary meeting places would have been defined through different social practices. Alternatively, these subsidiary complexes could have been used as meeting places for the people living in the hamlets located in these lower regions, therefore reflecting a different scale of practice. It is not clear from the oral history whether people actually lived in the valley region. Some people have suggested that the valley area was effectively a 'no-man's land' but others believe that some small hamlets did exist there in the past. The important point here is that the positioning of some of these places at lower elevations is likely to be motivated by concerns with social interaction.

Interestingly, the two groups where this so-called 'up-down' pattern was not reflected (i.e. Tanekulu and Magarugaru) are also the groups that do not have an obvious central meeting place. It is undoubtedly significant that what these two clan groups have in common is that part of their territory is on the coast. Therefore, it is possible that the differences in local patterning is somehow linked to the fact that these groups were involved in different kinds of social interaction that didn't manifest in the development of such large and varied stone feature complexes. This may have been due to the fact that they might have had more control over what was being traded into the island. Indeed, both areas have good enough beach landing areas and Tanekulu has a river network that also goes some distance inland. On the other hand, a large area of coastline seems to have been under the jurisdiction of Goloki clan and it is this area that has the largest and most extensive complexes of all. This comparison highlights the potential this analysis has for exploring the roles different clan groups and how they may have been interacting with each other in the past.

Hamlet Meeting Places?

Does the inter-locale patterning support the local hypothesis that each hamlet would have had its own meeting place in the past? One of the most significant things to emerge in the analysis of the clan boundaries is how distinctive locale patterning is within the Goloki and Givalolo clan groups. What is most marked is the presence of so many small stone feature complexes and single feature locales. The pattern within these clan groups could feasibly uphold the suggestion that people did have meeting places (with stone features) for each hamlet. But this is not a pattern reflected elsewhere in the data. There is not a big enough number of small stone feature complexes in the majority of clan groups to suggest that each hamlet would have had its own meeting place. It suffices to say here that unusual pattern seen within the Goloki and Givalolo clan groups is more likely a reflection of changes brought about since European contact, rather than having anything to do with the pre-contact past. This will be explored in more depth in Chapter 8.

Differences in Clan History

Whilst locale patterning in a number of clan groups is similar, no clan group is exactly the same, which might reflect particular aspects of each clan's history. For example, why was one large and one small complex recorded within certain clan groups, but multiple complexes recorded elsewhere? What does this say about the role of the different groups and the practices in which they were involved? Is such patterning directly related to clan size? Or did it reflect differences in control or access to the raw materials and labour used in the construction of these places? Indeed, why might the need within these groups to construct and maintain arenas for social practice not be equivalent? I draw attention to Whiteley's (2002:410) definition of a clan here.

The "clan" itself is then both a metaphorical concentration of a historically salient social group on the landscape and simultaneously a historical record of that group, its actual empirical locations, and its distinctive practices in the landscape

In this sense, the focus on distinctions in locale patterning between the clan groups on Uneapa is essentially a focus on the relationship between the "empirical locations" and their "distinctive practices in the landscape".

Size

It should be clear from the discussion that there is not a direct correlation between clan territory size and the number, or size, of stone feature complexes. For example, Lovanua is very small but it still had three substantially sized complexes whilst the Vunaloto and Vunidiguru areas are much larger but only have two complexes. Indeed, even though Magaugaru is the biggest clan area, it does not have a single large complex. This suggests that the construction and use of various locales may be less of a reflection of the size or population of each group and more a result of the practices they were involved in.

Raw materials

Given that columnar andesite is likely to have been quarried, moved and exchanged around the island, it is important to consider whether there a correlation between the clans with more complexes and those that used large amounts of columnar andesite. The scale of columnar andesite use varies between the different clan groups. The two clan groups that have most columnar andesite features are Rulakumbu and Goloki. As the bulk of columnar andesite used in the construction of these locales is likely to have come from high up the flanks of Mt. Kumbu, then it is possible that those living in the Rulakumbu area had their own supply of columnar andesite or at least easy access to it. Such a large amount in the Goloki area must be reflecting something different as the geology of the island would suggest that there is no local source of andesite near there.

The position of the 'Penata clans' in the oral history suggests that the Goloki clan was quite prominent in the past and this may also be reflected in the archaeology. Goloki's control of a large portion of coastline might imply that they also controlled much of the trading into the island. Although the northern part of this clan area has cliffs, there is still adequate beachfront for canoes to pull in and the southern coastline is even more accessible as it is more low-lying. Therefore, it is conceivable that in exchange for goods from the coast, substantial amounts of columnar andesite got traded into that area. Such an abundance of columnar andesite may have created the patterning of multiple large stone feature complexes there. Whilst other clan groups may have used what andesite they could get in order to extend and add to already established complexes, a surplus

of andesite in the Goloki area might have prompted people to build so many large complexes.

Different Practices

There seems to be certain equivalence between most clan groups in terms of having a central meeting place but each group also has its own distinct patterning. Such distinctions may well reflect the different clans having different roles and certain groups may well have been more involved in particular kinds of social practices. Local people suggested that the primary role of Lovanua clan was to act as the law-makers on the island and that this was effectively the *raison d'être* for the existence of Vunelingabo. In the same way, it could be speculated that the presence of such a large and distinctive locale structured around feasting within the Kulubago clan area (not seen elsewhere) might indicate that this group were responsible for organising some of the larger feasts on the island. Indeed, Bola Ke Voki is situated in a very 'central' location of its own within the Western Uneapa area. Indeed, another example is how the fact that the Tanekulu area does not have a large or obvious central meeting place might be explained by the presence of Vatu na Vitolongo (U/108). This is the only locale purposefully structured around sorcery in the use of fertility stones, which might imply that this group was involved in the practice of sorcery and therefore by doing favours for other groups they didn't need to have a large meeting place capable of sustaining inter-clan relations. By focusing on practice we are at least able to create scenarios that might have affected how the archaeological landscape developed differently in different areas.

(2) Other Locales

The focus so far in this discussion has been on interrelationship between stone feature complexes. I will now briefly discuss what can be said about the position of other locale types within the context of clan boundaries. As single feature locales will be more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 8, I will concentrate the discussion here on rock art locales.

Sixteen rock art locales were recorded in Western Uneapa (Figure 7.25). Figure 7.26 shows how 5 of the locales are either directly in a creek or within 7 m (straight line distance) of one. Indeed 11 of the 16 locales are within 50 m of

water. Of the other 5 locales which are further distances away from creeks, 3 (U/100, U/96, U/20) are on or in close proximity to the coastline. Therefore, 14 of the 16 rock art locales recorded have a strong spatial correlation to either salt or fresh water. An important issue here, therefore, is whether the propensity for rock art to be found in creeks corresponded with the creeks believed to be the boundaries of the clan groups. This would obviously have very important implications. It could suggest a temporal link between rock art locales and the clan groups. Equally important it might suggest specific ways in which the carvings functioned. Being on the edge of the territory they could have acted as clan emblems, markers of territory or symbolic deterrents to other groups.

Yet as can be seen in Figure 7.27 the majority of rock art does *not* correspond with the creeks identified as marking clan boundaries. The only areas where it does correspond are in the Rulakumbu and Vunidiguru areas, but this may well be just a coincidence. Indeed, what this analysis shows is that unlike the stone feature complexes, the positioning and patterning of the rock art locales are not meaningful within the context of the remembered clan groups. This raises the possibility that they belong to a different time period. Indeed, the fact that no rock art was found in two of the clan groups, i.e. Tanekulu and Vunaloto, might further emphasise temporal differences between clan boundaries and rock art locales. One might presume that if the rock art played an important role in clan identities each group would have wanted to have some rock art in their territory. Indeed, some traditional Melanesian societies are known to have quite strict cultural copyright rules when it comes to traditional designs (Thomas 1991; Leach 2003; Geismar 2005). On Uneapa each clan group is thought to have its own set of designs and if another group wanted to use them, substantial payment would be required. While we cannot be sure of the antiquity of such a system or whether this was applied to the rock art. It is interesting to note that no particular rock art motifs are exclusively found in certain clan areas. Instead, similar motifs are found throughout the island which might suggest different factors governed their use.

The fact that rock art locales are not meaningfully distributed within the context of clan boundaries does not necessarily mean that all the rock art predates them. We have already seen how there is rock art within the stone feature complexes and it is possible that the knowledge of stone carving was quite a long-term phenomenon. But if some of the rock art is older, then it is important to

consider whether rock art locales were seen as important ancestral locales by the people involved in building of stone feature complexes?

There is a pattern between rock art locales and stone feature complexes that might be significant. When carrying out field-walking, I became quite familiar with the routes/pathways that took least effort to get to certain stone feature complexes (especially the locales where I carried out detailed analysis). I began to notice that a certain consistency in the appearance of rock art locales on these 'easier' pathways and they often seemed to be located down-slope from large stone feature complexes. This pattern was very obvious in the Vunidiguru clan area because when traversing up the side of Mt Kumbu towards its central meeting at Vunedeko (U/156), the rock art locale at Kiballa (U/155) is located close to the main stone feature complex. Indeed, this pattern was also repeated on a smaller scale at the other complex in this group, for example, just before climbing up to Tanari Buroburoko (U/170) there is a large boulder with rock art on it. Out of the nine clan groups I noticed this same pattern in four of them. In the Kulubago clan, the rock art locale (U/162) was on the way up to Bola Ke Voki (U/161). In the Lovanua clan, rock art locale at Boga (U/144) was just down-slope from Vunelingabo (U/143). Two such patterns were noted in the Rulakumbu area with a rock art locale (U/154) located on the way up to Kite Vuaka Taki (U/37), and one (U/1 19) on the path up to Vatumadiridiri (U/1 18).

Such patterns suggest two scenarios. One, that there is more of a temporal link between these locale types than at first thought and that the rock art was carved and purposefully placed on the way to these complexes and possibly involved in practices and rituals in the approach to the meeting places. The second is that some of the stone feature complexes were situated in a meaningful position relative to significant pre-existing ancestral locales already in the landscape. Therefore, location decisions may not only have been only motivated by contemporary concerns with what social practices and interactions were going on in different areas of the island at the time but also by those that went on in the past. Such heritage and the relationship people had with their ancestors may also have also played an important role in where social spaces were constructed in the landscape.

7.3 Findings and Implications

7.3.1 Findings

My analysis of the variation within individual clan groups produced some interesting insights and suggestions. These can be summarised as follows:

- The locale patterning in the majority of clan units supports the idea that each clan had its own central meeting place.
- Clan relations may have determined the positioning of certain locales such as the 'one up, one down' pattern.
- The different sized stone feature complexes and differences in range of features present are likely to reflect differences in practices.
- Whilst size differentiation might also reflect different *scales* of practice in the past, this is not as prominent in the archaeology as it is in the oral history.
- Different locale patterning within each clan group might reflect differences in clan histories in terms of degree of involvement in particular social practices.
- The patterning also suggests that control or access by clans over andesite sources was not equal.
- The different patterning might also be the result of differences in trade activities within the groups.
- Although rock art is found in creeks, these are not consistently those that mark the clan boundaries.
- Rock art locales are often found situated, "down-from" and on the "way up to" large stone feature complexes which might indicate that there was some purposeful positioning of these places in respect to one another.

These patterns have a number of important methodological and theoretical implications that warrant discussion here.

7.3.2 Methodological Implications

A number of methodological implications arise following the analysis in this chapter. I largely employed the *memory to material* methodology in that I consulted people's memories of remembered clan boundaries to frame an

analysis of the locale patterning in Western Uneapa. By doing, so I was able to assess whether people's memories of the boundaries of the clan units correlated with any spatial pattern of locales, which could improve our understanding of the history of these places. I was also able to consider whether particular locale types were more meaningful within these boundaries than others and whether this suggests any kind of temporal differentiation or not. I was also able to assess the differences between memory of the clan groups and their corresponding material remains.

7.3.3 Theoretical Implications

The analysis in this chapter has resulted in some very important theoretical implications. Most significant here is to assess what insight they provide on the relationship between *practice and perception* and *practice and structure* on Uneapa prior to European contact.

Practice and Perception

The overall aim of analysing the distribution pattern of Uneapa's locales in terms of the clan boundaries was to gain a better understanding of how the islanders perceived their landscape and location of locales therein. My argument is that Uneapa islanders did not perceive their landscape in a holistic manner because it was fragmented by practices in which they were engaged. There are a number of key points resulting from the analysis that elaborate on this perspective:

- The analysis has shown how the majority of clans had a large central meeting place. Such centrality is likely to have influenced how people experienced and orientated themselves around their landscape. These central meeting places may have acted as an anchoring point around which other social interactions took place and which influenced decisions on where to locate new locales in the landscape.
- I have suggested that what distinguished certain locales from each other might have been differences in the kinds of social practices taking place there. This differentiation is likely to have influenced people's perceptions of their landscape which would have been defined through the interrelationships between these different places.

- As I pointed out in relation to people's experience of place (Chapter 6), perception of different parts of the landscape is likely to have been dependant on clan ownership. Indeed, relations between clans would impact on how a person perceived meeting places or areas outside of their own clan area i.e. whether it was a welcoming or hostile area.

Practice and Pre-Contact Social Structure

In Chapter 3, I suggested a practice-centred approach as a productive alternative to the more popular social evolutionary approaches within Pacific monument studies. Centralising social practice doesn't negate any discussion of social structure but represents a different approach to it. The practice-centred analysis of locale interrelationships in this chapter has important implications in what it suggests about Uneapa's past social organisation.

Local accounts of past social organisation on Uneapa can be summarised in a number of ways:

- People were living in small hamlets spread across the landscape.
- Each hamlet has its own representative or bigman.
- There was one overall bigman that was responsible for each clan group.
- The work of these bigmen was varied but largely focused on giving speeches, pig-rearing, feast-giving, law-making and organising inter-clan fights.

Such social parameters are far from unique and reflect some of the inherent qualities of bigman systems recorded elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. What is different about Uneapa, though, is the rich material evidence in the landscape that relates to their activities. In this section, I will provide a quick overview of the relationship between Uneapa's archaeology and a number of key concepts governing the bigman system.

Bigman Societies

A wealth of literature exists on the nature of Melanesian bigman societies. These include comparisons with Polynesian chiefdoms (Sahlins 1963), biographies of

individual bigmen (Strathern 1979, Keesing 1983), a concern with scales of power and exchange systems (Lederman 1990, Godelier and Strathern 1991) and issues relating to terminological history (Lindstrom 1981). The historical accuracy of the bigman model as epitomising social structure at the time of European contact has regularly come under attack.

The problem of reconstructing contact-era political systems from documents written by a variety of agents, each pursuing a specialized agenda and each writing at different spatial and temporal points in the conjunction of western and local histories. European contact had manifold, often abrupt and dramatic effects on indigenous society and culture. Even before European observers had a chance to observe local customs, western diseases, goods and skills had often preceded them, significantly altering indigenous population levels, settlement patterns, subsistence, politics, warfare and ritual (Roscoe 2000:80-81).

Despite these complexities, I would like to draw out a number of themes from within this literature that characterises bigman society in order to assess how Uneapa's archaeology can be situated within these concepts. The first theme I want to address is the centrality of social practice within the bigman system.

The Bigman and Social Practice

As I understand Melanesian concepts of sociality, there is no indigenous supposition of a society that lies over or above or is inclusive of individual acts and unique events (Strathern 1988:102).

Strathern's comment stresses the centrality of social practice within traditional Melanesian societies. Bigmen classically gain their power through holding communal events, engaging in and organising various social practices and distributing their wealth amongst the community, mostly in the form of food. Clay's description of a ceremony that commemorates the dead (*elokpanga*) within the Mandak group, on the east coast of central New Ireland is interesting to note here.

For such an event, men, women and children from numerous villages come together within an enlarged hamlet and are differentiated in various ways through exchanges, food distribution and dance performances. It is here that the big man is most apparent as leader, a power-broker who has made the feast 'come up'. Yet there is nothing to suggest that such gatherings represent 'society' to the Mandak, or that 'society' is what the bigman 'gets up' through his action (Clay 1992:723).

The description of this event is reminiscent of the role of meeting places on Uneapa. Clay's depiction of the Mandak as not consciously perceiving their local

social structure but rather experiencing their lives through practice is important here. This aligns directly with the reason why I chose a 'bottom-up' rather than 'top-down' approach in this research. The more we understand about how Uneapa's locales were 'lived in', the more we can attempt to reveal their meaning. Clay's (1992:724) assertion that "Mandak agency is socially identified with a big man through the interactive presence of other big men, who, in other times and other places, will perform or have performed as agents" stresses how local identity is so irrevocably linked in with social interaction. This description of *bigmanism* is almost identical to aspects of Latour's network theory that I have found so compelling.

Any given interaction seems to *overflow* with elements which are already in the situation coming from some other time, some other *place*, and generated by some other agency (Latour 2005:166).

The locale distribution on Uneapa emphasises the importance of communal and centralised social practices. Indeed, in the majority of remembered pre-contact clan boundaries, there was a distinctive 'central place' with evidence pertaining to a diverse range of social practices. Many of these, such as feasting, oratory and *singsings*, are practices classically associated with important events organised by bigmen. These practices are commonly interpreted as the route to social power. Sahlins' (1963:289) comments that:

The attainment of big-man status is rather the outcome of a series of acts which elevate a person above the common herd and attract about him a coterie of loyal, lesser men. It is not accurate to speak of "big-man" as political title, for it is but an acknowledged standing in interpersonal relations- a "prince among men" so to speak as opposed to "The Prince of Danes"

This idea implies that each prominent bigman during his time would have had to engage in his own 'series of acts' or practices in order to gain and maintain his status. As Uneapa's *lupunaga mudina* were the places in which social relations and power structures were legitimised, I would argue that such varied strategies might well explain the patterning we see within them. That is the fluid spatial arrangement of these locales reflects these different processes/practices over time. Part of a bigman's repertoire of social action on Uneapa may also have involved adding to or altering stone features within a particular locale. In this respect, the expansion of these places may not necessarily reflect a growing social complexity but rather varied processes of social interactions. This stresses a point I made in Chapter 3, that there is no specific reason why groups without

institutional hierarchy cannot construct substantial stone feature complexes. It also further highlights the stance taken in Chapter 2; that the creation of such spaces results from both intended and unintended consequences. Rather than these places being consciously built to reflect a new form of world order, they may never have had a pre-set form but instead took shape through the amalgamation of different practices and interactions over time.

An Egalitarian, Unstable or Flexible Leader?

Brown (1990a: 97) makes the point that "a bigman has personally created his power, and does not accumulate his wealth or ritual power to be inherited by a successor. In this sense alone the big man is egalitarian". Un-inherited power achieved through public action has largely been seen as being egalitarian and this egalitarianism has also been extended to spatial descriptions of bigman societies. I want to consider two points made by Sahlins (1963:287) in this regard: (i) that bigman systems were composed of "small, separate and equal political blocs" and (ii) that "the tribal plan is one of politically unintegrated segments" and apply them to the locale patterning seen on Uneapa.

While there seems to have been an equivalent desire within groups on Uneapa to have similar spaces to each other (central meeting places), the locale patterning is also unique within each clan group. There are some groups who had no discernible meeting place, others with multiple large complexes or more subsidiary ones and those who seem to have more specialised spaces i.e. feasting or sorcery areas. On the one hand, such variation may be linked to the multiple and changing social practices that created and maintained the various locales. But I have also suggested that this might reflect that different clan groups had different roles in the past. If groups did engage in particular kinds of practices e.g. the Kulubago clan responsible for hosting the larger feasts, then the groups could not have functioned as "equal political blocs" but were none-the-less differentiated from each other in terms of which practice dominated within each clan. Indeed, this would also mean that each clan group was not as independent from each other as might seem. The idea of the "tribal plan" being one of "politically unintegrated segments" is largely a top-down perspective because if we consider such a system in terms of the social practices, then we begin to see how each group would need to be more closely integrated with each other.

Bigman systems are often depicted as being personality-led i.e. there are many qualities that can promote a man to a more senior position.

They might exhibit superior magical powers, gardening prowess, oratory, or bravery in war and feuds, but typically what was crucial was an ability to amass and distribute valuables- usually pigs, shells and food" (Roscoe 2000:84).

This might suggest that the history and identity of certain groups was driven by what social practices the bigman in power was renowned for. The important thing on Uneapa is that even if such clan identities could fluctuate depending on the leadership. Constructed locales were much more permanent and long-lasting. They structured practice and might well have defined group identity.

Stability by Stone?

What motivated the desire of Uneapa islanders to construct so much social space out of stone may never be fully appreciated. It is easy to assess this practice as a conscious desire to create some permanence within a social system prone to instability, but this is too simple a reading of the situation.

Although particular tribal structures in places cushion the disorganisation, the big-man political system is generally unstable over short terms: in its super-structure it is the flux of rising and failing leaders, in its substructure of enlarging and contracting factions (Sahlins 1963:292).

The instability associated with bigman systems is concerned with the short-term instability but the social interaction such societies engage in naturally gravitates towards long-term patterns. In her work with the Bariai of New Britain, McPhearson acknowledges how "growing pigs, like growing food, raising children or acquiring objects of wealth requires a long-term investment of self and substance" (1994:6). She also points out how communal practices such as "mortuary feasts take years of preparation and planning, a crucial aspect of ceremonial work that is largely hidden since it takes place within the context of daily life." (McPhearson 1994:19). In this respect, the practices and social events so central to a bigman's political career actually created a whole network of long-term social relations that outlive his career. Just as Brown (1990b:275 based on Lederman 1990) points out how "wealth is raised for presentations and exchange networks built by individual strategies and personal networks. This produces a social field of personal obligations distinct from clanship", such processes also

produce a social field of long-term clan obligations. The creation of meeting places out of stone in the context of such long-term interactions may not seem unusual. Rather than seeing such permanency acting as a contrast to how people viewed their lives, it might well have done something to complement it.

Another factor that needs consideration here is the impact such constructed space may have had on social relations on Uneapa. I showed in Chapter 6 how the peoples' experiences both structured and were structured by the particularities of place. So to what extent could these places have structured or influenced social organisation? The idea of a bigman being a free-spirited individual who could get to a position of power through a whole trajectory of different abilities might also have been restricted by some of the obligations he had in regards to the stone feature complexes under his control. For example, one might presume that the overall bigman of the Kulubago clan might be under particular pressure to be a good feast-giver, given that his ancestors created a locale so orientated around feasting. Indeed, it might be these qualities that influenced who came to power and who did not. In the case of the Lovanua clan, the so-called 'law-makers', the person who became leader might have been someone who was a particularly gifted orator able to give speeches at Vunelingabo, hence following an established tradition.

Bigman status is not generally believed to be inherited. But if a similar or comparable system did exist on Uneapa, one would assume that control of the meeting places was something that was indeed inherited from one's ancestors, as suggested by named seats associated with lineages. It is likely that these places had their own form of manifestation of clan wealth and power. Unlike "tribal rank and renown" "developed by great public giveaways" (Sahlins 1963:291) certain rank must have been tied in with the person who controlled, maintained and decided any future developments or renovations within such places.

Uneapa's archaeology provides an understanding of the role of stone 'monuments' within bigman systems. I have emphasised ways of thinking about monumentality that do not require hierarchical power structures. This has further emphasised the validity and potential of a practice-centred approach. By exploring social practice, a more meaningful understanding of social structure can be achieved.

7.4 Conclusion

Local perspectives on clan histories and identities have provided a stimulating framework through which inter-locale patterning in Western Uneapa was interpreted. By focusing on the interrelationship between locales in terms of the differences and scales of social practice, I have successfully depicted some of the concerns Uneapa Islanders may have had in their interaction with and perception of their social landscape. Just as Latour (2005) recognised how a focus on social practice dissolves the distinction between micro-interactions and macro-structures, I have shown how focusing on practice can provide archaeologists with significant insights on social agency, landscape and structure. While such an approach has particular resonance within a Melanesian context and was aided by the contributions of local perspectives in this particular study, it could also be relevant to monumental landscapes elsewhere.

Memories are fluid entities that are transmitted and reworked in relation to the current concerns of the community and it is most challenging to reconcile and deal with the gaps and the differences in memory. I might never be fully able to reconcile the gaps.

There was both coherency and disjuncture between the local memory and the material evidence analysed in this chapter. This is not unexpected. These clan boundaries represent but one temporal structure remembered at one point in time. One such disjuncture is the perspective that each hamlet on Uneapa had its own smaller sized meeting place. Although this pattern was supported within certain clan groups, it was not reflected in others. This disjuncture forms the basis of the following chapter where I will explore the evidence relating to the social changes brought about by European contact and the impact these had on both local memorialising and the archaeological record.



Chapter 8

RECENT PRACTICES

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapters focused on two simple premises. Chapter 6 focused on how people do not perceive their social spaces equally and that perception is largely dependant on what social practice they are involved in. Chapter 7 focused on the idea that people do not perceive their social landscape in a holistic fashion. Instead, it is broken up and segmented according to the different practices carried out across space. This chapter introduces a third premise: people do not perceive the same social spaces/landscapes similarly over time. Perception changes alongside changes in related social practices.

The fact that each generation would have engaged with the features/locales to a different degree aligns with Pauketat's (2001:87) concept of a historical-processual paradigm in that it "pursues *how* change occurred - that is, *how* meanings or traditions were constructed and transmitted". Pauketat (2001:80) also points out how traditions "are always in the process of becoming". The idea that monumental spaces are constantly 'becoming' suggests that perception of such space is historically bound. As a result, it encourages us to understand what historical processes might have influenced perceptions of such space over time.

In Chapter 2, I pointed out how 'monumental' landscapes are inherently dynamic and go through various stages in their history. I see Uneapa's landscape as being at a very interesting stage in its history. European contact on Uneapa prompted changes in ideology, settlement pattern, social structure and practice that impacted on perception of and interaction with locales/features there. As Uneapa's locales were likely being used as little as a hundred years ago, we are, by monitoring these impacts, essentially monitoring either a loss or change in related social practices. While perception of place is naturally composed of multiple temporalities, did European contact cause a more radical change so that the majority of these features/locales are no longer actively used and are now only viewed as ancestral structures ('samting bilong ol tubuna' (TP))?

In order to understand recent interaction with features/locales and the impact these have had on the archaeological landscape, I will focus on a number of issues. I will analyse locale patterning in respect to post-contact village and plantation boundaries. I will explore which features/locales people have continued to interact with and I will consider what meaning these have for the different

interest groups on the island. I will pay particular attention to the impact the local cargo cult has had on the development of Uneapa's archaeological landscape. But, just as I have argued that no community consensus would have existed in terms of how Uneapa's locales were perceived in the past, they are also perceived and interacted with in different ways by different sections of the community today. In this chapter, I use both *material to memory* and the *material to memory* in order to understand the impact recent practices have had on the development and perception of the archaeological record.

8.2 Locale Distribution Patterns in a Post-contact context

8.2.1 Village Case Studies

In Chapter 7, I demonstrated how a distinct locale patterning was found in two of the remembered clan groups: Goloki and Givalolo. They had a much higher percentage of small stone feature complexes and single feature locales. Three modern day villages are located within the ancestral territory of the Givalolo and Goloki clans: Manopo, Penata and Nigalani villages (see Figure 8.1). Given this situation, I wanted to investigate whether locale patterning in these areas could be the result of more recent practices.

The three villages of Manopo, Penata and Nigalani were established after World War I when the Australians took over governance of the island. Manopo and Penata were established for the islanders uprooted by the establishment of Bali plantation. Nigalani was not a village in those days but the location of the local government. There is now a large population in Manopo and Penata but Nigalani's population remains low.

(1) Manopo Village

Although people from Manopo view the stone features in their village area as ancestral items, they do not imbue them with much significance. This is in direct comparison with Penata where they play a more important role (see below). Locale patterning within the boundary of Manopo Village can be seen in Figures 8.2 and 8.3. While some of the larger complexes (U/27, U/73, U/1 18 and U/37) in this area have been impacted by recent developments such as road and house building, it is the smaller complexes and single feature locales that are most linked to recent times.

Of the 13 small complexes (size code 2: 2-10 features) or single feature locales in the Manopo, 9 are directly remembered as undergoing purposeful changes in the recent past. Some features have merely been re-erected where they originally stood (U/23), whilst others have been moved from elsewhere and erected at their present location (U/24, U/67, U/69, U/106 and U/117). Generally people do not remember where these new features came from but are just aware they are recent additions. Some features were moved into their present positions for specific purposes. For example, mortars (U/67 and U/69) were moved to act as troughs for the village pigs or the stone seat that was disassembled to act as a foundation for the steps of a house (U/68). Such uses were not said to be symbolic in any way but rather just practical in nature. Such processes suggest that some people in this village do not view these stone features as taboo or sacred but, instead, useful materials that can be incorporated into their day-to-day lives.

One locale of note is Vunegabe (U/24). The owner of this hamlet, Veronica Kalau told us how the three stone seats (Type 1) in association with her house were moved there in the 1960s. Her husband was a local magistrate and he punished three criminals by getting each of them to move a stone feature up from an ancestral locale at Nidair (U/70), 100m or so down-slope. No constructed stone features are now present at Nidair (U/70). What motivated her husband to have these features at his house is not clear. Another important locale is the seat and standing stone at Nikalava (U/106), this is said to have been erected by a member of the local cargo cult some 20-30 years ago, as were the newly constructed features at Piakamaliku (U/116).

Of the 4 locales where there is not an explicit link to recent activity, people pointed out how they thought that two of the locales, Vunemarkuku (U/71) and Nibotongo (U/72), functioned as meeting places in the past, even though there are very few stone features there. Such memories could be inaccurate, but it is possible that features had been moved out of these locales some time in the recent past. People also stated that they remember Kuluverovero (U/26) as having more features present in the past and the locale does look like it has been re-arranged somewhat. For example, many of the features are missing their capstones. The final locale is a seat (Type 1) at Nipati (U/31). While no-one

suggested that this feature was a recent addition, the fact that it is standing erect located so close to a modern house suggested to me that it is likely.

Therefore, of the 13 small complexes or single feature locales, all are in some way directly linked (or likely to be linked) with recent activities. The ancestral landscape within Manopo Village has undergone a process of fragmentation and change due to a diverse set of processes - some deliberate, some not. Some are culturally meaningful and purposeful while others are merely the result of post-contact developments within the village itself. The broader implications of these changes will be discussed below, but I will first discuss the recent activities relating to locales situated within Penata Village.

(2) Penata Village

The locale patterning within Penata is more complicated than in Manopo. There are more stone feature complexes and single feature locales. One of these larger complexes (U/45) previously in the Goloki clan area is now in the Nigilani Village area, another of the larger locales originally within the Givalolo clan area (i.e. Tagataga (U/34) is now under the jurisdiction of Penata village. Of the 17 stone feature complexes, 12 locales are only size code 2 (see Figures 8.4 and 8.5). There are also four single feature locales. Like in Manopo, some of these complexes have been impacted by practical developments taking place in the village areas but this has only affected 4 out of 17 complexes. Two locales have obviously been disturbed due to road building (U/34, U/87), one was re-arranged during the building of a local church (U/84) and in another features were used to construct a fence (U/85).

Out of the 16 stone feature complexes of size code ≥ 2 or single feature locales, 12 are directly remembered as having been subject to recent movements or re-erections. Of these 12 locales, 11 are said to be the result of local cargo cult (*Perekumu Kampani*) practices. The one altered feature not associated with the cult is a mortar (U/78) being used to give water to pigs. There is much more cult activity here in contrast to Manopo Village (where only two locales were linked to their practices). This reflects the fact that Penata has been predominantly a cult village since its establishment in 1964, whereas Manopo has remained largely Catholic. I now wish to identify how the cargo cult has contributed to the formation of the archaeological record. The social, political and economic factors

motivating the cult's relationship with the stone features will be discussed in the second section of this chapter.

Cult Activity

As far as I can establish, cult members were involved in moving and re-erecting stone features in two main ways:

1. Movement of either singular or small groups of features out of ancestral locales and re-erection of these in association with their houses.
2. Re-erection of a variety of stone features within important cult centres.

Features in Association with Houses

Features moved from elsewhere and erected in a new position were noted at a number of locales. Individual and small groups of seats (Type 1) were erected by the cult in association with their private houses at Nipiu (U/75), Penata Main Village Area (U/80), Kokoranga (U/83). Tables (Type 2) were also erected close to cult members' dwellings, i.e. Papaka (U/86) and Main Village Area (U/77). In some cases, people remember the name of the person who erected the features and where they originally came from. For example, a small seat in the Main Village Area (U/80) was brought up from Nitobe (U/82) by John Tigomuri's father some 20-30 years ago and erected by his house (see Figure 8.6). In other incidences, these precise details are not recalled but only that the cult erected them some 20-30 years ago. The idea that the cult was moving and erecting features in the 1970s or 1980s is a commonly held opinion island-wide. What may be significant about this time period will be discussed in more detail below, but it is important to stress that as far as I could tell the cult is no longer moving features around. A number of interesting points should be noted about the features re-erected by the cult in Penata Village.

- o There is a higher than average incidence of these features having individual names e.g. one of the seats is called Gulala at U/80; three of the features are named at Papaka (U/86) i.e. Chimulu, Vatu Dori and Vatu Halovi. This may either reflect more active memorialising or that recent names have been given.

- One of the tables found in association with Alphonse Dakoa's house in the Main Village Area (U/77) (see Figure 8.7) is made of a thin sheet of the material identified earlier as 'beach slate'. The story attached to this feature is that it originally resided at the beach area down from Penata and an important male ancestor called Titiba brought the table to its current location. It is possible that the material for this stone was quarried at the beach area and therefore might be a more recent construction. Indeed, this feature does share characteristics with a recent stone table made on Garove (see Torrence, Specht and Vate 2002:26) for circumcision ceremonies.
- Some of the recently erected tables (Type 2) are associated with pig-killing. In all of the oral history related to the ancestral stone features, it was only the cult that suggested that these tables were used to kill pigs which might reflect changing practices. Indeed, a circle (known as *koumu* (U)) has been recently carved with a knife on the 'beach slate' table at U/77, said to be where the pig's head would be placed during slaughter. Tables at Papaka (U/86) were also associated with pig-killing (see Figure 8.8).
- A combination of features that might be associated with the cult is a re-erected stone seat in association with a small standing stone. This pattern was noted in a number of cult-linked locales in Manopo village (U/106, U/116) (see Figure 8.9). This pattern was also noted within the larger complex at U/93 alongside a cult member's house. I mentioned in Chapter 5 how the cluster analysis showed correlations between seats and standing stones and that it may well be that this correlation resulted from such cult activities.

Features in Association with Cult Places

Features have also been moved around and erected in conjunction with cult centres. At the headquarters of the cult leader Cherry Takili Dakoa at Navunemari (U/89), 5 seats (type 1) have been re-erected and arranged in a circular fashion in the open area in front of the leader's house. This spot also marks the location of a large cement shrine in the form of a compass erected by Dakoa and his followers some 15-20 years ago (see Figure 8.10). Other features have also been erected at these cult centres. For example, a cult shrine at Nipanka (U/35) has a rock art

boulder (believed to represent the footprint of an important ancestor Luange) which was removed from the stone feature complex at Vatekambeke (U/1 1) (inland within the Kulubago clan area) and erected in association with the shrine. Another important example of this is outside the case study area but nonetheless deserves mention here. At Vunekambiri (U/64), stone features have been re-arranged into double lines in direct alignment with a cult house. Such patterning is not seen within any of the older locales and is likely to be a recent phenomenon.

Processes of Destruction

Such patterns of re-creation logically lead to patterns of destruction. Whilst locales on Uneapa were likely to be built up through various practices in the pre-contact past, a process of fragmentation has taken place since European contact. As a result the distribution pattern has become a more complex one. A number of locales within the Penata are remembered as having stone features removed (U/81, U/110 and U/111). Indeed, at certain locales (e.g. U/110) features are clearly missing components. One of the most interesting locales in this regard is Natupu (U/81). It is a very powerful place that epitomises the impact the cargo cult has had on the ancestral landscape. As can be seen in Figure 8.11, there is nothing visible here bar a few broken slabs underneath the shelter. I have been very reliably informed by a number of villagers, (including project co-worker Blaise Vatete) that between 20-30 years ago there were at least 15 stone features here, mostly seats and tables. This stresses how cult activities have not only been involved in the creation of new locales but also in the destruction of ancestral locales.

(3) Nigilani

The one locale recorded in Nigilani which is likely to have been re-arranged during the building of the village green (U/45) (Figure 8.12). There are no activities associated with the cargo cult in Nigilani and it is predominantly a Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) village.

Discussion

The issue that prompted consideration of locale patterning within modern villages was whether or not each hamlet had its own meeting place in pre-contact times. Given that the only area where locale patterning supported this idea was in the

Goloki and Givalolo clan areas, I focused my attention to the modern day villages now in that area. By removing all features in Manopo and Penata believed to have been re-erected in recent times, a renewed understanding is achieved. The locale patterning would have been much less fragmented prior to European contact. While there is evidence for smaller subsidiary meeting places or locales in the past, it seems highly unlikely that each hamlet had its own meeting place. There may well have been a particular space used for discussion of hamlet issues but it wasn't necessarily marked by stones.

It is also important to note that the *idea* that each hamlet would have had its own meeting place (with stones) in the past largely came from people in the Manopo-Penata area. Indeed, it was only after visiting one of largest stone feature complexes at Nalavaru (U/87) in Penata for the second time that I realised it was one complex. This is because I had effectively been shown around the complex in segments. People identified the different groups of stones with names relating to present day hamlets within the complex itself. This emphasises something important about how the recent fragmentation of the archaeological landscape has also impacted on how people perceive their ancestral landscape. In some cases, people are no longer aware of the original relationship between the various stone features and instead perceived their landscape in terms of modern social boundaries. Taking all these factors into consideration, I would suggest that it is likely that both the idea and material evidence for individual hamlet meeting places is a recent phenomenon. In order to further support this hypothesis I will now consider the differences between locale patterning within these highly populated post-contact village areas and those in the unpopulated areas of Bali Plantation. It is important to understand the historical context in which Bali Plantation developed so that the impact of its establishment had on locale patterning is better appreciated.

8.2.2 Plantation Patterning

Historical Context

Uneapa was first controlled by the German New Guinea Company (GNGC) (1884-1899) and then the German Imperial Government (1899-1914). Although trading and plantations had been established in various locations throughout the Bismarck Archipelago by GNGC, Uneapa was not subject to any *official* European activity

until the reign of the Imperial Government. It has been stated in a biography of Queen Emma (Robson 1965) that she purchased the entire Bali-Witu Island Group for £50.00 in the early 1880s, but there is no historical evidence to support this claim. Uneapa islanders probably had quite substantial contact with Europeans before official trading stations or plantations were established there. For example, labour recruiting or black-birding on Uneapa has been reported in the years 1896-7 (German Annual Report 1896-7 in Sack and Clark 1979:137). A few years later, in 1898-1899, a trading station was established by Danish trader Peter Hansen on neighbouring Garove Island. It is clear from the census of that year that no Europeans were living on Uneapa at this stage (1898-99:166 in Sack and Clark 1979:165). Garove became an important trading centre and Hansen established a number of plantations that produced large quantities of copra. Although a European trader/settler was living on Uneapa in the years 1903-1904 (German Annual Report 1903/04 in Thompson 1922:33), the official date that Bali Plantation was established is not known. Historical documents suggest that the first coconuts were planted some time in year 1905-1906¹. This effectively meant that official German business on the island was short-lived and the bulk of land clearance and planting of coconuts took place in the 8 years prior to the outbreak of the First World War. The Germans did not plant the full extent of the plantation as can be seen today, but rather about 2/3 of it (see Figures 8.13 and 8.14) and the rest of the plantation was extended during Australian administration (see Figure 8.15).

Local Responses

So what do we know about the local response to these activities by the Germans and Australians? The focus here is primarily on whether the locale patterning within the plantation areas somehow reflects or manifests these responses. People largely recount European contact in similar ways on Uneapa. Two quite typical examples are quoted here.

Dakoa: Yes the time when the Germans came here. They started down there (pointing towards the south), and then they moved up here and were planting coconuts, now the two had set up things we got given tomahawks (metal axes) and these... what you call... beads, they bought this ground here. They cut the trees we owned, they cut down the galip and *ela* trees. They came on top here and started moving all of our bigmen out and started work in the bush, in our place. They started moving all the people out, they came further up and up doing the same. They put their mark (i.e. boundary) on all of this place, it went up on top of the mountain, it went

¹ This information was taken from Land Register of the Colony of German New Guinea, Volume 1, Folio no.31 in *Bali Adjoins*. Series A1345, Item T132. Australian National Archives: Canberra.

around this mountain and it went down towards Makiri. Then they started moving us, pushing us out. Some of the Kulubago people moved down, we moved up on top to Nalagaro, Rulukumbu people they moved down below, Vunaloto people moved over there. Now that it was clear that the Germans had moved into the plantation. Ok after they had got rid of everyone they began their work. (8. 1 Dakoa: Appendix 4)

Kakalave: Before there were all little areas that had people, there were not that many people there, the same with Manopo, Dirolakiki you know these places, Dirolakiki and Nidabadaba, Nanunu and you come up here and go to Kuluverovero there were people in all these places, they were not that many there, they didn't have that many children. There were there. But when it came to the time that they came and took over this place here... Bali, the Germans, they brought all the groups together, we went and lived at Manopo and made us one group and then there were a lot of people now. The time the Germans came they all were still in their own areas, over there too, but they all had to get up now and get together and go over there and work in cutting down the trees, and all the lineages in the plantation, they all ran away, some came up here to us and others went to other places, to Nalagaro. They all left their own areas, the white men came and took over this place and they got up and ran away. There was a place called Kulubago. They got up now and ran away and some were brought together at Penata. During this time some of the white men came and marked out Bali and took it, the *kiap* also he came and brought us together and talked to us all, they were crazy men, they couldn't communicate with us, there were some men that came with them, they spoke to us, that's how we learned a little of *tok pisin* (8.2. Kakalave: Appendix 4).

A number of important factors come out of these and indeed other accounts I was told. The islanders still hold resentment for their loss of territory and the fact that the Germans cut down all their trees. There is no memory of any proper payment being given to the islanders when local people were pushed out of their ancestral locales. Despite the complex array of German Land Laws during this period, e.g. Grotefend's Legislation Years 1886, 1887, 1899 and 1900, many of these land laws applied "only to subjects of civilised nations in the Protectorate, and not to natives or to members of other coloured tribes" (Annual Report 1886-7 in Sack and Clark 1979:11). Indeed, as Firth (1982:4) pointed out "the Germans were in New Guinea first and foremost to make money, and only secondarily to impose a system of ordered administration on the inhabitants". The establishment of Bali Plantation on Uneapa created a whole new kind of social order for the islanders.

People continually stressed how the majority of their ancestors had no choice but to 'run away' because the Germans were extremely forceful and held guns. Only one person is remembered as being successful in his resistance against the Germans. Chief Likoliko, is still highly regarded as a local hero whose

efforts resulted in the preservation of some 25 hectares of native land. The square area of Naletongopo became known as the 'island' because it was the only locally owned tract of land surrounded by European plantation.

When I asked people whether they knew if their ancestors removed any of the stone features out of their original areas after the plantation was established, the majority of people did not think so because they thought people would have been too fearful to return to their ancestral areas. Indeed, the only story I recorded of a feature believed to have been removed from within the plantation, during that period was that of the small stone known as *Vatu Ke Vagelo* (*Head of Vagelo*) (see Figure 8.16). This was moved out of the plantation area somewhere to Valuvaluanga (U/1 66) because an ancestral bigman did not want the power of this stone to be transferred to the Germans. This story is significant on two accounts. First, the stone is quite small and could have been easily carried out by one person and second, it is a particular kind of stone in that it is directly linked to sorcery.

People may not have had opportunity to remove the larger stone features such as seats (Type 1) or tables (Type 2) because they no longer had free access to their ancestral places. Even the contact local people who worked as plantation workers had would have been tightly controlled by the planters. German-run plantations were allowed to severely punish anyone who stood in the way of plantation progress e.g. "by the ordinance of the 20th June 1900, amended by Ordinance of 22nd January, it was provided that natives under a contract of service or in actual employment might be punished in a disciplinary manner at the request of the master or employer for repeated breaches of duty or continued laziness" (Johnston 1919:1-2). Although the Australians relaxed corporal punishment laws, it is likely local people's perception of the plantation boundary was well established. Such a boundary may have undermined any desire people had to remove stone features out of their clan areas. Alternatively, we also should consider that the loss of territory may have been so traumatic for people that removing aspects of their vernacular architecture was not forefront in their minds. Indeed, the stone features seem to have played such a central part of people's lives that their significance as material items might not have been the central facet of importance but rather the social context which they created when placed together. Indeed, it was this place, this social context that people had lost forever.

Locale Patterning

The locale patterning within the plantation area is substantially different to that seen within the present day villages of Manopo and Penata (see Figure 8.17). There are fewer locales within the plantation area and there is only one small locale (U/1 14) i.e. size code 2 and one single feature locale (U/1 12). This further emphasises the unlikelihood of each hamlet having its own meeting place in the past.

Whilst we cannot be sure if people removed features out of their ancestral locales in the earlier days of European rule, what is clear is that the locales within the plantation areas show much less sign of disturbance than those outside it. The level of locale preservation seen within the plantation area surpassed anything seen elsewhere. A good example of this is at Bola Ke Voki (U/161) where five mortars were found *in situ*. Mortars are commonly moved out of their original contexts and placed in new surroundings in the village areas. It is not without a sense of irony that the area of Uneapa where the archaeology has remained closer to what it may have looked like in pre-contact times is that area where Europeans had most impact. One may have presumed that plantation activities such as clearing of land and planting coconut rows would have had a more detrimental effect on these places. Whilst there may have been some impact, the coconuts seem to have been planted within the stones. Perhaps, moving these stones was seen as an unnecessary effort by the planters. Such processes have resulted in the creation of two very different archaeological landscapes: a more fragmented one in the village areas and a more consolidated one in the plantation areas. It is not all that surprising that it is within populated places that features became modified, moved and altered in respect to changing practices and where people were absent, the landscape more closely reflected its ancestral past.

Given that the plantation developed in degrees, it is interesting to think about whether meeting places outside of the plantation areas were still being used as such after European contact. An analysis of the locale patterning within the different German and Australian plantation areas (Figures 8.18 and 8.19) highlights a number of important points.

The east-west boundary of these original plantation maps is slightly different to the extent of the plantation on the present day maps (see Figure 8.17). As a result, the single feature locale at U/112 is excluded. This means there are no single feature locales in the original plantation area. Only two stone feature complexes were recorded within the original German plantation area (U/148, U/114). I had previously noticed a similar paucity in the area governed by the Magarugaru clan (see Figure 8.18). This might prompt some speculation that the Germans cleared away and destroyed some stone features there, but there is no evidence to suggest this, either in the physical landscape or any local memory of such activities.

It is also interesting to note that the locale on the boundary of the German plantings is Vate Kambeke (U/11) (see Figure 8.18). This is the place most closely associated with Chief Likoliko who is famous for standing up to the Germans. The area north of the German boundary of plantings was actually acquired by the Germans but was never planted by them (see Figure 8.18). So even though the land had not been planted yet, it seems likely that the larger meeting places in this area i.e. Vate Kambeke (U/11), Bola Ke Voki (U/161) and Vunedeko (U/156) fell out of use quite quickly after the Germans took over the island. Indeed, the oral history supports this hypothesis.

There is evidence elsewhere that the use of traditional meeting places did not cease in these early days of European contact. For example, people had indicated to me how the social activities at Nabogou (U/134) continued right through the period of German rule. Nabogou (U/134) is the meeting place of the Lovanua clan and is located higher up the slopes of Mt Kumbu and therefore was not directly affected by the German plantation. When we excavated three test pits at Nabogou locale that we found quantities of knapped European glass in every pit (See Figure 8.20). This was the only place on Uneapa where such artefacts were found and this seems to support the idea that people were using this place after European contact.

The impact of European contact also saw many of these places change their social function within the community. Particularly interesting is the recent history of the large meeting place at Kite Vuaka Taki (U/37) which is located right on the boundary of the plantation. This place was also given a new name of 'Taralata' which translates as 'under the 'lata' tree'. During the early days of

plantation, the islanders lined up under a tree in this locale in order to be recruited for labour. In the later days of the plantation, this locale also became used as a market-place for selling garden produce to the plantation workers. People remembered how the stone seats and tables there were used to display this produce. What is important here is how the imposition of new boundaries began to create a whole new set of social practices which are likely to have influenced how people perceived these places which in some circumstances also resulted in the alteration of the physical layout of many of these places.

8.2.3 Recent Features

The benefits of considering the long-term history of the locales on Uneapa should now be clear. It enables a better understanding of the different phases of activity that created the archaeological landscape we see today. It also allows us to better identify what factors influenced local contemporary perspectives and to understand the changing relationship people had with their ancestral locales. Whilst evidence for certain recent interactions can clearly be seen by analysing locale patterns, internal alterations within locales in recent times do not always show through in such inter-locale analysis. There are two interesting features in this regard. First, is the presence of keeping places within some of these locales and second are the features specially erected to celebrate Papua New Guinea's Independence Day in 1975.

Keeping Places

The keeping places found on Uneapa are characterised by the presence of ancestral artefacts (i.e. axes, pestles, backcloth beaters) and natural objects (coral clumps, volcanic stones). As I discussed earlier, the activity of grouping stones and coral clumps, thought to represent different food types may have a certain antiquity (e.g. Vatu na Vitolongo (U/168)) in fertility rites etc. but the antiquity of placing cultural artefacts in these surrounds is not known. My initial instinct was that keeping places were more likely to be linked to cult behaviour. Yet, out of the three keeping places recorded in the case study area (U/75, U/92 and U/107), only one is in a place that is associated with the cult. Indeed, Alios Gilo told us that the keeping place at his house, known as *Kelene Dori* (or Dori's Testicles), was first set up by his grandfather. Given that Alios is himself elderly (c. 80 years ago), this would have been in pre-cult times. Alios also told us that all

generations of his family (since contact) were Catholic. This tradition was also reported as a pre-cult phenomenon by Behr (1965:10) from a 1962 Patrol Report when he wrote how a "*lookput* was kept for anthropological specimens such as stone axes and knives which had been used by these people in their cannibalistic days". One might presume that the process of collecting and hoarding of objects such as axes and pestles is more likely to have been a post-contact phenomenon: i.e. people would have been using their axes and pestles not hoarding. On the other hand, processes of keeping and looking after ancestral objects may have had a longer tradition on the island. Indeed, one of the functions of men's houses or *haus tambaran* (spirit house) in many parts of New Guinea is to house and keep safe ancestral objects (Simpson 1996; Kreps 2006). *Rogomos* (U) were also used accordingly. Regardless of when keeping places were built, they represent a conscious re-use of ancestral material items through contemporary practices of collecting, storing and hoarding.

1975 Independence Day

Another phenomenon that involved a re-working of ancestral materials but is much more conclusively linked to a particular time period are the stone features erected to celebrate Papua New Guinea's Independence in 1975. These were reported at 5 different locales in Western Uneapa (see Figure 8.21). It was only at Gumunakaluga (U/95) that a new locale was created when a standing stone was erected there. In the other four locales, features were erected within ancestral locales: i.e. a re-erected seat (Type 1) at Nibobranga (U/146), a small standing stone (Type 3) at Kite Vuaka Taki (U/37), a medium sized standing stone at Vatumadindiri (U/1 18) and a large standing stone at Matsitsiranga (U/90) (see Figure 8.22). One locale in Eastern Uneapa at Penata Kitinerave Village (U /123) also deserves a mention here. Two standing stones were erected and a rock art boulder was brought up from the coast to celebrate 1975 (see Figure 8.23).

Whilst the sentiments behind erecting these features as commemorative structures is similar, there are also differences possibly indicative of what kind of statement people wanted to make. For instance, the size of the standing stones varies. The smaller size stone at (U/95) may well suggest that fewer people were involved. Indeed, its location in conjunction with a house might suggest it was motivated by a small community. In contrast the large standing stone (580cm H x 125cm W x 60cm D) known as Bilai in Matsitsiranga (U/90) in Penata, is very

close to the cult headquarters and may have been erected by its members. Even if not, people on Penata continued to have the most experience of erecting features than anywhere else and perhaps it is not surprising that the biggest feature is found there.

The erection of stone features within ancestral locales to celebrate Independence Day is obviously a symbolic gesture which linked the past to the present and the future. Indeed, the erection of a standing stone at Kite Vuaka Taki might be seen as being particularly symbolic given that it is located immediately outside and facing the boundary of the plantation. But there is also a case where the link to the ancestors does not seem to have been that explicitly important. William Tupi is of the belief that when his father Leo Tatau Lugravi with Marakita Rave and Tangea Philip erected an andesite standing stone (102 cm VH x 140 cm W x 28 cm D) at Vatumadiridiri to celebrate PNG Independence Day, that his father was not aware of the significance of the place as a possible old meeting place.

As a result of these patterns, there may well have been different factors motivating people in erecting these features in 1975. What is most interesting about them is that they represent a distinct phase in which stones have become specifically commemorative in nature. Whilst some stone features may have had commemorative functions in the past, this does not seem to have been their main function. Indeed, when I questioned people about stones being erected by their ancestors to commemorate someone or honour them, they recognised that features could be named *after* someone but they did not think they were ever necessarily erected to *honour* someone. A good example of this is a conversation I had with Bito Rave (translated by Bruno Pengeti) in regards to stones associated with mythical character of Mataluangai.

Bruno: Stones were just where Mataluangai himself lived.

Sarah: (to Bruno) So they were not erected to honour him?

Bruno: No they didn't regard Mataluangai as a god in this way, they gave him honour but they didn't erect stones for him. They didn't have idols or whatever... they just paid respect to him to Mataluangai.
(8.3 .Bruno/Sarah: Appendix 4)

This is very important as it might suggest that the commemorative function of stone features may be a more recent phenomenon which has implications for the changing perceptions people had in relation to the function of these features.

Indeed, the important question that arises here is: when did the stone features and locales on Uneapa become 'something belonging to the ancestors' or *samting biong ol tubuna (TP)*? If we accept that the life-blood of 'monumental' landscapes is their long-term histories, then we need to consider whether these features are always 'monuments' or did they actually become them? I would argue that the more recent activities on Uneapa in terms of the cult re-erectations and 1975 erections of stone features mark a particular stage in the history of Uneapa's stone feature locales. While it is likely that people ascribed certain meaning to these places throughout their history in terms of their ancestors, it is these more recent activities on Uneapa that represent a much more conscious re-working of the material manifestations of the past.

8.3 Findings and Implications

8.3.1 Findings

Considering the recent histories of the stone feature locales on Uneapa has resulted in some important findings and has generated some interesting theoretical and methodological insights. The main findings can be summarised as follows.

- The distinct distribution pattern of a high proportion of small stone feature complexes and single feature locales in the areas originally governed by Givalolo and Goloki is largely the result of recent interactions within the village areas of Manopo and Penata. It is unlikely that each hamlet had its own small meeting place in pre-contact times.
- The stone feature complexes in these village areas have been subject to processes of fragmentation. The larger, more consolidated complexes have been broken down into fragments creating the archaeological landscape we see today.

- Some of these changes have not been purposeful or meaningful. They have either occurred as the result of developments within these population centres (i.e. road-building, house-building etc.), or people have re-used part of the features because of their material qualities.
- Other changes have resulted from much more deliberate movement and re-erection of stone features by the local cargo cult, whose headquarters are located in Penata village.
- There are very few small locales in the plantation area. The larger complexes there are in a very good state of preservation. The impact of European plantation activities on these places does not seem to be that significant. The establishment of the plantation resulted in a loss of territory and the creation of an imposed boundary on the landscape which affected how people accessed and interacted with the stone feature complexes.
- Whilst the locales within the plantation were abandoned, there is evidence to suggest that certain meeting places on Uneapa continued to be used during the early days of European rule (i.e. the knapped European glass at Nabogou (U/134)).
- Certain locales took on new meanings and roles within the community during recent times e.g. Kite Vuaka Taki being used as a market and the idea of hamlet meeting places being part of past social organisation.
- A number of standing stones were erected to commemorate Papua New Guinea's Independence in 1975.

8.3.2 Methodological Implications

In this chapter, I use both *material to memory* and the *material to memory* in order to understand the impact recent practices have had on the development and perception of the archaeological record. In some cases, I asked questions of patterns which I had identified archaeologically i.e. the large number of small complexes in the villages of Manopo and Penata. In other cases the memories of practice i.e. cult practice helped explain some of the patterns seen in the archaeological record.

Analysing locale distribution patterns within post-contact boundaries and incorporating what people know about recent changes to the stone features/locales has a number of important methodological implications. It stresses the benefits of considering the long-term in relation to surface archaeological landscapes. As such landscapes are dynamic and susceptible to change, and analysing recent changes allows a better understanding of how the landscape developed. In regards to Uneapa, we are able to deduce what the distribution pattern of locales may have been like prior to these changes. As a result, this identifies both the character of post-contact interactions but also provides insight into how the pre-contact landscape might have looked. In this respect, the application of a long-term approach is not just an interesting exercise but a necessary one. Such an approach also allowed assessment of the relationship between colonial history and the archaeology on Uneapa.

8.3.3 Theoretical Implications: Practice and Perception

Analysing Uneapa's stone features/locales in a post-contact context also necessitates consideration of *why* local people responded in the way that they did to the changes brought about by European contact. As a result, the relationship between practice and perception in relation to these places is considered. The discussion is best split into two groups - non-cult (majority) and cult (the minority) responses - because these different sectors of society perceive and interact with the stone features/locales in different ways.

Non-Cult: Practice and Perception

Whilst the majority of people perceive the stone features/locales in their landscape as important, they no longer play an *active* role in contemporary social life. Traditional meeting places and clan politics were largely replaced by the village structures and council governance. Such definitive loss of these places and their use as social arenas meant that the materiality of these places is no longer involved in contemporary social activities. Indeed, what largely remains is the memory of the social practices that went on within these places in the past. The over-riding perception people have is that these features/places are *samting biong ol tubuna (TP)* or 'something belonging to our ancestors'.

Whilst, it is likely that throughout their history, the perception of these places and practices were influenced by ancestral ties, the impact of European contact has so radically changed settlement patterns, use of land, traditional social structure and ideology that the function of the majority of stone features is now redundant. The fact that these features are now seen as relics of the past marks a new phase in their history. Indeed, the use of stone in the 1975 celebrations stressed how people were using bits of their material past in order to commemorate and consciously forge links between the past, present and future. In this respect, the features have become symbolic rather than socially active entities and I would therefore identify them as a specific stage in the process of 'becoming monuments' on Uneapa.

It is important to remember here that erecting stones to celebrate independence was not a wide-spread phenomenon on Uneapa. This is important, because although the majority of the population perceive these features as past entities, most people (as of yet) are not consciously using them to make any statement about the present or the future. Instead, these activities have largely been linked to certain interest groups on the island. Hodder (1988:150-151) once asked "how then, is meaning controlled by interest groups within society? Strategies might include placing events and their meanings in nature, making them 'natural' or placing them in the past, making them appear inevitable". Recognising the role of interest groups is particularly important because it stresses how at any one given time the perceptions and practices of a society in relation to components within the landscape are not necessarily shared. Indeed, the majority of changes visible in the archaeological landscape on Uneapa were caused not by the majority population but a smaller interest group, i.e. the local cargo cult or *Perekumu Kampani*. So what do their activities tell us about the relationship between practice and perception in the development of Uneapa's 'monumental' landscape?

The Cargo Cult: Practice and Perception

Melanesian Cargo Cults

Much has been written on the meaning and origin of cargo cults. Anthropological interest peaked between the 1950s and 1970s when a number of classic accounts on Melanesian cargo cults were written (Lawrence 1964; Worsley 1968;

Burridge 1969; Steinbauer 1971). Indeed, this was the period when cargo cults were particularly active in many parts of Melanesia. Interest in cargo cults has also retained momentum up to recent times (e.g. Trompf 1991; Whitehouse 1995; Billings 2002). Interpretations of cults have varied considerably but many of the earlier accounts of cults were largely Eurocentric in nature. The emphasis was on cults as forms of political self-determination in resistance to the economic and social inequalities brought about by European contact. Cochrane (1970) was the first author to explicitly recognise the close link between cult belief structures and traditional beliefs. He argued that the solution to understanding cults "was intimately connected with indigenous concepts of leadership, and notions regarding the nature of power and status" (Cochrane 1970:xxix). He also argued that they represented a "development episode in the persisting social relationship between big men and "ordinary members of society" (ibid.). Indeed Trompf (1991:19) also warned of the dangers of misinterpretation.

When a pidgin-speaking informant tells of *taim biong tumbuna em bai kam up* (the ancestral time is coming), it is hazardous to draw the quick conclusion that he refers to some general resurrection, or to the ultimate, physical return of ancestors in a large cargo ship. He may well be voicing a more traditional view that the spirits, as usual, will be present at the most significant incidences of group prosperity.

It seems appropriate to accept that both external (European) and internal (local) factors are likely to have influenced and characterised the belief structure and ritual practices of the *Perekuma Kampani* on Uneapa.

Uneapa's cargo cult

The *Perekuma Kampani* was established in 1964 by Cherry Takili Dakoa, initially as a local business enterprise for the production of copra and cocoa. The escalation of cargo cult beliefs coincided with establishment of council government on the island. Dakoa and his followers were vehemently opposed to such a system of governance. Andrew Lattas (2001:167), who has worked with the cargo cult on Uneapa has pointed out how "it was a different form of localization that Dakoa wanted, namely, forms of autonomy and governmentality that sprang from local ancestors, myths, graves and clan sites". Dakoa's cult is motivated by the fact that its followers believe that the spirit of their dead ancestors (including a number of American heroes such as John F. Kennedy) are working underground banking money for a time when great cargo ships will come from the west and reward followers. Steinbauer (1971) points out how there are

essentially two main kinds of cargo cult in Papua New Guinea; the cults that embrace the ancestral past and those that reject it. Dakoa's cult most definitely embraces its ancestral past. On Friday's religion day, people discuss and tell stories that are a hybrid mix of remembered and re-created myths.

The Cult and the Archaeological Landscape

In this chapter, I have focused on the cult practices that had a direct impact on the archaeological landscape. Re-working aspects of the ancestral past into cult practice is a fundamental aspect of cults everywhere in Melanesia, but one does not always see material manifestations of such practices. Indeed, this is what makes the study of the cult on Uneapa particularly interesting. Although the cult continues to be active on Uneapa, the movement and re-erection of stone features is said to have occurred some 20-30 or so years ago. So why did people remove stone features from ancestral places and re-erect them in association with their houses and cult places? What perceptions may have motivated such practices?

The cult was engaging in these activities during a time when its organisation and aspirations were under severe pressure from the council. When I interviewed the cult leader, Cherry Dakoa Takili (See Figure 8.24), about these movements, he claimed not to know much about it but just that these stones have a form of power which connected people with the spirits or *vuvumu* (U). My experience with the cult was that they were largely secretive and were reticent to talk to me about their beliefs in relation to the stones. When Andrew Lattas studied the cult (2001, 2005), he seemed to be told many more details about their belief structure, but he had lived closely with them, whereas we were based in a Catholic hamlet in Manopo village.

Even though I did not get direct answers about why the cult moved these features around, we did hear some cult stories about money being found buried underneath the andesite seats which acted as 'proof' that their ancestors (in the underground) were hard at work. The cult viewed both European goods and ancestral objects as being the route to social power and economic stability. Lattas (2001:162) points out how the *Perekuma Kampani* is working "hard at trying to 'straighten' relations among themselves and with the dead". He also indicated how "Dakoa's cult has developed a new spatialisation of thought and sociality using the

underground to resituate the living" (Lattas 2001:172). It is likely that the cult moved around these stone features in order to gain a more intimate connection with their ancestors in the hope that such a connection would work favourably towards their present day needs. In doing so the cult were putting emphasis on the importance of the *materiality* of the stones themselves, not necessarily the places in which they were found. Such a strategy is likely to only be one in a range of strategies employed by them to gain favour from the ancestors. The actual activity of moving features around may well have been short-lived. Lawrence (1964:5) points out how "cargo beliefs and rituals were never fixed; they could be revised or replaced after failure. Thus the history of the Cargo Movement represented a succession of different mythological explanations and ritual experiences". Such versatility may explain why the movement/re-erection of stone features as part of the cult ritual expression waned in popularity. Perhaps, there was a shift in perception of what these features meant or what they could do that influenced the cessation of these practices.

Current cult activities are much less focused on the materiality of the stones and more on the places in which they are found. The cult regularly plant decorative plants such as cordylines (*Cordyline terminalis*) or tankets in direct association with important ancestral stone features (see Figure 8.25). This even took place at some of new features/locales discovered by our project. The presence of such plants is a good indicator of the cult being 'active' at a locale. A single planting is usually placed in association with a stone that has particular meaning for the cult (often because the name is remembered). If we consider, for instance, the six case study locales, specially planted cordylines are found at three of the locales. At Kite Vauka Taki (U/37) a cordyline is found in association with both the standing stone erected in 1975 and with the 'slaughter' table. At Nabogou (U/1 34) they are found in association with the serving table in the central area and with the slender standing stone known as 'Tuguru' (the stone that was decorated to indicate a feast was happening). When we first visited Bola Ke Voki (U/161) there was a cordyline planted in association with a large table but after we revealed the elaborate rock art boulder, cordylines were also placed in association with this feature. Cordylines are used in magic and sorcery throughout Melanesia (see Reisenfeld 1950). Indeed, McPhearson tells of the role of this plant for the Bariai in West New Britain.

Cordylines are a sign of the dead and this plant symbolises the relationship between pig exchanges and mortuary traditions. In the bush, wild

cordylines indicate areas frequented by spirit beings and ghosts; in the village cordylines are cultivated around graveyards as barriers between the living and the dead. Also symbols of autochthonous spirit-beings that dwell in the men's house to mark off its limits to women and children (Mc Phearson 1994:4).

I was not told what cordylines signified on Uneapa but it is likely that they hold similar meanings for cult members on Uneapa as they do for the Bariai. Indeed, their use by the cult may well represent another strategy of mediating between the living and the dead ancestors at Uneapa's locales.

The other practice related to Uneapa's ancestral locales in which the cult are currently involved in is an activity called *wok naif* (night work). From what I can gather, this involves cult members walking around the landscape at night and visiting ancestral locales. Indeed, Lattas (2001:179) points out how there is "a special line of men and women whose job it is to travel around at night visiting graves and *wowumu* sites where they seek contact with the underground". The "company books record followers' nocturnal experiences at these sites-, if, for example they heard a noise or someone speak, or felt someone move past them, or smelled an old person go by, or maybe if they saw something like a bank or a person from the underground" (Lattas 2001:182).

There are a number of interesting things about both the planting activities and *naif wok* of the cult. First, is the way in which they emphasise the importance of place and the stone features in their ancestral contexts rather than just the stone features as material items. Secondly, the way in which such practices have less of a long-term impact on the archaeological record than the moving of stone features. This stresses that not only do changing perceptions change practices but also the fact that the degree to which these practices affect the archaeological record varies. Indeed, this is reminiscent of Barrett's (1994:60) point that "the archaeological residues are a palimpsest of debris resulting from quite varied strategies".

Both cult and non-cult members share similar perception of features/locales as ancestral entities but there are the significant differences between them. Most important is the fact that the ancestors play a more active role in the cult's contemporary world which has been expressed through more active interaction with the stone features. The important point here is that perception of the past is not synchronous across any given society and people do not interact with their landscapes or re-use part of their past in the same ways.

8.4 Conclusion

By analysing locale patterning in a post-contact context (in respect to both village and plantation boundaries) I have been able to monitor the impact recent practice have had on Uneapa's archaeological landscape. I have provided insight on temporal difference between certain locale types by suggesting that the some of the smaller complexes and single feature locales are the result of recent interaction. Within village areas people continued to actively interact with their ancestral landscape and it became subject to a process of *fragmentation*. In some circumstances, the re-use of ancestral materials has been ideologically driven (i.e. the cult) but in other cases this re-use has been practical.

Analysis of these recent practices emphasises how 'monumental' landscapes are by their very nature dynamic. They grow and respond to social change rather than resist it. Equally, perception of these places can vary in terms of what is important for each generation: i.e. whether it is the place, the material remains or the related social practices that take precedence. Using the example of the cult practices, I have shown how at certain times they have given precedence to the stone features themselves (i.e. the materiality), whilst at other times it is the place which is at the centre of their attention. How communities interact with standing remains in their landscape is not always equal and it largely depends on the contemporary interests or beliefs that are motivating such interaction. Therefore, just as people assume different trajectories in which to memorialise their past landscapes, they also choose different ones in which to interact with them. What this analysis has also taught us is that just as perception of places might be guided by the practices that took place there, it can also be guided by the loss or change in such practices. 'Monumental' landscapes go through different stage in their histories and as archaeologists we need to try to identify as many of these stages as we possibly can. In addition by considering practice within monumental locales we gain a much fuller insight into the different phases of meaning monuments may have gone through over their long-term histories. For example, I have been able to suggest that the use and perception of Uneapa's stone features as commemorative structures is more likely to be part of their later histories.

The study of post-contact histories in relation to Pacific monumental landscapes needs to be more than just an occasional experiment on the relationship between archaeology, anthropology and history. Instead, engaging with these recent activities provides a better understanding of the material consequences that memorialising and forgetting can have on the contemporary archaeological record which we study today.



Chapter 9

CONCLUSION

5.2. Research Contributions

The research has made a number of important contributions. Given the overall focus, it has contributed significantly to the understanding of design behavior in Myanmar. A number of key findings are presented below. First, the research has identified a number of key factors that influence design behavior in Myanmar. These factors include cultural values, social norms, and economic conditions. Second, the research has identified a number of key design patterns that are commonly used in Myanmar. These patterns include traditional motifs, modern motifs, and hybrid motifs. Third, the research has identified a number of key design trends that are currently emerging in Myanmar. These trends include a focus on sustainability, a focus on local materials, and a focus on traditional craftsmanship. Finally, the research has identified a number of key design challenges that are currently facing designers in Myanmar. These challenges include a lack of access to resources, a lack of training, and a lack of market opportunities.

9.1. The Research Process

In embarking on a PhD research project, students are often encouraged to have a set number of research questions and an established data-set and methodology. Whilst these may well exist on paper, the whole purpose of a PhD is being able to bring these elements together and make them work in conjunction with one another so as to produce meaningful results. The outcomes of a PhD can never be fully predicted at the beginning of this process, nor should they be.

In this thesis I have argued that the desire to carry out social practice was one of the primary factors behind the formation of perception and creation/re-creation of 'monumental' landscapes in the past. Therefore, I advocated that social practice should be placed as a central interpretative and methodological hook in such research. The decision to place social practice so centrally arose out of a number of factors occurring at different stages of the research process. Prior to fieldwork, I was dissatisfied with the abstract way perception was depicted in much of the recent literature on monumental landscapes. My experiences on Uneapa further influenced my approach to 'monuments'. Being in and around Uneapa's stone features and locales, it became clear that the majority of these were places were created through and for social interaction. Listening to accounts of how local people perceived their ancestral remains further emphasised their importance in terms of social practice. In short, I went to Uneapa thinking about 'monuments' and came back thinking about 'social interaction'.

9.2. Research Contributions

This research has made a number of important contributions. Given the overall lacuna, it has contributed significantly to the understanding of stone features in Melanesia. A detailed survey of 152 (87 previously unknown) locales was carried out and a project database was set up in which locale distribution patterns could be analysed. In addition to the archaeological analysis, I made considerable advancements in understanding the relationship local people have with these features and was able to assess and explore what historical contributions these perspectives could make. The involvement of the local community and use of local perspectives (most notably as frameworks for analysis) highlights important methodological contributions that could be applied in studies elsewhere. By interpreting Uneapa's stone features in terms of practice I have been able to depict

how close the relationship between practice and perception is in the creation, development, use and re-use of the island's archaeological landscape. The ideas raised in this thesis have important theoretical ramifications for how 'monumental' landscapes are conceptualised both in the Pacific Islands and beyond.

9.3 Theoretical Position

In order to define my theoretical position, I found it useful to employ various strands of practice theory from within the social sciences. It was the idea of social practice being at the root of all social interaction found in the writings of Symbolic Interactionists, Latour's *actor network theory*, Schatzki's philosophy of practice and Giddens' theory of structuration that I found particularly relevant. What unites these perspectives is the fundamental idea that no over-arching meaning or structure exists independent of social interaction. Put another way, meaning and structure are dependant on practice. Blumer's (1969:4) perspectives were seen as particularly important in this regard. He describes how symbolic interactionism sees "meaning from a different source".

It does not regard meaning as emanating from the intrinsic make-up of the thing that has meaning, nor does it see meaning as arising through a coalescence of psychological elements in the person.

But:

Instead, it sees meaning as arising in the process of interaction between people. The meaning of a thing for a person grows out of the ways in which other persons act toward the person with regard to the thing.

The main point here is that perception/meaning arises out of and is formed through, the practice/interaction of people among people and things. These perspectives encouraged me to take an alternative stance on the concepts of agency, landscape and materiality and created the theoretical framework through which I carried out the practice-centred analysis of Uneapa's archaeology. I posited social practices as having both *transformative* and *formative* qualities and I set about investigating both.

Practice and Perception

The central theme in this thesis focused on the relationship between *practice* and *perception* in the creation, use/re-use and maintenance/destruction of Uneapa's

archaeological landscape. In describing the island's archaeology in Chapter 5, it became apparent how local perspectives of the features/locales were largely expressed as memories of specific social practices. In Chapter 6, I explored the relationship between perception and two different aspects of social practice (*making* and *doing*). I highlighted the likelihood that the layout and building of Uneapa's locales were fundamentally influenced by intended social practices. Consequently, the spatial patterning of each locale is seen as having been formed through an accumulation of social practices over time. I also demonstrated how Uneapa's meeting places (*mundina lupunaga (U)*) were multi-functioning social spaces and argued that past perceptions of these places were likely to have been equally varied. I proposed that these locales would have been perceived differently by people depending on the extent to which they were involved in or, indeed, excluded from social practices there. I also pointed out how differentiation in perception was likely to be dependant on issues of ownership, gender and seniority. This chapter emphasised how important it is that archaeologists do not conceive of *perception* within past communities as being governed by some kind of overall consensus. Focusing on social practice contributes something more concrete and varied to our understanding of what factors influenced past peoples' perception of the places and landscapes in which they lived.

In Chapter 7, I extended the practice-centred analysis from a locale to landscape level. I argued that Uneapa islanders' perception of their landscape should not be conceived as holistic but rather as fragmented by the different practices enacted within it. By analysing locale distribution patterns within the context of remembered clan boundaries, I was able to show how the majority of clans had a large central meeting place and such centrality is likely to have influenced how people experienced and orientated themselves around their landscape. I also pointed out how it was likely that different clan groups were more (or less) involved in particular practices which would have influenced people's perception of different parts of the landscape. I further developed the perspective that people's perceptions would have depended on current clan relations, for example, whether a certain area was welcoming or hostile to them. Focusing on practice on a landscape-level provides an alternative way in which the relationship between locales can be analysed. Spatial patterning of both locale and landscape act as testimony to the accumulation of social practices over time.

Just as I have shown that locales and the cultural landscape can be built up through the working relationship between practice and perception, I have equally shown how that they can be taken apart by it. In Chapter 8, I explore how changes in local perception and practice since European contact have impacted on the archaeological landscape. By focusing on changes in settlement pattern (due to the development of the plantation and village areas), the establishment of interest groups (most notably, the cargo cult) and specific historical events (for example, Papua New Guinea's Independence in 1975), I highlighted how Uneapa's ancestral landscape has become subject to a process of *fragmentation*. In some circumstances, the re-use of ancestral materials has been ideologically driven (i.e. the cult) but in other cases this re-use has been practical. Uneapa's landscape has grown and responded to social change rather than resist it. The perception of the Uneapa's features and locales was not completely consistent across all communities today. Particular interest groups interact with the landscape according to their own needs and agendas. Analysis of cult practices revealed how at certain times in their history, the cult have given precedence to the stone features themselves (i.e. the materiality), whilst at other times it is the place which is at the centre of their attention. This raised an important issue; each generation on Uneapa may have interacted with different aspects of their cultural landscape. Monitoring and conceiving changes in social practices recognises that 'monumental' landscapes go through different stages in their histories. Whilst the relationship between practice and perception may be one that has always been in flux, I see it as the relationship that has most substantially influenced how Uneapa's cultural landscape developed over time. The interplay between practice and perception lay behind the decisions people took in creating, renovating and altering the various features and locales found on the island.

Practice and Social Structure

I also wish to highlight how social practice can mediate between structure and agency. I was particularly influenced by Giddens' recognition that "routinized intersections of practices" are "the transformation points in structural relations" (Giddens 2003 [1984]:xxxi) and Blumer's (1969:7) suggestion that "the life of any human society consists necessarily of an on-going process of fitting together the activities of its members". Both these perspectives suggest that social structure could be better understood through social practice.

Indeed, by avoiding a 'top-down' perspective and considering evidence for social practices in relation to features and locales (Chapters 5 and 6) and the relationship between locales in terms of clan groups (Chapter 7), I successfully identified archaeological patterning meaningful within bigman society. I showed how Uneapa's landscape could easily have been built up over time by a non-hierarchical, egalitarian society. In the absence of a stable social hierarchy (i.e. inherited positions of authority), I also revealed how significant social structures (the clan groups) with their own distinct identities and practices may have been maintained over a considerable time period. The practice-centred approach resulted in some significant insights on the role stone 'monuments' play within past societies. Overall I challenged the social evolutionary perspectives that 'monument'-building equates with chiefdoms by focusing on the role these features might have had in egalitarian societies.

9.4 Method

Evaluation

In this research, I had the advantage of being able to draw on different strands of evidence, a luxury not always afforded in the study of monumental landscapes elsewhere. Local perspectives provided insights on local history, landscape, and material culture which enhanced, contradicted and challenged how I interpreted Uneapa's archaeological remains. They acted as meaningful frameworks through which the material evidence could be compared and contrasted. Even in the absence of direct memories local people's suggestions and hypotheses prompted consideration of issues that might have been otherwise overlooked. Integrating local perspectives encourages a long-term approach to 'monumental' landscapes which results in a better appreciation of social change. If dealt with carefully and critically, these perspectives also have the potential to act as a form of community empowerment, bringing the opinion of the people who actually live in and have inherited memories about the landscape to the fore.

The central focus on social practice and the use of local perspectives may be viewed as being largely anthropological. Yet it is important to point out that in defining the characteristics of Uneapa's archaeological landscape (Chapter 5), exploring the interrelationships between the features (Chapter 6) and locales

(Chapter 7) and considering the impact of recent practices (Chapter 8), it was the archaeological record that continually acted as the focal point. In addition, I did not explore the meaning or specifics of the related social practices as a social anthropologist would do, but instead focused on the broader themes governing the role of practice in the formation of place, perception and social structure. It is these broader themes that are most useful to the archaeologist's attempts to understand the role of 'monuments' within past communities, regardless of the cultural context.

Indeed, the materially-orientated stance is also apparent in the methodologies I devised. The *material to memory* and *memory to material* methodologies encouraged an active assessment of the relationship between local perspectives and the material evidence. Rather than just assume that these perspectives had something meaningful to offer, I set about investigating their value and applicability within the case studies in this research.

I employed local perspectives in order to investigate and hypothesise on the relationship between practice and perception in both pre-contact and post-contact times on Uneapa. Throughout the thesis, I pointed out how the majority of local people currently interpret the island's stone features/locales in terms of past social practices. By focusing on these associated practices and assessing the archaeological data, I was able to speculate on the function of the islands various locales in pre-contact times. I was then better able to hypothesise on how the relationship between practice and perception may have influenced the creation and development of these places in the past. By considering the changes brought about by colonialism, I also focused on how this relationship impacted on the development of the archaeological landscape in more recent times.

It is important to clarify here is that I did not suggest that there was specific continuity between past and present perceptions on Uneapa. Indeed, if anything working with these perspectives highlighted how the perceptions of place and landscape are made up of a complex array of different elements and temporalities at any given time. Each generation would have perceived and interacted with the remains to different degrees. What is more important is the fact that I see the interplay between practice and perception as a fundamental factor governing peoples' understanding and interaction with place and landscape (regardless of time and place). As a result, it is the role of this relationship and its impact on the development of the archaeological record that I am investigating. On Uneapa,

contemporary perspectives are being used to provide some useful and challenging ideas in which to do so.

Local Perspectives: Useful and Challenging

The integration of local perspectives into the study of Uneapa's archaeology was useful and challenging on a number of levels. Whilst I did not want to empirically 'test' local perspectives against the material remains, their relationship needed careful assessment. In using local perspectives, my intention was not to garner some overall historical truth. I accepted the fact that memories are fluid entities that can be transmitted and reworked in relation to the current concerns of the community. The main aim was to explore where local perspectives reflected plausible explanations for the layout and position of the material remains in the landscape and where they did not.

In Chapter 5, I used the *material to memory* methodology in order to establish a feature and locale typology. I highlighted clear patterns of remembering and forgetting and showed how these patterns were not linked with visibility. A good example of this are the cupuled boulders; they are most widespread feature on Uneapa but their 'function' or 'meaning' has been largely forgotten. In Chapter 6, I revealed how local interpretation of the case study locales as meeting places ((*mundina lupunaga (U)*) largely correlated with the material evidence but I also highlighted some details that were not so synchronous. A good example of this is the idea that cooking took place at the majority of meeting places but in fact there was a general paucity of *mumus*. I did explain how this might have resulted from processes of removing *mumu* stones which impacted on the archaeological record but it also might reflect some discrepancies in memory. In Chapter 7, local perspectives on clan histories and identities provided a stimulating framework in which inter-locale patterning was analysed. There was both coherency and disjuncture between the local memory and the material evidence analysed in this chapter, but this was not unexpected. Despite some disjuncture, a whole new avenue of analysis opened up which allowed for a better understanding of the meaning of these places. In Chapter 8, I explored whether or not local people's idea that each hamlet on Uneapa had its own smaller sized meeting place was reflected in the archaeological record. Because small stone feature complexes are not present throughout the landscape and are more consistently found in post-contact

village areas, I deduced that such a perspective is more likely a recent interpretation.

The different analyses in this thesis have shown how some memorialising on Uneapa is being carried out in respect to and independent of the material remains. It is not a simple case of stone features acting as mnemonic props, there is also specific memories relating to specific use of locales. Given the likelihood that many of Uneapa's locales were being used at the time of European contact, it is not surprising that more contextual memories exist independent of the remains themselves. Just as some perspectives contain elements of historical insight, others represent more current concerns. In Chapter 8, I also showed how the activities of a few interest groups have now meant these features and locales are starting to be viewed as commemorative structures and as a result are on their way to 'becoming monuments'. It is of course also likely that in pre-contact times each generation on Uneapa viewed some locales or some aspects of their locales as commemorative of their ancestors. What is different is that this process may now begin to happen to *all* of the material remains on the island because they are now all essentially ancestral entities. 'Monumental' landscapes go through many different stages in their history. Uneapa is at a very interesting stage in this process which explains why it has been such a stimulating place to carry out this study. Recognising local perspectives as amalgamations of different strands of memory relating to both recent and past activities highlights some parallels with the landscape being studied. Both the archaeological landscape and local perspectives have both been formed through a complex interplay between practice and perception over time.

9.5 Future Areas of Research

Future Research on Uneapa

The archaeological remains on Uneapa are extremely important and there is still much to learn about the island's dynamic past. As I only studied half the island in detail, it would be interesting to study the other half in the future. The topography of Eastern Uneapa is a lot more mountainous than that of Western Uneapa and the characteristics and distribution pattern of locales may well be different there. Indeed, the perspectives people in Eastern Uneapa have on their ancestral locales might also contrast. This area has been less influenced by European contact, with no plantation established and less break-up of traditional kinship groups. As a result of

this, studying the archaeology of Eastern Uneapa would not only provide a more complete understanding of the island's history, but might also raise some interesting comparisons with my own study area because of these differences in clan and plantation histories.

More research is warranted in regards to specific features on Uneapa. The island is home to one of the largest concentrations and variations of rock art designs in the whole of the Bismarck Archipelago. More formal analysis is warranted on Uneapa's rock art motifs and their comparison with other rock art motifs in Melanesia. Given the presence of so many different forms of rock art on the island from the unusual carved heads at Malangai to the omnipresent cupules and various curvilinear and rectilinear designs, it might also be useful to pursue some methods of dating the rock art. Given the density of cupule marks on Uneapa, a back-pack GPS survey of their distribution pattern might be the only way to determine if there is any significant patterning. In regards to the debates surrounding whether cupules represent some form of habitual or ritual activity (or indeed both!), further investigation on the method of producing cupules would also be worthwhile. The most opportune time to carry out such experiments would be during galip season on Uneapa as one could then determine whether cupules can be produced as the result of cracking these nuts.

In this research, I used Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software on quite a basic level i.e. to draw maps, plot GPS points and query the survey data. GIS could be used to carry out more comprehensive modelling such as *least cost path* or *viewshed* analysis. This might provide more insights into locale interrelationships on Uneapa. One of the areas that I would particularly like to pursue in the future is to do an analysis of sound in Uneapa's landscape. Indeed, how far the sound could travel from a clan's central meeting place may well have been a significant factor in where they were located in the landscape. For instance, if one clan were celebrating and feasting or indeed involved in cannibalistic practices to the detriment of another clan group then they might want them to hear.

By placing local perspectives so centrally in this project, I assumed a particular approach to Uneapa's archaeology. As a result of this, there are a number of more 'conventional' archaeological lines of enquiry that require further attention. A major issue is to find out more about the chronology of the island, as no real dates exist for the island's archaeology as of yet. I have a number of samples of charcoal

suitable for C14 dating which I intend to process in due course. These samples would help date some of the stone features and therefore enable them to be better contextualised within the known prehistory of the region.

A specific excavation season would also be warranted in order to determine the occupation sequence for the island. The Bali-Vitu islands are located in a central area of the Bismarck Sea and a better understanding of their prehistory has the potential to make serious contributions to an understanding of the prehistoric social relations between both the mainland of New Britain and New Guinea and the smaller outlying islands in prehistory. Indeed, given the importance of the Bismarck Archipelago during the Pleistocene period in terms of obsidian trade etc., it would be interesting to establish when the Bali-Witu islands were first colonised. One interesting difference already noted between the mainland and Uneapa is the lack of Lapita pottery found on Uneapa in comparison to its wide-spread distribution on the mainland. This may well be linked to the fact that Uneapa does not have a substantial amount of coastline, which was often favoured by Lapita communities. This may indicate that Uneapa had quite a different history to the mainland, all of which needs further investigation. The analysis of finds from my limited excavations will be completed in the future.

Although I placed local perspectives quite centrally in this research, I largely focused on those relating to the archaeological remains. As such, the questions I asked and the answers I received largely stemmed from my interest in the material remains. As a result of this, I think that it would be very beneficial to work in tandem with a social anthropologist on Uneapa in order to further understand both the history and contemporary relationship people have with their ancestral places. Similar collaboration has proved very successful in the other projects - e.g. New Georgia Archaeological Survey in the Western Solomon Islands (Sheppard, Walter and Aswani 2004; Walter, Thomas and Sheppard 2004) and I believe it would work equally well on Uneapa.

Another area that needs future work on Uneapa is an assessment of the cultural heritage potential of the island and the development of some strategies to preserve the archaeology there. Given that there is such a high population on the island, the demand for land is at a premium and people are still actively engaging with these features. This means that the development and implementation of any

preservation strategies would have to be in close collaboration with community groups on the island.

Future Research in Papua New Guinea

The question of how unique Uneapa's archaeology is is an important one. Given the focus in this thesis, I have only studied the archaeology on Uneapa. More research needs to be done on its connection with other Bali-Vitu islands in order to determine whether Uneapa really was the 'powerhouse' of stone feature production and use in the past. We do know that stone features were being produced and used on the other islands in this group (see Torrence, Specht and Vatete 2002) and although it seems to be less prevalent this needs further investigation. One of the islands in the group, Naraga was abandoned in the early years of colonial administration, due to a rampant small pox epidemic. It would be particularly interesting to investigate the archaeology on this island as it has been uninhabited since then.

Only certain stone feature types found on Uneapa have been reported on the neighbouring New Britain mainland. These include some modified features such as rock art, cupuled boulders and mortars. However, Specht's (pers. comm. 2004) record of constructed stone features in Kilenge area on the west coast of West New Britain (see Figure 9.1) and Lilley's (pers. comm. 2006) photograph of constructed stone features in the Siassi Islands may well suggest that constructed stone features are more prevalent in these areas than at first thought but that they remain unrecorded. I suggested in Chapter 3 that this may be linked to the fact that archaeologists mostly work on the coast and that (at least on Uneapa) these features are more likely to be found in inland areas. One interesting project would be to take a boat all along the west coast of New Britain as far as the Siassi Islands asking villagers whether they know of such remains and visiting some of the inland areas there. If more of these features were found (which I predict will happen) then this archaeological evidence would provide some very important insights into the relationship between the Bali-Vitu Islands and the west coast of New Britain.

Indeed, another important avenue of research would be to consider whether or not the tradition of using and constructing stone features on Uneapa has any parallels on the Papua New Guinean mainland. Whilst there is evidence of various rock art, mortars and erection of standing stones (see Riesenfeld 1950) there is little evidence for any stone features being constructed from quarried materials such as

the seats and tables on Uneapa. Pamela Swadling (pers. comm. 2006) recently found information regarding the erection of stone platforms in association with men's houses in the Aibom and Pondimbit areas in the Sepik area (see Figure 9.3). Whether or not this evidence points to some kind of relationship between the areas need to be investigated further but it should be pointed out that in looking through Swadling's database of images we both remarked on the parallels between some of the designs seen on the rock art on Uneapa and designs in the Sepik region. Indeed, this would be another interesting research project.

Future Research in Melanesia

The use of constructed stone features (such as 'platforms', 'seats' and 'tables') seems to be a largely Island Melanesian phenomenon with examples known from the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia etc. (see Riesenfeld 1950). With the exception of a few studies (outlined in Chapter 3) very little is known about the interrelationship between the different types of stone features in the region. Although understudied, quite a substantial amount of anthropological writing (early 20th century) exists in relation to these features, much of which is usefully summarised in the Riesenfeld volume (1950). I think one of the simplest ways to advance the field of Melanesian monument studies would be to use the data outlined in the Riesenfeld volume and put it into a GIS database. This database would help draw out significant distribution patterns and help identify areas suitable for additional research. I also think such a project would encourage collaboration between people working in different parts of Melanesia to report back if they saw any stone features during their visits.

Future Application of the Theoretical Framework

The practice-centred approach has provided useful insights into Uneapa's archaeology and I am convinced that placing social practice more centrally in a study of Polynesian monumental structures would highlight some interesting issues and patterns overlooked by conventional social evolutionary approaches. It might be interesting to carry out such a study in areas whose monumental architecture has been well studied, for example, the Society Islands or Hawai'i Islands.

The postprocessual writings critiqued in Chapter 2 were largely British-based. On the one hand, this was because approaches to monumental landscapes

are most developed there but it was also because I wanted to create a dialogue between these approaches and my own research on Uneapa. It is true that there are specific factors present in relation to Uneapa's archaeology that make such a practice-approach more successful. Certain stone features directly reflect practices (such as mortars, grinding hollows, axe-grinding grooves). Meeting places were likely being used as recently as 100 years ago. There is a rich oral history on associated social practices and some features are still being actively engaged with. But even in the study of more ancient monumental landscapes which do not have these factors, there are other ways of identifying practice. Practices can be deduced from the deposited remains and possibly suggested from the layout of the stones at a particular place. The research on Uneapa has shown how the relationship people have with specific places and landscapes is irrevocably linked to what they do (or don't do) there. Therefore placing practice centrally in studying monumental landscape elsewhere is a warranted change in analytical focus. Indeed, it would be interesting to re-assess some of the evidence in relation to a case study of Neolithic monumental locales by explicitly focusing on the issue of what social practices may have been carried out within them.

Future Application of the Methodological Framework

The incorporation of local perspectives at every level in this research from typology-building through analysis of feature and locale interrelationships to the wider theoretical focus on practice is something that could be applied in studies elsewhere. The use of local perspectives as a framework in which survey data can be analysed is one of the important methodological contributions made by this research. I would be particularly keen to carry out more research in which analysis of standing remains is actively driven by local memory frameworks. Such a method has particular applicability in the Pacific but might also be applied to the standing archaeology of communities elsewhere.

9.6 Final Words

This thesis offers a new perspective on the development of but one archaeological landscape on a small, remote island in the Bismarck Sea in Papua New Guinea. The processes and practices that created the landscape on Uneapa are highly

localised, but the insights the archaeology and oral history there revealed about the development of 'monumental' landscapes is truly universal.

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