

NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

Testing the Event in Isolation on Maui

A Thesis Submitted to the

University Honors Program

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements of the Baccalaureate Degree

With Upper Division Honors

Department Of

Anthropology

By

Charles Bendig

DeKalb, Illinois

May 2011

University Honors Program

Capstone Approval Page

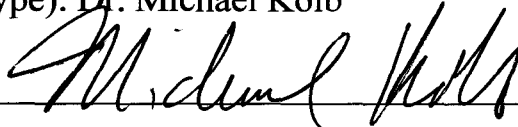
Capstone Title (print or type)

Testing the Event in Isolation on Maui

Student Name (print or type): Charles Bendig

Faculty Supervisor (print or type): Dr. Michael Kolb

Faculty Approval Signature



Department of (print or type) Anthropology

Date of Approval (print or type)

05/12/11

HONORS THESIS ABSTRACT THESIS SUBMISSION FORM

AUTHOR: CHARLES BENDIG

THESIS TITLE: Testing the Event in Isolation on Maui

ADVISOR: DR. MICHAEL KOLB

ADVISOR'S DEPARTMENT: ANTHROPOLOGY

DISCIPLINE: ANTHROPOLOGY YEAR: 2011

PAGE LENGTH: 30

BIBLIOGRAPHY: pp. 28-30

ILLUSTRATED: YES

PUBLISHED (YES OR NO): NO

LIST PUBLICATION:

**COPIES AVAILABLE (HARD COPY, MICROFILM, DISKETTE):
HARD COPY**

Abstract

Archaeological theory has usually depended upon investigating locations through the entire length of occupation. The novelty of addressing archaeological data through the analysis of separate events in time has been proposed by several scholars. An eventful analysis of archaeology or “eventful archaeology” is addressed here by analyzing archaeological data obtain from the Koholuapapa heiau on the island of Maui. The discovery of an adjacent residential enclosure constructed after the collapse of the *kapu* system across the Hawai’ian archipelago supports a spatial transformation. Data analysis of the archaeological investigation identifies the numerous cascading events leading up to the cultural transformation of the material record.

Introduction

The event has been defined as an occurrence in a certain place during a particular interval of time. Theoretical ideas on the event have been a major research focus for historians. Anthropologist Marshall Sahlins and Sociologist William Sewell attempt to redress the event outside of the historical realm. Each scholar questions the length of time and how the location will undoubtedly alter how an event takes place.

Archaeology is primarily concerned with the duration a space is occupied. The introduction of analyzing the event in archaeology provides a new perspective. The transformation of events in the archaeological record provides an alternative understanding of how culminating events change the dimensionality of the space. Previous studies on the eventful analysis of archaeology have focused on locations found throughout the world. These archaeological analyses have been conducted at sites where structural transformations have included numerous cultural conjunctures through time. If Sewell's theory can be utilized with archaeological data including a series of cultural transformations then it can be conducted in isolation.

Sahlins provided the original theoretical foundation for Sewell's concepts using the case study of Captain James Cook. The isolation of the Hawaiian archipelago from outside structural transformations until the arrival of Europeans offers an important case study. If archaeological data can analyze an eventful analysis beginning from Cook's arrival until the dissolution of the Hawaiian taboo system it would reaffirm efforts by other archaeological endeavors. The questions over whether "eventful archaeology" could be viable outside of analyzing only the event of the first interactions of isolated communities would be resolved. In order to provide evidence for Sewell's theory the temple of Koholuapapa on the island of Maui will be evaluated.

Koholuapapa is significant for the residential enclosure found adjacent the heiau foundation. The eventful analysis of the heiau and the adjacent site can provide information to understand if major cultural transformations effect society on a large scale. This analysis can also reaffirm rejections by minorities of populations resulting in spatial transformations reaffirming the existence of previous social systems. The historical text written after Captain Cook's original arrival to the island up until the abolition of the Hawai'ian taboo system will be supplemented with archaeological data from Koholuapapa. These two sources of information will be scrutinized in order to define whether analyzing the development of an event is compatible with current archaeological investigations.

Methodology

An event analysis of archaeology is the latest approach supported by a number of archaeologists. It was originally proposed by Beck et al. (2007) in regards to the theory of "eventful sociology" developed by William Sewell (2005). Sewell utilizes structure in social history in order to define the rationale behind the event. The concept of structure in explaining history is not a new phenomenon. Sewell develops his approach from ideas presented by Anthony Giddens and Marshall Sahlins.

Sewell comprises his definition of structure through Giddens "duality" model. Giddens conceives structure as the medium and outcome of practices that constitute social systems (Giddens 1981). Structure does not denote constraints on human agency, but instead facilitates actions (Giddens 1976). The dual structure then becomes a mutable process enacting on its own the principles and resources available. Sewell's discrepancies with Giddens' approach stems from the idea that the rules and resources are considered

“virtual”. According to Sewell, only cultural schemas or principles that promote agency and progress are part of the *mentalités*. In this approach, resources become the effect of structure animated and shaped by agency (Sewell 2005).

Sahlins approaches structure throughout history as a singular entity encompassing all parts of a culture. When a major event occurs structure becomes transformative resulting in the reconfiguration of categorical systems. Sahlins notes that what constitutes an event is part of interpretation and how an individual interprets history varies (Sahlins 1985). Sewell problematizes Sahlins’ view of structure as too narrow to understand the cultural transformations that occur throughout society. He proposes structure as multifaceted in order to grasp the understanding that events do not transform every aspect of a culture. Sewell’s theory considers five “axioms” that address the inevitability of structural change: (1) structures are multiple and (2) intersecting, (3) schemas are transposable, and (4) resources are polysemic and (5) unpredictable (Sewell 2005, Beck et al. 2007). Sewell believes social events occur in three stages: (1) a series of context-dependent occurrences produce (2) a cascade of disarticulations between previously reliable resources and schemas, finally resulting in (3) the opportunity – and necessity – for novel rearticulations of social structure (Sewell 2005, Bolender 2010).

When an isolated rupture takes place it will rarely result in transforming structures because of sanctions and standard procedures repairing the torn social fabric. The transformation of structures usually takes place when a sequence of ruptures disarticulates structural integrity beyond repair.

Another aspect of Sewell’s theory includes Sahlins’ concept of the structure of conjuncture.

Here thus enters the "structure of the conjuncture," the situational sociology of cultural categories, with the motivations it affords to risks of reference and innovations of sense. In contrast to any phenomenological reduction, a full anthropological practice cannot neglect that the precise synthesis of past and present is relative to the cultural order, as manifested in a specific structure of the conjuncture. (Sahlins 1985)

Sahlins explains structure of conjuncture as the moment of two separate cultures meeting for the first time. The event itself would involve the transformation of structural categories to be reconfigured in order to conceive the interaction. In other words, the introduction of new cultural schemas and material resources would require new categorization by a culture unfamiliar with them. These two structures then transform in order to create a new set of categorical systems that each culture would appropriately demonstrate. Sewell elaborates on Sahlins' concept by indicating conjunctures as still structured events that include continuous practice even in their novelty. In Sewell's logic, structure of conjuncture becomes the conjuncture of structures. The emphasis of multi-structural conjunctures taking place results in the actual transformative event requiring the disjunction of previous social system.

Fernand Braudel also included this conceptualization when he approached the conjuncture of history:

Our problem now is to imagine and locate the correlations between the rhythms of material life and the other diverse fluctuations of human existence. For there is no single conjuncture: we must visualize a series of overlapping histories, developing simultaneously. It would be too simple, too perfect, if this complex truth could be reduced to the rhythms of one dominant pattern. (Braudel 1995)

Braudel saw history in three levels: short term (*évènement*), medium term (*conjonctures*), and long term (*longue durée*). Archaeology can only associate itself with the medium and long terms. The archaeological record does not include short term development as it is difficult to analyze individual narratives. Braudel's *Annales* School of History is beneficial to developing the concept of "eventful archaeology". It requires archaeologists to consider the ramifications of their finds in relation to the history of a culture as well as the history of a region. The transformative events that occur at these two temporal levels open up novel opportunities to interpret and reinterpret finds.

Archaeology benefits from Sewell's approach by emphasizing the idea that material resources are physical rather than "virtual". These resources are shaped by cultural schemas into existing categories. Sewell also remarks resources as "governed by other dynamics than those they receive from this categorization" (Sewell 2005). The dimensionality and the concept of the *longue durée* become important. When a culture assigns a category to a resource they may not consider the ramifications of how this resource will affect the future. Cultural schemas may also become affected by the introduction of unforeseen resources. The resources may be novel to the environment or – prior to the transformative event – were not considered important.

Hawai'i

Numerous articles have been written about the original interaction with Captain Cook and the Hawaiian natives. In 1779, after eight weeks navigating the archipelago, Cook anchored off the coast of Hawaii. This initial landing occurred during four month *makahiki* harvest festival in honor of the god Lono. Sahlins has argued elsewhere that due

to a series of coincidences, including the resemblance of Cook's ship to the Hawaiian temple and his archipelago voyage in the clockwise harvest procession, that Cook was viewed as an incarnation of Lono. When Cook was forced to return to the island after receiving damages in a storm his esteem with the natives plummeted. In this later interaction tensions increased between parties until a final confrontation led to Cook's death.

The conjuncture of structures that occurred between Cook and the Hawaiian natives supported a development of new concatenations. Hawaiian society was restructured to incorporate capitalism and credit in the form of luxury goods for native sandalwood. The paramount chief, Kamehameha, utilized these new connections to collect modern weaponry and foreign advisors. By 1810 the other island chiefdoms capitulated, thereby bringing the entire island archipelago under a single monarchy.

Kamehameha understood the major changes occurring by the influx of foreigners into the island chain. He developed Hawaiian ports in order to facilitate trade in sandalwood and western goods. These changes accelerated the introduction of western diseases introduced through copulation and livestock. Technology in the form of firearms rose in high demand, as well as sailors who could properly handle the weapons. Chieftains focused their goal on a material culture of collecting western goods in order to increase their own prestige. The houses, built based on western architecture, collected numerous textiles which slowly decayed in the tropical climate. These ruptures in the former system continued to grow until 1819 when Kamehameha died. The traditional social system slowly unraveled and subsequently fractured in the following decade.

Kamehameha's most prominent wife, Ka'ahumanu, took the opportunity to proclaim herself regent of the kingdom. She shared rule with her stepson Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and his mother the high cheiftess Keopuolani. Both women were interested in abolishing the taboo system known as the *kapu*. The *kapu* was a key part of the cultural structure affecting both religious and ordinary affairs. Originally Liholiho refused to listen to his mother or be influenced by his stepmother to abolish the system. He eventually conceded and defied tradition by allowing men and women to eat together without restriction. The momentous event occurred during the *ai noa* while high chiefs and several foreigners were in attendance. *Kapu* tradition stated such flagrant ignorance of the taboos resulted in death. However, the shared consummations of high-ranking females and males created structural rupture dissolving the previous systems of control.

Liholiho promptly ordered the destruction of all *heiau* and the burning of wooden idols throughout the kingdom. The overthrow of the *kapu* system not only terminated ritual laws, but it destroyed the power base of the religious priesthood. Most elites, including the high priest Hewahewa, embraced the changes. The commoners also complied with some confusion and alarm. A minority of elites refused to embrace the changes and in 1820 rallied around the traditionalist chief Kekuaokalani. Kekuaokalani was a cousin of the monarch, custodian of the god of war, and vocal defender of the old religion. The escalation between two parties ended at the Battle of Kuamo'o where Kekuaokalani and most of his followers died in a blaze of musket fire.

Sewell elaborates on events becoming spatial processes and temporal developments. (Sewell 2005) The transformation of structures creates a spatial difference in locations spreading from its origin. When Liholiho abolished the taboo system he

created the node of a transformative event. The decree itself was taken across the archipelago where natives concentrated themselves at heiau locations. Each heiau involved a temporal development of spatial processing from the structural conjunctures. The result led to the destruction of most temples creating the sequence of ruptures preventing reconciliation. Beck et al. (2007) emphasize the importance of the transformation in regards to archaeology. The novel opportunity created by the destruction of heiau left behind physical evidence of an event that is otherwise only found historically.

Archaeology should not only emphasize the importance of the transformation but it also reveals the reconstruction of structural categories. Studies have undertaken an eventful analysis based on the alternation of the spatial landscape through changes in material resources. The case study of temples (*heiau*) on Maui exhibits the structural rearticulation of temple complexes based on the transformation of the built environment. However, several sites indicate the process of reconstruction of the structural integrity after the resulting rupture. The kahu either refused to convert to Christianity, or converted, but were impelled to maintain and protect the memory and spiritual power (*mana*) of these places. Bishop Museum archaeologists mention caretakers who passed away or found direct archaeological evidence in the form of houses and debris.

Case Study

One of the primary examples of this stewardship by the kahu comes from the Koholuapapa heiau in the Luala'ilua hills of Maui (State Inventory of Historic Places Site #50-50-15-186-1386). The "Kahu House" (State Inventory of Historic Places Site #50-50-15-186-1387) is located adjacent the heiau. The Luala'ilua hills are located along the

southern slopes of East Maui in the traditional political district of Kahikinui. Until AD 1819, Koholuapapa served the region as a religious temple. What remains of the site is a rectangular stone foundation constructed of basalt lava. Most heiau foundations are either rectangular-shaped, walled-enclosures or platforms paved with small stones, which once contained altars, wooden images, and thatched structures of varied function. Heiau designs most likely developed out of a common central Polynesian style of ceremonial architecture (cf. Emory 1921, 1928), while an increase in the complexity of heiau style through time mirrored the increasing complexity of Hawaiian society (Kolb 1991).

Koholuapapa sits upon a promontory on the slopes of Haleakalā Volcano. The 701 m asl elevation provides an exceptional view of the southern coastline and the island of Hawai'i. The climate of Kahikinui is dry despite its high elevation. Although there is a constant humid and cool mountain breeze, the average rainfall is only 40 cm a year.

Adjacent cumulus clouds regularly develop in the rain shadow of Haleakalā contributing shade for Kahikinui from the afternoon sun.

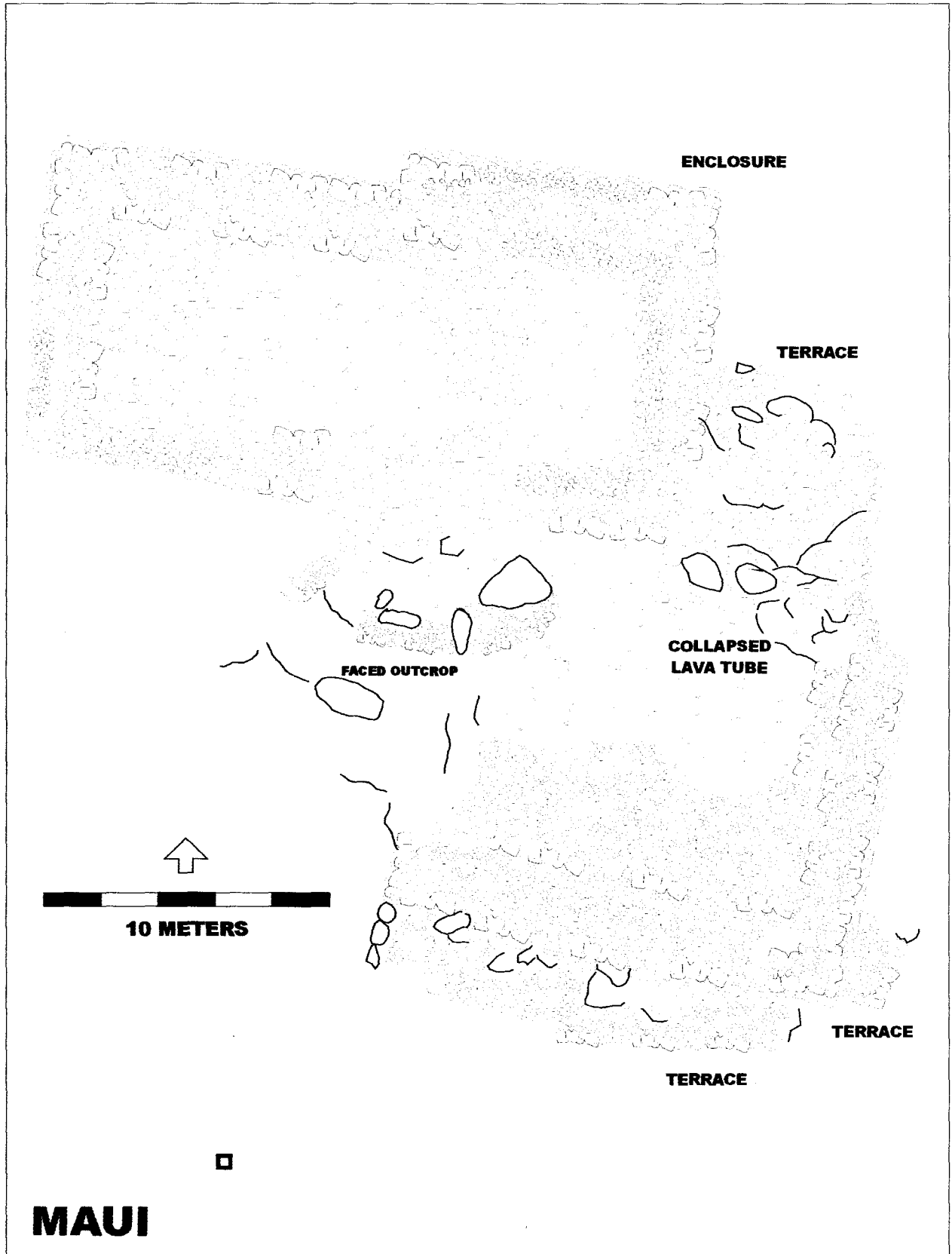


Figure 1. Map of the Koholuapapa heiau. Site number is from State of Hawai'i Inventory of Historic Places.

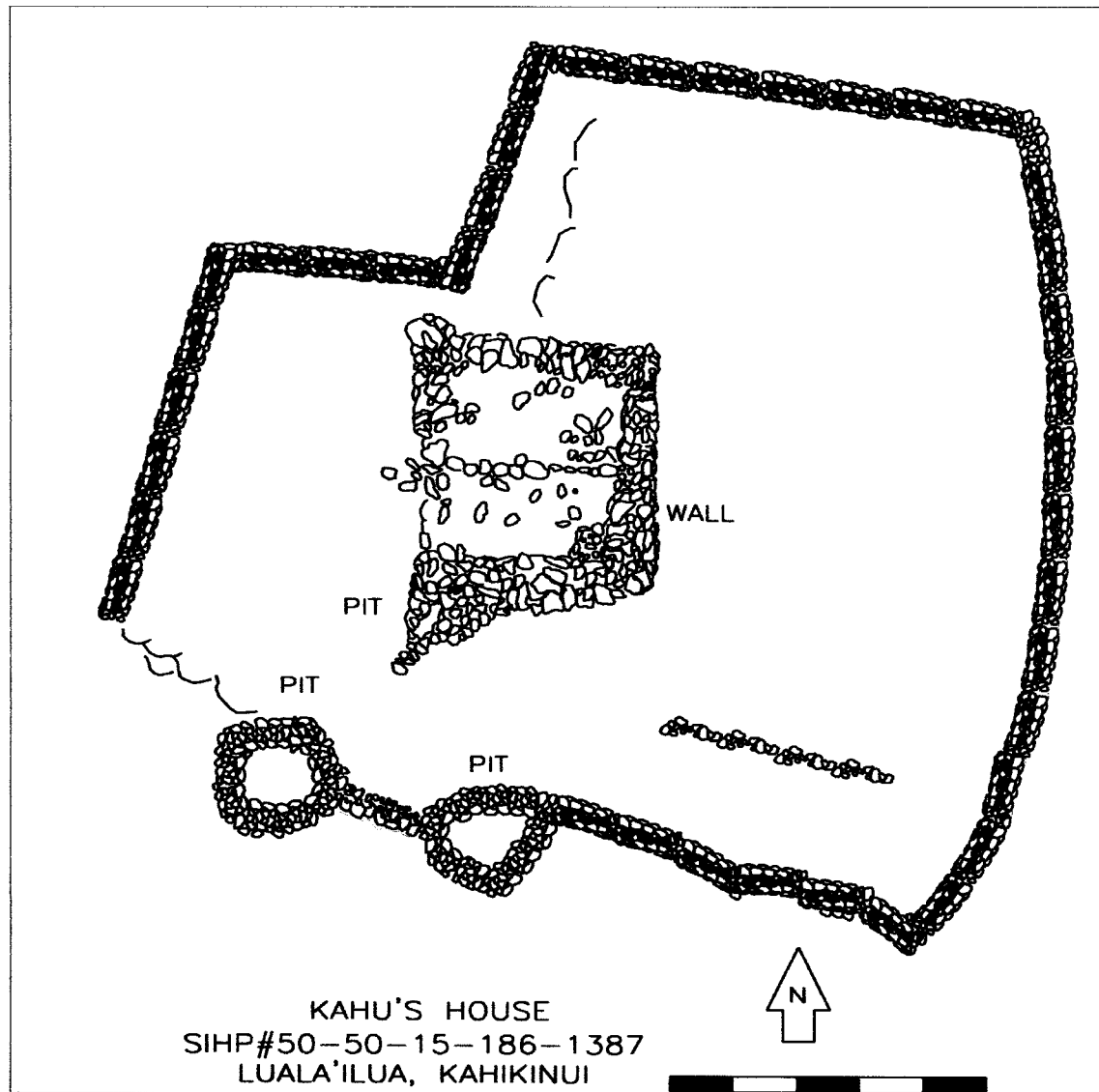


Figure 2. Map of the "Kahu's House". Site number is from State of Hawai'i Inventory of Historic Places.

Excavations

Figure 1 displays the site plan of the Koholuapapa heiau, which measures 601 sq m in size. The architecture of the site is complex and was constructed in four phases. The first section is a small raised platform situated on bedrock outcropping with a collapsed lava tube. The second episode consists of a terrace facing the south side of the site. The third phase consists of an additional notched enclosure north of the original platform.

Final construction involves a post-contact animal enclosure (similar to post-contact walls at site 1387) located near the north wall of the notched enclosure.

Approximately 13.5 sq m were excavated at Koholuapapa during the summer of 1996. Three significant features were located: two burn episodes and one faced bedrock altar. Material culture recovered includes: fish bone, volcanic glass, pig bone, bird bone, land snails, basalt flakes, shellfish, and plenty of water worn (*ili'ili*) stones. One area of concentrated burning is located behind the faced bedrock altar. The second burn episode is a small area that could have signified an earlier use of the heiau location. The large quantity of pig bone recovered from the site, and the architectural similarities to two other Maui *luakini heiau* previously excavated by Dr. Michael Kolb suggest Koholuapapa was eventually converted to a *luakini* war temple (Michael Kolb, personal communication).

Radiocarbon dating samples were taken from each of the building episodes, excluding the post-contact portion. The earliest radiocarbon date, from the altar, dated to AD 1260-1425. The three dates correspond with the architectural chronology.

Site 1387 measures 653 sq m consisting of a raised slab-lined living platform with an attached structure and a wall facing the east. Minor excavations were undertaken at the site based on the ample surface finds. The major feature of the site included: a refuse pit filled with glass, ceramics, limpet shells, and bone. Pieces of diagnostic glass and ceramics were collected for dating during preliminary survey. Most of the material culture is associated with post-contact occupation dating between AD 1850 and 1920.

Chronology

In 1931 Bishop Museum archaeologist W. M. Walker identified a residential platform near Koholuapapa (State Inventory of Historic Places Site #50-50-15-186-1387). The post-contact architecture consisted of an enclosed dry-laid stone wall. This wall was probably used as a cattle guard to prevent ranging animals from approaching the residence or adjacent gardens. The enclosure has been identified as a *pahale* style residence, considered a common architectural construction of post-contact period. Most *pahale* enclosures are rectangular or round, but the wall surrounding the residence is a notched design. Notched shapes are concave rectilinear polygons that possess six sides (as opposed to rectangles which are convex four-sided polygons where the sides are roughly at right angles to one other). The importance of this architectural style is found on most Maui heiau and reserved for religious architecture.

Excavation of the residential platform and an adjoining refuse pit indicate the site was built around 1850 with continued occupation until the twentieth century. The size of the platform probably facilitated a single individual. Post-contact midden discovered on the surface included a compositionally different faunal assemblage compared to Koholuapapa. The house midden included fish bone and shell fish. Pig represents only 47% of all speciated medium mammal bones, the remainder 53% being sheep/goat, a European introduction. Other European introduced objects were present as well including: glass, ceramics, and metal. In comparison, Koholuapapa material culture included: fish bone, volcanic glass, pig bone, bird bone, land snails, basalt flakes, shellfish, and plenty of waterworn (*ili'ili*) stones. The pig served as an important chiefly feasting food, and represents 99% of all speciated medium mammal bones.

Post-contact residential structures like the titled “kahu house” near Koholuapapa are found elsewhere on Maui. The possibility a kahu remained at Koholuapapa to enter and maintain the heiau cannot be ruled out. A small minority of conservative religious officials did not recognize the transformation of structures within their society. These individuals chose to repair the previous norms and continued to practice the native faith long after the national institution removed its support. The analysis of the event becomes increasingly supportive in understanding the disarticulation as well as the vehement attempt to repair previous structural integrity. Eventful analysis of archaeology not only assesses the medium and long durations of major events in the archaeological record. It can also provide an analysis of the opposite minority within these events reflecting the reject structures of conjuncture on society.

Table 1. List of animal taxa identified from Site 1386 and 1387 given as NISP counts and weight (g).

Taxa	Common name	Site 1386	Site 1387
Marine Invertebrates:			
<i>Diadema pencispinim</i>	pencil urchin	21 (2.3)	196 (90.9)
Family Patellidae	limets	0	2412 (2530.3)
Family Cypracidae	cowries	0	7 (7.6)
Family Muricidae	purpura	0	4 (16.4)
Family Neritidae	nerites	0	22 (13.3)
Class Crustacea	unidentified crabs	2 (1.0)	0
Mollusks	unidentified mollusks	26 (3.0)	61 (210.6)
Vertebrates:			
Vertebrae	unidentified vertebrates	620 (55.7)	666 (31.4)
Fishes:			
Family Acanthuridae	tangs	14 (2.8)	60 (8.7)
Family Balistidae	triggerfishes	6 (0.4)	12
Family Carangidae	jackfishes	15 (0.4)	18 (1.3)
Family Cirrhitidae	hawkfishes	0	54 (5.9)
Family Holocentridae	squreelfishes	1 (0.1)	0
Family Kyphosaide	chubs	0	1 (0.5)
Family Labridae	wrasses	10 (7.2)	11 (2.9)
Family Lutjanidae	snappers	1 (0.7)	0
Family Mullidae	goatfishes	7 (1.0)	3 (0.5)
Family Sparidae	emperors	45 (16.6)	14 (8.6)
Family Sphyragnidae	barracudas	0	1 (1.0)
Osteichthyes	unidentified bony fishes	813 (54)	1714 (124.5)

Table 1. (continued)

Taxa	Common name	Site 1386	Site 1387
Birds:			
<i>Asio flammeus</i>	short-eared owl	5 (1.7)	0
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	domestic chicken	13 (10.6)	17 (21.0)
Family Procellariidae	petrels	1 (1.8)	0
Aves	unidentified birds	36 (2.9)	124 (16.6)
Mammals:			
<i>Capra familiaris/Ovis</i> sp.	domestic goat/sheep	0	3 (27.0)
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	domestic dog	2 (0.7)	0
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	domestic pig	155 (97.8)	27 (30.6)
<i>Bos taurus</i>	domestic cow	0	38 (650.0)
Family Muridae	rodents	55 (2.8)	921 (186.5)
Medium Mammalia	unidentified medium-sized mammals	619 (125.3)	19 (175.4)
Mammalia	unidentified mammals	44 (34.0)	10 (278.3)
Total (2881.1)		2510 (422.8)	6299

Marine Fauna

The largest quantity of bone recovered from the Koholuapapa sites is found in numerous marine fauna. Several invertebrates such as urchin, limpets, cowries, purpura, nerites, unidentified crabs, and unidentified mollusks were found either at one site or both. Only identified vertebrates came from fish. Overall, the quantity of marine fauna at Koholuapapa was considerably greater in comparison to terrestrial animals.

Both sites included pencil urchin (*Diadema pencispinim*), where site 1386 (2.3 g) was smaller in comparison to site 1387 (90.9). Site 1387 also had four marine invertebrate that were not found at site 1386. The largest find was multiple limpets (Family Patellidae) (2530.3 g). Cowries (Family Cypradeidae) (7.6g), Purpura (Family Muricidae) (16.4g), and Nerites (Family Neritidae) were also found in 1387 without anything similar in 1386 excavations. Site 1386 yielded unidentified crab (Class Crustacea) only a small amount was found during excavation (1 g). Each site had

unidentified mollusks (Mollusks). Site 1387 included a considerable amount (210.6 g) compared with site 1386 (3.0 g).

The primary amount of fish identified appears similar at each location. Tangs (Family Acanthuridae) consist of a small portion at site 1386 (2.8 g) with a slightly larger amount at site 1387 (8.7 g). Triggerfishes (Family Balistidae) were found at Site 1386 (0.4g) in a reduced amount compared to site 1387 (unknown g). Jackfishes (Family Carangidae) contain close proportions to Trigger fishes at both sites (Site 1386: 0.4 g and Site 1387 1.3 g). Hawkfishes (Family Cirrhitidae) are unusual as none are found at the heiau but are found at the kahu house (5.9 g). Wrasses (Family Labridae) (Site 1386 7.2 g Site 1387 2.9 g) and Goastfishes (Family Mullidae) (Site 1386 1g Site 1387 0.5 g) both appear minor at both locations. Emperors (Family Sparidae) appear in a larger amount at Site 1386 (16.6 g) compared to the amount found at Site 1387 (8.6 g). Each site also consisted of small quantities of fish not found at the adjacent location. Site 1386 contained squirrelfish (Family Holocentridae) (0.1 g) and snappers (Family Lutjanidae) (0.7g). Site 1387 included chubs (Family Kyphosidae) (0.5 g) and barracudas (Family Sphyraenidae) (1 g). Excavations at both sites produced a large amount of unidentified vertebrates (Site 1386 55.7g Site 1387 31.4 g). The remaining unidentified fish (Osteichthyes) consisted of site 1386 (54 g) having a reduced number in comparison to site 1387 (124.5 g).

Avifauna

All identified specimens are found at site 1386 except for the domestic chicken (*Gallus gallus*) which is found at both sites. The birds identified include the short-eared owl, domestic chicken, and petrels.

Site 1386 includes the short-eared owl (*Asio flammeus*) (1.7g) and petrels (Family Procellariidae) (1.8g). The domestic chicken (*Gallus gallus*) is found to a lesser extent at site 1386 (10.6g) compared to the remains at site 1387 (21g). The amount of unidentified birds (Aves) has the same comparison with site 1386 (2.9) having the reduced amount (site 1387 16.6g).

Mammal Fauna

Mammal fauna is the second largest quantity of bone recovered from both locations. The heiau consisted of a large amount of domestic pig (*Sus scrofa*) remains found at several of the excavation pits (97.8g). Hog remains at the residential site were lower, but still a significant number were found. (30.6g). Rodents (Family Muridae) (2.8g) and domestic dogs (*Canis familiaris*) (0.7) were also found in very small quantities at the temple. In comparison, a large amount of rodent remains were found at 1387 (186.5g) with no dog bones identified. There was a considerable amount of unidentified medium-sized mammals (Medium Mammalia) (125.3g) compared to the rest of the unidentified bones (Mammalia) (34g). The large amount of pig bones is consistent in function with a pre-contact era sacrificial temple. The residential site had 175.4g of unidentified medium-sized mammals and the rest of the unidentified mammals (278.3g) are in larger quantity. The kahu house included domestic goat or sheep (*Capra familiaris*/*Ovis* sp.) (27g) proposing an introduced animal to the island after European arrival. Domestic cows (*Bos taurus*) are also a part of this introduction and found during excavation (650g). The presence of sheep and cow indicate that 1387 was used during the post-contact era.

Table 2. Site 1386 and 1387 artifacts organized by site and building episode.

Artifact	1386 I	1386 II	1397	Total
Coral	7	0	9	11
Stone				
fire cracked rock	0	0	5	5
debitage (basalt)	17	1	0	18
retouched flakes				
basalt	0	0	6	6
volcanic glass	0	1	0	1
chert	0	0	2	2
slate	0	0	1	1
Metal				
adz	0	0	1	1
fishhook	0	0	1	1
rivet	0	0	1	1
fragments	0	0	36	36
Other				
ceramics	0	0	75	75
glass bead	0	0	1	1
glass fragments	0	0	99	99
cut bone	0	0	9	9
bone buttons	0	0	2	2
Total	32	48	236	319

Artifacts

Correlating artifacts between the sites is limited to coral and stone materials.

Stone manufacture using basalt, slate, and chert are all found at the enclosure with only volcanic glass recovered at the heiau. Rocks cracked from excessive heating is also found in the enclosure area. The majority of modified stone material comes from basalt debitage surrounding the heiau.

Most of the other artifacts recovered come from the house enclosure which includes metal, ceramics, glass, and crafted bone. Metal artifacts included an adz, fishhook, rivet, and unidentifiable fragments. The adz specifically dates to the 1840s or 1850s (Susan Lebo, personal communication). Ceramics were likewise identified as

being from the 1850s of the post-contact period. One glass bead has been recovered, along with numerous glass fragments from the excavation. Several cut bone pieces and a bone button were found at the enclosure.

Koholuapapa as a Luakini Heiau and Kahu House

Koholuapapa site 1386 evidence suggests a heiau built in four episodes beginning with the earliest in AD 1260. The notched enclosure and raised platform are similar to other Maui temples located elsewhere on the island. Three areas of intensive burning show locations where important heiau structures were constructed. One area of intensive burning is located behind a faced bedrock alter. It is considered the location of the oven house of the heiau. The second burnt location is a smaller area that might signify earlier use of the heiau location. Other archaeological excavations in the archipelago confirm the trend of temples constructed on older ritual and habitation sites. Kāne'akī heiau on the island of O'ahu, served as a productivity temple first, but later served as a luakini war temple (Ladd 1970). The hog remains recovered at Koholuapapa, along with the architectural notch enclosure, is similar to other Maui luakini heiau. Six other temples on Maui were originally habitation or early shrines later converted to larger heiau (Kolb 1991).

Hawaiian ritual sacrifice around the time of contact was important, along with the consecration of offerings to local deities (Valeri 1985). Each deity was presented offerings by the ruling chiefs to assure the success of particular undertakings, such as avoiding famine or illness, successful harvests, divination prior to warfare, etc. Offerings were considered based on key physical traits, such as temperament, color, or gender which metaphorically represented characteristics similar to the nature of a particular

deity. The symbolism of ritual sacrifice created a link between the elite and natural order of the universe. Underlying this link was the rituals goal of mediating group relationships in the island hierarchy.

Evidence of Jackfishes found at Koholuapapa is a tying characteristic of the relationship both sites hold together. These fish were important sacrificial offerings because they replaced human victims due to the animal's aggressive and cunning "human-like" behavior (Tīfī 1963; Kamakau 1961; Kepelino 1932). Kahu, during the Kā papaulua rite, attempted to catch jackfish for sacrifice (see Valeri [1985:312-314] for a detailed description and interpretation of the Kāpapaulua). If there were no fish available the high priest would travel from house to house searching for human victims instead. Kā papaulua rites developed into disguised "manhunts" requiring jackfish to become surrogate human sacrificial victims.

Similar to the jackfish, the domestic pig was a potent offering. The pig evoked the pastoral nature of human life, and possessed a psychological identification with its owner (Valeri 1985:311-314). Koholuapapa includes numerous pig bones pointing to the importance of the pig as a food resource. The link between pig husbandry and island productive economy is evident throughout Oceania (e.g. Handy and Handy 1972; Kirch 1979; Rappaport 1968; Yen 1974; Watson 1968). Available meat was limited between fish, birds, and pigs. The diet of an islander required protein and fats primarily relying on pig husbandry to provide. Converting vegetable surpluses into pig fodder solved the difficult issue of storing produce in a humid climate. The development of pig husbandry possibly reduced the pressure on local fish and bird populations. Unlike fish or birds, however, pigs eat agricultural produce such as sweet potatoes or taro and so compete

with humans for food (Handy and Handy 1972:253; Rappaport 1968). The process of pig husbandry did not create an effective solution for food resources rather it served as a food resource for the elite. Chiefs utilized the prestigious food to provide important ritual significance to their retinue of retainers and loyal subordinates. The domestic pig, a controllable food resource, became an important chiefly and sacrificial resource.

Ethno historic evidence in Hawai'i documents the importance of the pig as a controllable resource under chief suzerainty. Early European accounts such as Cook (1967) and Menzies (1920) document leeward communities with their chiefs utilizing large quantities of hogs. La Pérouse (1969) visited the leeward coast of Maui near Kula obtaining more than 300 pigs through trade in order to re-supply his vessel. In Kula, a chief created a serious political disturbance by unlawfully seizing all hogs in the region (Fornander 1969; Kamakau 1961). Traditional accounts document the domestic pig as an important preferred feasting food. High-ranking individuals usually ate pigs, but had to wait until each was ritually consecrated (e.g. Campbell 1967; Kamakau 1961; Malo 1951; Menzies 1920; Vancouver 1801). The amount of pig bone located at Koholuapapa indicates pigs were a controlled commodity. Luakini war temples were locations where chiefs offered and consumed hogs, often hundreds at a time, during chiefly warfare ceremonies (Malo 1951; Valeri 1985).

The adjacent Koholuapapa site (1387) is claimed as the residence of the temple caretaker. Evidence at the location consists of a raised slab-lined living platform with an attached structure and a wall facing east. The investigation of the local refuse pit contains mainly objects found post European contact. It also contains a plethora of materials similarly found at the Koholuapapa heiau. The continuation of living adjacent to the

heiau suggests continued native practice and caretaking of the ritual structure. Materials dated from the site places occupation beginning around 1850 and continuing until 1920.

Conclusion

Koholuapapa heiau development and the subsequent resident enclosure represent structural articulation in Maui. The textual information provided during the abolition of the *kapu* system provides incomplete interpretation. Archaeological data from locations like Koholuapapa offer objective interpretation of eventful transformation. The analysis considers the broader dimensionality that takes place and cannot be focused in a vacuum environment. In the case of Koholuapapa, the abolition created rearticulation of previous structural systems in order to prevent the conjuncture from terminating the isolated religious system. The majority of heiau were destroyed on the orders of the elite while a minority was preserved by former leadership.

Eventful analysis of Koholuapapa provides the theoretical framework to understand the transformation. Each event produces a transformation which is punctuated and is the cumulative result of a series of cascading events. In Hawai'i, this transformation began with the conjuncture of the economic realm with western technology. Once technology was established ideology began to transform based on new concatenations with European arrivals. The residuality of these transformations continued further in later generations slowly degraded previous isolated structural systems.

Although "eventful archaeology" provides a new perspective for analyzing the transformation of archaeological location it cannot provide answers to human agency. The reasoning behind certain novel inventions in the archaeological record can only be speculative without further context. Theoretical framework from Beck et al. and Sewell

begin to unravel the reasoning for human conduct. The separation of events from non-events becomes important when illuminating the different stages of development and transformation. Hawai'i provides an important location to test this analysis based on the novel interaction of two populations formerly isolated. The analysis of the event in the archaeological record further illustrates the transformative human interaction on the physical landscape.

References Cited

- Beck, Robin A. Jr., Douglas A. Bolender, James A. Brown, and Timothy A. Earle
2007 Eventful Archaeology: The Place of Space in Structural Transformation.
Current Anthropology 6: 833-860.
- Bolender, Douglas J. (editor)
2010 *Eventful Archaeologies: New Approaches to Social Transformation in the Archaeological Record: 1*. Archaeology Papers Vol. 1. The Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology, Albany.
- Braudel, Ferdinand.
1973 *The Mediterranean: And the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. II. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Campbell, Archibald
1967 *A Voyage Round the World, from 1806-1812, in which ... the Sandwich Islands were Visited...* (Originally published in 1822.)
University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.
- Cook, James
1967 Journal. In *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, edited by J. C. Beaglehole for the Hakluyt Society. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Emory, Kenneth P.
1921 An Archaeological Survey of Haleakala. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Occasional Papers* 7: 237-259.

1928 Archaeology of Nihoa and Necker Islands. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 53. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.
- Fornander, Alexander
1969 *An Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origins and Migration and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I*. 3 vols. (Originally published in 1878-1880.) VT: Tuttle, Rutland.
- Giddens, Anthony
1976 *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretive Sociologies*. Hutchinson, London.

1981 *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, Vol. I. Macmillan, London.
- Handy, E. S. Craighill, and Elizabeth Green Handy
1972 *Native Planters in Old Hawaii*. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 233. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

'Ōi, John Papa

1963 Fragments of Hawaiian History. In *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 70*, edited by Dorothy Barrere, translated by Mary Pukui. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Kamakau, Samuel M.

1961 *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*. Kamehameha Schools Press, Honolulu.

Kepelino, Keauokalani

1932 *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*, edited by Martha W. Beckwith. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Kirch, Patrick V.

1979 Subsistence and Ecology. In *The Prehistory of Polynesia*, edited by Jesse Jennings. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Kolb, Michael J.

1991 *Social Power, Chiefly Authority, and Ceremonial Architecture in an Island Polity, Maui, Hawaii*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles.

Ladd, Edmund J.

1970 Kaneaki Temple Site: An Excavation Report. *Makaha Valley Historic Project, Interim Report 4. Pacific Anthropological Records No. 19*. Department of Anthropology Bernice P. Bishop Museum: 1-29.

La Pérouse, Jean François de Galaup

1969 *Voyages and Adventures of La Pérouse*. (Originally published in 1798.) Translated by Julius S. Gassner. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

Malo, David

1951 Hawaiian Antiquities. (Originally published in 1903.) Translated by N.B. Emerson. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 2*. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Menzies, Archibald

1920 *Hawaii Nei, 128 Years Ago*. Edited by W. F. Wilson. The New Freedom Press, Honolulu.

Rappaport, Roy A.

1968 *Pigs for the Ancestors*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Sahlins, Marshall

1985 *Islands of History*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Sewell, William H. Jr.

2005 *Logics of History*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Valeri, Valero

1985 *Kingship and Sacrifice*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Vancouver, G.

1801 *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Around the World... Performed in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795...*, 6 vols. (Originally published in 1798.) J. Stockdale, London.

Watson, James B.

1968 Horticultural Traditions of the New Guinea Highlands. *Oceania*
38: 81-98

Yen, Douglas E., Patrick V. Kirch, Paul Rosendahl, and Thomas Riley

1972 Prehistoric Agriculture in the Upper Valley of Makaha, Oahu. *Pacific Anthropological Records* 18: 59-94.