

Raivavae Archaeological Project



**Preliminary Report of Fieldwork
Island of Raivavae,
Austral Islands, French Polynesia
May- June 2006**

**Report By Edmundo Edwards,
Lead Field Archaeologist**

**Assisted by Team Members:
Lynn Danaher, Rodrigo Navarre, Alexandra Edwards**

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An Explorers Club Flag Expedition

Introduction.

The objectives of the Raivavae Archaeological Project are explicit in our proposal presented by E. Edwards to the Minister of Culture, of French Polynesia Mr. Tauhiti Nena in 2005. Nevertheless, as many of our Foundation members might not be aware of them, I have included some of them herewith, and elaborated further in the importance of this project as a means of correlating other theoretical issues related to the evolution or development of the Polynesian Chiefdoms.

The “Raivavae Archaeological Project” stems from discussions, commencing during the Second Congress on Easter Island and East Polynesian Prehistory held on Rapanui in 1996 and a later Seminar in 2000. Both meetings were held under the auspices of the Institute for Easter Island Studies of the University of Chile and was attended by archaeologists from Chile, Tahiti, New Zealand and the United States. During these meetings we discussed the desirability to intensify the archaeological studies in several archipelagos of Eastern Polynesia such as the Gambier and the Austral Islands groups, as apparently they could have been the homeland from which Easter Island was settled.

At that time, although the substantive knowledge base upon which Polynesian prehistory is constructed has expanded exponentially since the first half of the 20th century, due to the extensive archaeological research carried out in this area by important research teams from the Universities of Berkeley, Hawaii, New Zealand, France and Chile, and the application of modern research methods, many of the basic questions remained still unanswered, such as: When did the Polynesians start expanding eastwards from Western Polynesia? What was their urge in setting off in search of new land? Was there a strategy involved in the colonization of these islands, or had they just been settled at random? For how long had they maintained contact with their homeland, or with neighboring groups? Had this evolved into an extensive trade network, and if so, why had it collapsed by the time of European arrival? And most importantly is all, if all these cultures had originated from the same source, how and when had the cultural differences that exist between them develop? As an extreme example, why on Easter Island they build large megalithic stone statues to represent their deified ancestors, meanwhile in the Society islands, one of their mayor gods, Oro, was made out of a piece of coiled rope with feathers and carried in a wooden case? Therefore, besides learning about its settlement and the past interactions between these Eastern Pacific Polynesian Cultures one of the greatest enigmas that remained to be solved is how and why the culture of these original settlers changed over time.

At a later International Conference on Eastern Polynesian Archaeology, held at the University of California at Berkeley's Gump Research Station, Moorea Island, in November 2000, the researchers urged the then Minister of Culture for French Polynesia, Mme. Louise Peltzer, to assist in the funding of future archaeological research in Polynesia, and it was decided that Mangareva (Gambier) Islands should have priority as it was likely to be the origin point for the settlement of Pitcairn, Henderson and Easter Island.

A review of Mangareva's archaeological sequence, showed that it had been probably settled as early as 800A.D., and the historical relationship of the Mangarevan language to other Eastern Polynesian languages, indicates that that it belongs to the Marquesic branch of Eastern Polynesian languages, along with Marquesan, Hawaiian, and Rapan. (Green 1966, Mark 2000, Kirch 2004), Another study carried out by Fisher, (2001) based upon a study of lexical doublets, demonstrated that it would be the most probable immediate homeland to the Rapa Nui (Easter Island)

On the other hand, archaeological research shows that Mangareva was probably settled by two groups one originating from the Marquesas, and that probably extended southwards as it explored, settled or traded with the Southern Tuamotu group, and by another group who occupied the island previously. The origins of this first group of settlers remains unknown but due to the remarkable similarities that exist between Mangarevan wooden sculptures and the Raivavae stone sculptures, and as voyaging between both groups is mentioned in their oral traditions, without doubt there was a strong relationship between both islands in past times. If you sailed eastwards from Raivavae, there are few other landfalls except Mangareva, about 600 miles eastwards. Therefore Raivavae located on the tip of the Austral Island arch occupied a critical position - geographically and culturally – within the Austral Islands and Eastern Polynesia, but little was known of its archaeology.

These were some of the general considerations at the time, of why we chose to further archaeological research upon this island, but funding was difficult to obtain so it would take many years to be able to accomplish this Project. Finally thanks to the generosity of Reuben Sandler, Frank Weil, Bob Muglia, Rowland and Patricia Rebele, Tom and Donna Fulilove, William Crawford, Norm Baker and Mary McGrath, we were able to finance our first season in this year. This project will last a minimum of 2 sessions of 2 to 3 months each over the next two years

Previous Archaeological Research in Raivavae

Raivavae, despite the seminal ethnographic work carried out by W. Stokes during an Expedition organized by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Hawaii in 1921, and the pioneering sondages and a limited survey done by Dr. Arne

Skjølsvold during the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the Eastern Pacific in 1966, no subsurface excavations have been carried out since, to try to develop a culture history of Raivavae.

Between 1986 and 1991 E. Edwards with a team of workers from Raivavae, carried out the complete archaeological survey of the Island, in which a total of 610 compound structures and isolated components and features scattered throughout Raivavae were recorded. The results of this major work, the first complete inventory of one of the Austral Islands, was published in 2003. The analyses of the survey results, permitted classifying these archaeological features into: (1) residential, (2) ceremonial or ritual sites, (3) agricultural complexes or: (4) special function sites, as well as to determine its ancient settlement pattern. On the other hand the ethnographic data collected, permitted Edwards to define ancient territorial divisions, lineage and clan boundaries with their resources potentials, as well as estimated population at the time of European settlement in the early XIX century. Therefore with this study, the first phase of the archaeological investigation of Raivavae was achieved. Potential sites that could yield important stratified middens have been identified but not excavated.

Based on other work carried out by paleontologists on other islands, we were sure that Raivavae was also likely to yield important new raw data on the ancient biodiversity of the Eastern Pacific. We anticipated that modern excavations would yield rich faunal and floral materials, such as the bones of now-extinct bird species, the shells of endemic land snails, and the charcoal of indigenous trees and plants, formerly specific to the island. Such information would be of great interest not only to archaeologists but also to biologists and biogeographers of the Pacific.

We planned our research utilizing the most modern research techniques and methods, in such a way that the results obtained could be comparable with results obtained in other Projects in Eastern Polynesia, and with the following goals in mind.

1. - Develop a Chronology for Eastern Polynesian Colonization.

Our present knowledge derived from several decades of archaeological research and a large number of radio carbon dated sequences, in different Polynesian island groups, as well as in Melanesia, show that the homeland of the Polynesian Culture is located in Western Polynesia, which comprises, Tonga, Samoa and other adjacent smaller islands, as well as some of the Eastern part of the Fiji group. Today it has been proven beyond doubt, that these people descended from the Early Eastern Lapita colonizers, who spread eastwards from the Solomon Islands through the Santa Cruz, Vanuatu and Fiji island groups around 1000 B.C. Linguistic studies show that by the end of the first millennium B.C. these occupants of the Tonga – Samoa region had become

speakers of the Proto Polynesian dialects, which were already differentiating into Proto Tongic and Proto Nuclear Polynesian branches (Mark 1996) from which derive all Eastern Polynesian languages.

The colonization of Eastern Polynesia occurred during the first millennium A.D., but the date in which this occurs and the order in which the different island groups were settled has been much contended by archaeologists, on the basis that the scarce archaeological evidence is not sufficiently conclusive, and the radio carbon sequences are insufficient or unreliable. This has lead to re-excavate some sites in search of more reliable datable samples, or the search for alternative methods, such as genetic studies in rat populations to try and explain settlement sequences. At present special attention has been placed in this area by the “Genographic Project” carried out by the National Geographic Society and IBM, which hope to be able to solve the enigma of the dispersal of the Polynesian people.

Nevertheless, even though genetic research might help in establishing relationships between these ancient populations in Eastern Polynesia, we still need to determine the key changes which led to differentiation of the Early Polynesian cultures and societies in the centuries immediately following their arrival in the Eastern Polynesian archipelagos. Understanding the nature of these early societies, including their social and political structures, economic basis, and material modes of existence, is essential, to understand their later histories of change and social evolution. Thus another long-term goal of the Raivavae Archaeological Project is to find and sample stratigraphic deposits dating to the Early Eastern Polynesian time period. By testing and dating early occupational deposits on Raivavae, main resource areas that were occupied by the mayor mataeina’a, we expect to obtain critical information relative to this vexing problem. We hope to locate in situ cultural deposits older than 1000 B.P. and younger than 600 B.P. (We believe that the whole early part of Raivavae archaeological sequence is lacking but present). Some C14 dates from the neighboring island of Tubuai indicates that possibly the Archipelago was settled around 800-900 A.D. maybe before.

2. - The Impact of Human Colonization Upon the Raivavae Ecosystem and Reconstruction of the islands Ancient Environment.

Recent research by archaeologists in collaboration with paleontologists has revealed that prior to human colonization, the islands of Central and Eastern Polynesia were home to numerous endemic and indigenous species of birds, land snails, and plants. Inevitably, clearing land for gardens and the growth of large populations led to the demise of this original biodiversity. The discovery of the extinct bones and other remains of these animals and plants have been among the most important scientific results from Polynesia in the 20th century.

Almost certainly, similar materials exist in the archaeological deposits of Raivavae, and it is one of our primary objectives to use such evidence to reconstruct the ancient environment of the island. Therefore we hope to obtain long chronostratigraphic sequences of plant macrofossils, fauna and artifacts to contribute to reconstructing the pattern of prehistoric landscape evolution, and thus measure the intensity and impact of prehistoric human occupation.

3. - Establish the Extent of Contact and Trade between these Island Societies.

We now know that these Polynesian Societies had developed the navigational skills to establish regular trade networks with different islands and archipelagos. Many ceremonial structures on Raivavae suggest that they were related to voyaging and trade between neighboring islands, and to other archipelagos such as the Gambier and the Society Islands. As attested by historical and oral traditions, Raivavae formed part of a former trading network with Raiatea (Cook 1774), but the extent and frequency of this trade needs to be determined.

4. - Conservation and Restoration of Archaeological Monuments

Finally, another reason that made us decide to choose Raivavae for this study was its astounding natural beauty. We are certain that this will encourage the development of tourism in the following years, more so, since the inauguration of its airport last year and the installation of three weekly flights from Papeete in Tahiti. The future construction and development of a tourism infrastructure could endanger many important sites of its archaeological patrimony. This has occurred frequently in other islands of French Polynesia, and is liable to also occur here, if measures are not taken to protect these sites and to educate its inhabitants about its importance.

At present most of the population consider these remarkable monuments from their glorious past, as mere remainders of heathen times, and therefore they have mixed feelings about them. Until not long ago, their Protestant Pastors taught them that to even mention those times was shameful and sinful. They were told, that the stone statues representing past ancestral gods were devils in disguise, who could harm them and therefore they should be destroyed. On several occasions during the 19th and 20th century, organized groups went around the island systematically destroying these monuments, statues and other art forms. Their sacred altars, of rectangular form, surrounded by large stone uprights, became convenient pork stays, and most of them have been put to that use until today. These beliefs have not changed, but as the present Pastors are more tolerant, and educated than the former ones, their attitudes have changed and they feel curiosity about why the small amount of tourist that visit this island, are interested in visiting these ancient sites. Some of them are starting to

find an economic value in them, and are planning in the future to charge an entrance fee to visit them.

This problem interests us greatly, because the Rapanui of Easter Island, had a similar attitude towards their monuments in the early 1960's, but once Dr. William Mulloy started to restore its archaeological monuments, and they started to learn more about their past history this attitude changed, as they discovered that their past was not a story to be hidden, but to be proud of. Therefore we consider that it is fundamental to obtain funds through French Polynesian Government agencies, and involve the local population in the restoration of some of their most emblematic and spectacular archaeological sites, since this would not only enhance the attractiveness of the island as a tourist destination, but also conciliate and facilitate the attachment of its inhabitants with their past history. Once the people learn and feel proud of their past, they will develop a greater awareness of the importance of preserving these unique archaeological remains.

Goals Accomplished During the First Season June – July 2006

Archaeological Survey.

During the 1986-1989 survey, there had been a few areas of the island that I had not surveyed because the owners of those lands would not authorize me to go on their land. As by now all of them had deceased, I decided to try and obtain permission from their inheritors to do this work. Fortunately this worked out, and I was able this way to complete the survey in these areas. As I did not have the time or the workers needed to clear these sites, nor did I have the GPS equipment with me, I decided to only map those structures that were detached of vegetation (two *Marae*), take note of the others, and plan to map and locate the exact position of them when we return to Raivavae next year. Thus we completed the survey in the areas of Anatonu, Rairua and Vaiuru, locating approximately another 30 structures, between house terraces and platforms, pondfields and 4 marae, two of them of large dimensions with many associated structures, tombs and the remains of small statues.

My greatest interest was to investigate the entire area-surrounding altar Te Mahara, which had also been off limits in the past. According to oral tradition, this was the first locality of the island to be settled. We found that the area surrounding this site showed indications of having been heavily settled, and I could count at least six large house platforms to the north of it. We also did some random core sampling and found that the subsoil was black and rich in carbon to a depth of one meter in an area that covers over 5,000 square meters north and eastwards of the altar, which indicates extensive occupation and cooking took place upon this site.

Another important find, that solved one of my enigmas, was the discovery of many house mounds upon the coastal plane of the island. When I carried out the survey of the coastal area of the Vaiuru caldera, we found and surveyed several *marae* or ritual structures, but we did not record at the time any habitation sites associated with them, which was most curious, as this was not the pattern encountered elsewhere upon the island. Therefore the location of these altars all by themselves, on the opposite side of the taro fields, on the coastal plane, appeared to be incongruent with the pattern found inland so I believed that such altars probably served a special function related to agricultural activities that needed such isolation but now I know that this was due to a failure in the system I applied during the survey of this locality.



House mound located next to pondfields in Vaiuru caldera.

At the time when we were mapping this area, part of my team would go ahead of me, locating sites upon a general map, meanwhile I remained drawing and describing a structure, and later on I would move on to the next one they had located. I had blind faith in my cartographer Amedee Tevatua, a native of Raivavae, who had worked mapping archaeological sites for several years, and therefore had acquired a good eye in recognizing archaeological structures. As he could even identify the most insignificant stone alignments, I felt sure that nothing had escaped his keen eye, so you can imagine how surprised I was to discover that in the land close to where these structures were located you could observe still the remains of some earth mounds of considerable size, that at closer inspection showed to be house sites. One of them located on the western side of Marae Ao Ahu or Maunga Oto, measures 12 meters in width by 50 meters in length, by one meter in height. A core sample taken on this mound showed that it had been built upon the sand of the original beach and it appears to have been built up by the refuge left by human occupation. A sample from

this mound was obtained, and I will send it to Beta Laboratories to have it dated. The importance about these recently found coastal sites, is that these mounds are not only associated with these *marae*, but at the same time control geographically complex artificial pondfields systems, built into the natural swampland at the foot of the slope on the coastal area, so by dating them, we can probably learn when the area was originally settled and exploited.

Once this archaeological feature became visible, I was able to observe that similar structures are found in many coastal sites around the island, which should be incorporated into the survey database once we return next year.

Because of the deficiency of historical information available to the local islanders there is a lack of understanding and appreciation of their heritage. We realized that in order for us to complete any real thorough excavations of early sites or restoration of any of the Marae we needed to educate the islanders about their past and hopefully instill some pride in their old traditions and history.

Promote the preservation and appreciation of the Archaeological history to the islanders of Raivavae through educational programs and exhibits. Thus creating a source of pride and understanding of their past and amazing maritime history.

Photographic archive.

As not all of us were occupied carrying out the same activities, we shortly decided after arrival, that we would try to divide our activities according to interest and needs as there was many things to be done and the time was too short. As we only had a few photos of the island it was decided to try and develop a photographic archive, as it was important to record the island as it is in its present state. To document all possible ethnographic data by photos or in video, as most of these activities will probably change or disappear in the coming years, as the island becomes more involved in tourism or as contact with the outside world intensifies. Lynn Danaher and Rodrigo Navarro took most of the photos of our 7000-photo archive, which cover most activities upon the island.

Lynn Danaher later decided to set up a foundation to continue doing a photographic archive of Raivavae and other Pacific Islands and to develop, local exhibits and other cultural activities to which purpose I have offered all my help. I also agreed that if she brought volunteers I could employ them in completing our archaeological survey.

Video Documentary.

Alexandra Edwards wrote a script that covered all aspects of Raivavae, from archaeology to present times. Once the script was ready we recorded 26 hours of HD Video for this documentary. It will take a few months to put it together but

it could be ready by the end of this year. As an appendix I have included the script as it was originally written, but this does not mean that the final result will be identical, because changes will take place once the video is edited. Besides other extraordinary scenes were videoed that are not in the script.

So even though we were in a way handicapped in doing any excavations, because Claudio and Patricia were unable to join us because of unfortunate circumstances, this permitted us to survey many areas of the island that were missing and find approximately 50 unrecorded structures. On the coastal plane, we found new archaeological features that by being so inconspicuous, were nearly imperceptible, but of great importance because of the data they could apparently provide. Some of these mounds located immediately on the shore side on other areas of the island, could be remains of ancient bathhouses or served for some special function related with fishing activities. So many new sites were found, and although they were not positioned or included so far into our survey data base, probably they constitute the precise sites that we were searching for to excavate.

Island Time

At the beginning things did not work out as expected in Tahiti and Raivavae. Upon our arrival to Tahiti by mid May we tried to contact the Minister of Culture to make sure that our excavation permits were approved and to find out if we would be able to count with the workers he had so kindly offered. Unfortunately he was away, but his secretary told us that everything was in the process of being approved, and that they would do everything in their means to comply with our request. In the following days with the assistance of Maeva Navarro, Director of our Foundation, and Consul of Chile we made several other attempts to contact his office with the same results. As I did not want to spend more time in Tahiti, we left for Raivavae. In the interim, I decided to hire Rodrigo Navarro as our translator and assistant, because most of the people on Raivavae speak the local Tahitic language and very basic French. Rodrigo would only spend three weeks, but his assistance and help was most valuable during this short time he spent with us.

Upon arrival to Raivavae, fortunately the landlord of the house that we had agreed to rent for two months, was awaiting for us at the airport, and everything had been arranged as agreed upon, except that the telephone we had asked to be installed had not been connected yet, because there was a cable missing, then they did not have a phone, etc., and we did not get it to work until a week before we left for Tahiti. The first two days, a weekend, we took advantage to go around the island and I showed Alexandra and Rodrigo the sites that we intended to sample. A week later we were joined by Lynn Danaher, who brought us the equipment we had ordered for our excavations such as water pumps, valves, tubing, tools, etc.

Upon arrival, I went to visit the Mayor of the Island, but learned that he was in Tahiti, and his secretary told me that she would inform me when he would return, I attempted to see him on two other occasions upon his return but we could never set up an appointment, so I finally gave up. Everyone told me not to feel bad about this incident, because this was his normal behavior since he belonged to the previous Government political party, and was most unhappy with the present Government. I then tried to contact in the following days Mr. Teva'atua, representative of the Service de la Culture, but he was too occupied arranging his daughter's wedding during our stay, and had no time to see us.

With Maeva Navarro we had daily conversations, and she tried unsuccessfully to contact the Minister of Culture, or to get things working on the other end. His secretary and Chief of Staff, would assure Maeva daily that our requests were approved and should work in the following days. I had asked to have my previous cartographer, Amedee Tevatua, detached from his job at the Ministry of Public Works, for the duration of our stay, so he could assist me (as had been previously agreed, and approved by the Minister). Each time Maeva would call, she could never get a straight reply, there was always some signature missing, which supposedly would be ready the following day. To count with Amedee's presence was very important for my work, because after so many years away from the island, I had a serious problem relocating some of our previous sites. Since 1989 to present, the population has diminished, because many of the younger people have migrated to Tahiti in search of jobs, so many areas that were formerly cultivated, have now been covered by exuberant vegetation, so closed in some places that it is difficult to walk.

Also the mentality of the people has changed since those times, and where it was once free to walk around, now most of the properties are delimited and although there are not many fences yet, people will not permit you to enter their property without authorization, so each time we needed to access a certain area, it meant that we had to find out who where the owners and then obtain their permission, which was most time consuming, as most of the land remains undivided and has multiple owners. The most common answer was "you have my permission, but you should ask my uncle and his three sons plus my father, etc". In other cases they would remember me for my previous work, or their sons who live in Tahiti had phoned them once they knew I was returning and asked them to help me, so they were searching for us to offer their assistance.

I cannot say that we felt unwelcome, but I felt very grateful that Rodrigo could communicate with them, although with difficulty, in their language. This was deeply appreciated and won many a people's heart in our favor.

So was our first week on Raivavae.

The following week Maeva called me to let me know that our work permit had been approved, and a copy of it was sent to me, but it appeared in Patricia Vargas name, and as the names of the other members of the team had not been included, this posed further problems. To amend it could take several weeks. I communicated several times with Claudio and Patricia to find out if it they would be able to join us on Raivavae as planned, but Claudio's father illness, and his latter medical problems made this impossible at the time. Originally it had been planned that I would spend a month and a half to two months on Raivavae, and they would come for a shorter period that would overlap with my stay. Unfortunately by then, I could see that this would probably not occur and therefore I had to try and maximize what I could do during my stay with the elements I had at hand, and try to fulfill some of the goals stated in our original program. I believe we were highly successful as we found other sites and structures that had overlooked in our previous survey, and we were able to video important ethnographic material and photograph the island in its present state.

I feel very grateful to all the help and assistance provided by Lynn Danaher, Alexandra Edwards and Rodrigo Navarro. Without the invaluable help, it would have been impossible to do what we accomplished in so short a time.

Raivavae Documentary Script & Shotlist
(This is the original script, but since then it has been
amended and enhanced)

- 1 Ext Day LS/Pan Tamora
- 2 Ext Day LS/Pan RVV from isle
- 3 Map French Polynesia Zoom to RVV

fade image to
4 Map of RVV

- 5 Ext Day LS Islets
- 6 Ext Day MS Lagoon
- 7 Ext Day MLS/Pan Islets
- 8 Ext Day LS Pass
- 9 Ext Day MLS Riding bikes
- 10 Ext Day MLS Kids at school
- 11 Ext/Int Day MS Pan People to clients in a store
- 12 Ext Day LS Pan American Store to oceanfront cabins
- 13 Ext Day MLS focus L & N's sign to house
- 14 Ext Day LS Cargo Ship
- 15 Ext Day LS Cart and crates
- 16-20 Ext Day CU Crates n' goods
- 21 Ext Day MLS petrol cans
- 22 Ext Day MLS Gas cans
- 23 Ext Day Taro-to-go
- 24 Ext Day MLS Packing on truck
- 25 Ext Day LS Pan Car pulling in to Airport
- 26 Ext Day LS Plane landing
- 27 Ext Day MLS Welcoming
- 28 Ext Day LS Zoom from airport to Unurau

VOICEOVER: Between 5.5 and 7.4 million years ago two volcanic masses joined together forming the island of Raivavae. Raivavae is one of the five isolated islands that span over 4,000 km of open ocean forming the Austral archipelago. They are Rurutu, Tubuai, Raivavae, Rimatara and Rapa. Located directly south of the Society Islands and near the Tropic of Capricorn, the Australs once formed a cultural continuum with the Society and Southern Cook Islands.

VOICEOVER: Located at 23° South latitude and 147° West longitude, Ra'ivavae has an east-west orientation and is 8.6 kms long by a maximum width of 3.4 kms. It's highest mountain is Mount Hiro which is 437m high on a ridge that spans the length of the island.

VOICEOVER: In all French Polynesia, Ra'ivavae is the only high volcanic island below the Tropic of Capricorn with a large barrier reef forming several small low islets or *motu*. Access to Raivavae is through four passes, two on the north and two on the south.

VOICEOVER: Raivavae today has a population of 989 inhabitants, direct descendants of the Polynesian navigators who settled here hundreds of years ago and the few visitors who mixed with them. The concepts of market, merchandise, and commercial enterprise are a fairly recent introduction and as for now commerce is restricted to a few grocers and small bread and breakfasts. Cargo ships like this one supply the island once a month. Although people still

actively practice subsistence farming and fishing, soda, beer, corned beef, processed sugar and other goods are imported to the island including necessities such as containers with petrol and gas. Alternatively Raivavae's exports are restricted to Polynesian staple crops such as taro root.

VOICEOVER: Raivavae is at a crossroads. The newly constructed airport, which is both a source of income and economic stability for many homes, breaches the island's extreme isolation but also inevitably increases outside cultural influence.

29 Ext Day MLS Pan Unurau

30 Ext Day MS Unurau

31 Ext Day MS details of marae

32 Ext Day LS View to the coast

Fade to black

32-35 Various ancient canoe engravings and drawings

36 Animated map of archipelago settlement and dates

37 Ext Day LS Edmundo & team digging in Vaiuru

38 Ext Day CU Tools

39 Ext Day MLS Team working

40 Ext Day MLS Edmundo

41 Ext Day CU Edmundo's tattooed hand

42 Ext Day MS Edmundo

Fade out

VOICEOVER: Right across from the airport are the remains of one of its most sacred places of worship *marae* Unurau. Little more than a century ago Unurau had a paved stone approach to what may have been a canoe landing by the lagoon, evidently accommodating a different kind of visitor from today's.

VOICEOVER: During the mid-to-late first millennium AD, Polynesian double-outrigger canoes explored nearly every speck of land in the spacious Eastern Pacific. Ra'ivavae, Tubua'i, Rurutu, Rimatara, and the Southern Cook and Society Islands were all part of the same cultural area and may have been part of a greater Polynesian homeland that included the islands of Mangareva and the Marquesas. Archaeological data suggests that most of these islands were settled between 800-1,000 AD, however Ra'ivavae's precise cultural origin and settlement dates have not been identified.

VOICEOVER: Edmundo Edwards is an archeologist who has spent 40 years working throughout Polynesia. He first traveled to Raivavae in 1986 when he restored two altars for the Musée de Tahiti et Ses Îles. That same year he led a research team whose mission was to carry out an archeological survey of all Raivavae. This feat was accomplished after a subsequent visit in 1991, recording and mapping a total of 610 archaeological structures. Funded by private donors and the Eastern Pacific Research Foundation, and supported by the Explorer's Club, he has now returned to Raivavae. In this program Edmundo will take us to various archaeological sites explaining to us all that he has learned and expects to

learn of this intriguing island culture. Now we find Edmundo excavating in the district of Vaiuru where more than half of the island's archaeological sites are concentrated.

EDMUNDO: *Something along the line of: Greetings, Bla, Bla Bla*, one of the most interesting things I was able to determine from when I worked here in the 80's and 90's was the settlement pattern and land distribution of Raivavae's 15 clans. Still, it is too early to determine Raivavae's settlement sequence. Not until an early settlement deposit is excavated. That is why we are working here along the coast of Vaiuru, because according to oral tradition this is the part of Raivavae that was first settled.

43 Ext Day LS Pan Mt Hiro's eroded cliffside

44 Ext Day LS Pan RVV's vegetation

45 Ext Day MS Edmundo with coffee beans, ti, coconut etc...

... he walks to a sandalwood tree
fade to

46 Int. Day CU of a handwritten manuscript

47 CU of engravings of captains and ships that visited RVV

48 Ext Day MLS Shore coconut and casuarina

49 Ext Day MLS Hibiscus & coffee

50-51 Ext Day LS Gardens w/ fruit

52 Ext Day LS Linda & Nelson's garden

53a Ext Day MLS Edmundo in Linda & Nelson's garden

53b Steadycam (follow) him to map
(descendants around in b.g.)

54 Ext Day MS Edmundo showing details on map

VOICEOVER: Ra'ivavae's ancient population must have greatly affected its 16 km² of land. It is a well-known fact that humans in Polynesia caused dramatic changes in island eco-systems after settlement. The introduction of crop plants and animals such as rats, pigs, and perhaps dogs and chickens, combined with the slash and burn cultivation practices of ancient Polynesians, invariably affected the natural distribution and habitat of native species.

EDMUNDO: The vegetation that we see in Raivavae today is very different from what the island's Polynesian settler's saw. New plant species, animals, insects, and demographic pressures, have obviously affected the island's natural environment. These combined with the agricultural practices of the early Polynesian farmers, including slash and burn tactics, resulted in is a significant change in the natural environment of the island, but nothing was as devastating as the sandalwood trade. The native forests almost disappeared then. Trees were also being used for firewood, to build canoes and houses, and at least one palisade fort. The island is in fact more fertile today than it was 150 years ago. Now we see a lot of trees but most of these were recently introduced, all but for this sandalwood here.

VOICEOVER: In the 18th century, explorers to Raivavae observed many trees growing along the coast as well far inland halfway up Ra'ivavae's steep mountain slopes. Today the natural forests have partly recovered. Coconut and casuarina grow all along the shore while

wild hibiscus, breadfruit, and barringtonia grow further inland aside coffee trees and other introduced species. Fruit trees flourish in private gardens.

EDMUNDO: This garden belongs to a bed and breakfast run by one of the descendants of Ra'ivavae's last paramount chief, Te'ehu a Pofatu III. Between 1862 and 1902, Te'ehu a Pofatu III wrote down some tales and genealogies to establish the land rights of applicants to French land titles becoming one Ra'ivavae's richest ethnographic sources. In the past, privileges, and titles were recorded by oral tradition and legitimized by reciting the titleholder's genealogy. Pofatu III's *Puka Tupuna* said Raivavae was divided between two of the god Maui's three sons Taniau and Tiari'i—the island's legendary first settlers—and that Raivavae was divided into 15 territories that extended from the island's dorsal range all the way to the outer reef. The territories were divided into two opposing polities one occupying the island's north side, the other the south.

55 Ext Day MCU Edmundo & map

55 Animatated Settlement pattern map
Settlement distribution and boundaries

56. Ext LS Motu Haha

57 Ext LS Marker at Motu Haha

58 Ext Day CU marker

59. Ext Day LMS Another boundary, Edmundo walks in

60 Ext Day MS Boundary marker

EDMUNDO: What we discovered in the survey is that Raivavae settlement pattern can be easily understood by dividing the island into four zones with just two sets of environmental conditions: first the swamps and the coastal plain of Rairua and Vaiuru calderas which have the best natural resource potential; secondly small swamps areas on the coastal plan inhabited by newer settlements. The same as elsewhere in Polynesia younger family lines claimed the remaining favorable land while primary resource areas belonged to senior lines.

VOICEOVER: According to Pofatu III's manuscript the island's two opposing polities were divided by an imaginary line that began from the Tea Reva Reva pass to Motu Paranui and on to the summit of Mt Mata Tea. The line continued along the island's dorsal range all the way to Mt Torivaa on the opposite end of the island. The imaginary line then descended to a coral formation on the fringing reef. A second line divided each of these polities into halves and east and west side. Natural features such as rock outcrops, mountain ridges, summits, offshore islets, and permanent streams delimited interior boundaries. Stone uprights marked other boundaries while walls flanking one settlement separated them from their neighbors.

VOICEOVER: Here, in the islet of Motu Haha is the boundary marker that delimited the outer reef territory belonging to the Vaionea clan. This upright was called Toa Tau Tau. Like most upright markers it has a proper name, although most of these are not remembered by the people of Raivavae today.

EDMUNDO: We mapped many uprights in our survey, alone or scattered in clusters. Most were clearly pre-contact boundary markers indicating both private and communal land divisions while some were used as memorials or shrines. I was told specific rites were performed when

the boundary markers were set in place and that they were charged with supernatural powers that harmed trespassers.

61 Animated drawing of a Settlement site

62 Pictures or engravings of chiefs

63 Int Day MS Museum flywhisks

64 Int Day CU Museum flywhisks

65-70 Int Day CU pan Museum artifacts

71. Ext Day LS Edmundo in Settlement site pointing out to...

...taro patch

...water source

...house terrace

72 Ext Day MS Stream by site

74 Ext Day MS of archaeological structure

75 Ext Day CU of archaeological structure

76 Ext Day LS of site

77. Ext Day MS Edmundo by pavement

78 Ext Day LS pan House Terrace

VOICEOVER: Settlements consisted of an agricultural complex with one or more *marae* and a chief's household with its dependencies. The senior male with the closest direct descent to the founder of each territory was the highest chief of his community. The chief's brothers and cousins with their wives and children formed a task unit that owned and worked the land. The chief was responsible for his tribe's well-being and advocated his family group's demands. Chiefs controlled all productive activities by economic and religious sanctions called *rahui* that restricted certain harvests, or stipulated where and when certain fish could be caught. Chiefs oversaw crop cultivation and were offered the first-bearers of the harvests. They lived in first-rate locations, had bigger houses, and owned status goods such as these highly-decorated head-dresses and fly whisks stored in the Musée de Tahiti et Ses Îles. Domestic utensils and furnishings included: wooden bowls, headrests, stools, scrapers made from shell, coral; or basalt *poi* pounders, gourds and calabashes, and several kinds of woven floor mats and baskets made from pandanus leaves.

EDMUNDO: Most people lived near the collapsed calderas of Vaiuru and Ra'irua, which are favorable for cultivating taro and other crops. It was easy to identify settlements in our survey since they all required the same specific geographic essentials: a swamp for growing taro, a freshwater source, fertile soil, and space to build houses. The settlements we found in the survey were almost always located on foothills near a permanent or occasional stream or in the inland side of the coastal swamps. Houses in Raivavae were large. People lived in family clusters of about 30-50 people. The settlement contained the chief and his family's house, servant houses, dining houses, cooking houses, storage sheds, and earth pits to ferment breadfruit and taro.

EDMUNDO: Status and wealth determined the size of the terrace or platform where the structures were built and whether or not the structures were paved, had dressed curbstones, or basalt slab uprights. The chief's terrace usually had a commanding view over the territory

including the islets and reef as an expression of rank and prestige but also so he could survey everyday activities such as crop cultivation and lagoon fishing.

(Optional)

79 Engraving of a house with decorated posts
80 CU Pigmented vegetable fiber strings in Museum

90-92 Engravings of canoe

93 Pictures or engravings of canoe stern detail with sea in b.g.

94 Ext Day MLS Modern fisherman in RVV pulling out
95 Ext Day MS Modern fisherman in RVV

96 Ext Day Fisherman poling out
97-100 CU Fishing tools (*in museum?*)

101 Ext Day MCU Dead fish

102 Ext Day Marae to barringtonia pan

103 Ext Day LS Back from the islets w/
goodies

104 Ext Day MCU Islet goodies

-----OPTIONAL-----

Shot #: *to be determined*

Fisherman interview

MLS LS MS Fisherman & Canoe
CU details hands, face, canoe

Animal husbandry

MS CU Pigs
MS CU Chickens
MS CU Dogs

105 Ext Day MLS Ape

(Optional)

VOICEOVER: Houses had proper names and were built by specialized craftsmen. Some of them carved decorative posts and tied the house frame together with colorful cords of pigmented vegetable fiber. There was a lot of craft-specialization in Ra'ivavae. Master builders were sponsored by chiefs and were members of a guild. They made dwellings, cookhouses, dining houses, storage and boat sheds of various shapes and sizes. Master boat-builders made several kinds of canoes, including double-outriggers with decorated bows and sterns used for inter-island voyaging.

VOICEOVER: Fishing was and still is one of the main occupations of the people in Ra'ivavae. In the past they developed many techniques and tools to exploit the ocean, from the lagoon to deep benthic waters. The same as today, the people of Raivavae had special canoes that were poled across the lagoon. They had fishhooks of all sizes and shapes, trawling gear, spears, and many kinds of nets and weirs. They knew when each kind of fish spawned, and when and

where it could be found throughout the year.

EDMUNDO (*Off*): Barringtonia which is often found growing near the ceremonial platforms was used as a stun poison for fishing. According to oral tradition, islanders used to camp in the islets when night fishing, however no campsites were recorded in Raivavae's archaeological survey. Present-day islanders make daytrips to the islets where they collect shells, coconuts, and occasionally sandalwood.

-----OPTIONAL-----

Fisherman interview

- Where do you fish and what are you looking for?
- Lagoon v/s deep sea.
- How did people fish in the past?
- Who taught you how to fish or how did you learn?
- First fishing trip or a memorable one.
- What's your favorite meat?

VOICEOVER: Ra'ivavae's economy was subsistence-based, relying on fishing, agriculture, trade and animal husbandry. *Talk about introduced animals ... raising pigs and dogs for food, chickens? Dogs are not eaten today.*

VOICEOVER: The ancient people of Raivavae cultivated fruits and vegetables most of which were introduced by the island's original settlers. Some of the main crops that are still cultivated today include: (*descriptions are optional*)

106 Ext Day MCU Ape

107 Ext Day MS Gerden bananas

108 Ext Day MLS Bananas on lagoon

109 Ext Day MS to CU of breadfruit

110 Ext Day MLS Coastal coconut

111 Ext Day MS Almost extinct coconut

112 Ext Day CU Almost extinct coconut

113 Ext Day MLS Sweet potato patch

114 Ext Day MCU sweet potato

115 Ext Day MLS Garden sugarcane

116 Ext 1 Day MLS *Ti* patch

117 Ext Day MCU *Ti*

117 Ext Day LS Tarotier

118 Ext Day MCU Tarotier

119 Ext Day MLS Tarotier workors

120b Ext Day CU Working hands

121 Ext Day Taro harvest

122 Ext Day MS collected taro

123 Ext Day LS Edmundo by a terrace taro patch

124 Ext Day MS Edmundo by taro patch
pan to...taro

- Ape* which grows wild on swamp banks and occasional streams.
- Raivavae has 8 varieties of banana most of which are planted near habitation sites. Locals hang them from sticks or wooden frames in the lagoon to keep them scavenger-free.
- Only three variety of breadfruit are cultivated in Raivavae today. In the past they were planted in the inside slopes of the calderas and shallow inland valleys.
- The most common variety of coconut is the one that grows all along the coastal road. Another variety is only found in certain islets while this variety here almost died out in 1982, when high winds left only one tree standing.
- There are only two varieties of sweet potato here. This one was brought from Rapa in the early 1900's. It is cultivated extensively in the district of Anatonu since the soil there is not suitable for taro cultivation.
- Raivavae's four varieties of sugarcane are still cultivated near residential sites.
- Ti* which is related to sugarcane may be found growing wild near the streams further inland or near household sites.

VOICEOVER: Undoubtedly, the most important of Raivavae's cultivated crops was and still is Taro. Raivavae has 13 varieties of wet taro and one of dry taro. Islanders distinguish each variety by stalk color, and the size and shape of the leaves and corm. Most varieties take a year to mature. *Hamoā ere ere* is the most popular variety today producing tubers that can weigh up to 7 k.

EDMUNDO: Wet taro is Raivavae's main staple although taro patches were much larger in the past starting in swamplands near the volcanic calderas continuing all the way to the coast.

EDMUNDO: In the swamps you find several separate mounds surrounded by ditches creating a semi-permanent arrangement of small plots measuring about 20 m per side. In other areas crops were cultivated in pond-field terraces that were created by diverting a stream to a high terrace so the water flows down to the lower terraces irrigating the crops. We found 88 pond-field terraces in the survey, most of them in Vaiuru.

Shot #: to be determined

LS Ti makers
MCU Ti makers
CU Hands & pounders
MS Squeezers
MCU Squeezing & bucket
CU Hands squeezing
MS pulp

LS Poe makers
MCU poe makers
CU Hands & pounders
MS Rolling
CU dough
MS Preparation with lemon
MS parcel

Eating pigs (*optional*)
LS The cooks
MCU preparing the pig
CU Hands & tools
MS preparing to cook it
MS cooked

Turtles

Shots: Uncertain

(*optional*)

125 Ext Night Time lapse moon & upright

126 Ext Day MLS Edmundo at Tutamoata, Te Rena, Ahaore, Pomaovao, Unurau, or Utamae

127 Ext Day MS Edmundo proving N/S orientation w compass

128 Ext Day CU of compass

Fade to

129-133 Pictures or engravings of *marae*

Annual cycle of feasts, and activities

--Text to be written

(VO and/or Edmundo)

Ti making

Poi making

Pigs (*optional*)

Turtles

(*Optional*)

VOICEOVER: Apparently a few Ra'ivavaen ceremonial structures were used to read astronomical phenomena. Polynesians built religious structures with astronomical orientation in places as near as Rurutu and Rimatara in the same archipelago, but also Huahine in the Society Islands and Mangareva in the Gambier Islands, and Easter Island.

EDMUNDO: The concept of orienting structures to astronomical phenomena is not new in Polynesia. Some altars mark the solstice and equinox to observe the rising and setting of the Pleiades whose course is almost in conjunction with the sun's. The Pleiades was the most important constellation in Polynesia, they used it for navigation and in many island it marked the New Year. Many more altars mark true north/south or east/west. Nine out of Raivavae's 39 most complex ceremonial structures, that is 15% of the total ceremonial structures we surveyed, seemed have a deliberate north/south axes orientation. This marae, NAME, has a north/south orientation.

VOICEOVER: The term *marae* or *malae* originated in Western Polynesia and refers to an open space or meeting ground used for secular and religious purposes usually located in the center of a settlement although some are established in remote locations to claim ownership over a particular resource. All Eastern Polynesian ceremonial structures share common features though the arrangement themselves vary from island to island.

133 Engraving or pictures of *marae*
worshippers

134 Ext Day Steadycam walk in to Pua Pua tiare

135 Ext Day MS Edmundo by at entrance Pua Pua Tiare

136 Ext Day Edmundo by the godhouse

137 Ext Day 360 pan inside court of Pua Pua Tiare

138 Ext Day LS Steadycam or pan of Mauna Oto

139 Ext Day MS Mauna Oto's tomb
fade to black

VOICEOVER: Like most Eastern Polynesians, the people of Raivavae believed the world was created when the *Ao*, the world of light, separated from the darkness of the spiritworld *Po*. *Marae* were places where people could access the *Po* and every family made offerings to deified ancestors whose supernatural power, *mana*, made the natural world fertile and protected them from enemies and harmful spirits.

VOICEOVER: Edmundo surveyed a total of 80 *marae* in Raivavae. This is *marae* Pua Pua Tiare which was restored by Edmundo in 1986. It has an approach flanked by uprights and an enclosed court. Only 4½ m of its original 25 m long entrance remain. Behind it there is a god-house where sacred objects and statues representing family gods were stored. This is an example of the most complex *marae* of Raivavae. It belonged to the paramount chief of the Hamuri group.

EDMUNDO: *Marae* were the seat from which the chief exercised his political and economic control and where the clan convened to settle important matters such as declaration of war. Raivavae's megalithic temples reflect the deified ancestors' power over everyday life. They consist of a great rectangular courtyard with stone slab entryways and walls. Come follow me and see what else there is to see. Behind the paved courtyard there is a god-house where small images of deified ancestors or gods were kept. Some *marae* also had an altar for offerings, and a paved ramp.

EDMUNDO (*Off*): Ceremonies performed at the *marae* included (mention). According to oral tradition dances of fertility took place before the *marae*'s main upright often chosen because of the stone's unique natural shape. Youths were tattooed here and a newborn's umbilical cord and placenta were buried on *marae* grounds. On this pavement the bodies of the dead were wrapped in bark cloth and exposed on biers. Offerings to succeed in a battle or voyage, rituals concerning planting, harvesting, and fishing all took place before the *marae*.

VOICEOVER: This is *marae* Mauna Oto formerly Aoahu also restored in 1986 by Edmundo and his team. Sometimes *marae* were raised by an extended family for private rites, however in most cases a high-ranking chief, the head of a lineage, was responsible for building and naming the *marae*.. This tomb belongs to the *marae*'s chief and his extended family.

140 Ext Day LS pan or steadycam of Te Vai Roa

141 Ext Day MS Edmundo at Te Vai Roa

142 Ext Day MS steadycam of *tiki*

143 Ext Day CU of full body *tiki*

144 Ext Day CU of *tiki* torso

145 Ext Day CU of *tiki* feet or
MLS *marae* pig sty (optional)

Fade to black

146 Ext Day LS Edmundo walking to MCU in Mahanatoa coast

Fade to

VOICEOVER: Here are the remains of *marae* Te Vai Roa I. It was the seat of the Po Itoito clan and one of Raivavae's finest altars. Today it is almost completely destroyed even though it was built shortly before the arrival of Christianity in 1870. It is difficult to imagine that this *marae* surrounded by a tangle of wild hibiscus and coffee trees once overlooked a complex of taro fields and a palisade fort.

EDMUNDO: A *marae*'s size depended on community resources and a chief's personal influence. The whole community, sometimes the whole district, supplied craftsmanship. *Marae* were evidently a matter of community pride; the number of stone statues on a *marae* and the elaborateness and size of the structure reflected the group's status and wealth. This one contained over 20 large stone statues reflecting the zeal and devotion of Raivavae's ancient population.

EDMUNDO (Off): Only 8 of the *marae* we surveyed had statues and they were all late period. The stylized form of the statues reflects an evolution in the representation of the human figure. Statues varied in size and were male and female although most of Raivavae's statues are female. Wood statues probably evolved into stone ones because they could be placed outdoors.

VOICEOVER: Raivavae's stone statues or *tiki* were mostly carved from red tuff as red was the color of sacredness. Unfortunately most of them were destroyed after the arrival of Christianity while some were sold or given away as gifts. Most of Raivavae's *marae* were dismantled in the past 200 years as locals re-used the stone pavement and coral curbing in newer constructions.

EDMUNDO: On February 5, 1775. The crews of the *Aguila* and *Jupiter* spotted Ra'ivavae under the command of Lt. Tomás Gayangos, commander of the Spanish expedition to the South Seas. Early the next morning he sent a boat ashore and probably anchored here in Mahanatoa Bay. The crew which included two Tahitian interpreters was dissuaded to land by several canoes loaded with excited locals who only cared to know the name of their captain was, indicating that although this is considered Ra'ivavae's first contact with Europeans, Europeans may not have been so alien to at least a few Raivavaen navigators. One thing is clear, once Raivavae was officially registered on a map, life here changed forever.

(*Sounds of unrest*)

147-150 Engravings of ships, whalers and sandalwood traders

151 Map of Polynesian whaling grounds

152 Engraving or pictures of missionaries

153-4 Engravings of Pomare

Shots: Uncertain

Shot #: to be determined

Shots: Uncertain

Shot #: to be determined

Shots: Uncertain

Shot #: to be determined

VOICEOVER: In 1817, sandalwood was the East Pacific's main commodity, but whaling had already become an important economic activity in Polynesia. By 1811 there were nearly 300 whaling ships working in Polynesia. The largest south Pacific whaling ground extended from the Juan Fernández archipelago to Norfolk Island, encompassing Easter Island, and the Pitcairn, Gambier, and Austral islands. Numbers multiplied in a short time and whaling ships proliferated the Pacific. In 1846 there were approximately 900 whaling ships in the area. Whaling ship logbooks mention Ra'ivavae as early as 1836.

VOICEOVER: Tahiti was undergoing great transformations at the time. In 1814, European missionaries publicly destroyed many Tahitian statues. The following year, Pomare II took control of Tahiti. He improved conditions for European commerce in Polynesia and enacted the Christian laws of 1815 where Tahitians abandoned traditional rituals and replaced them with Christian prayer. Pomare II became head of the Tahitian Church and the new State. This concentration of power earning him prestige and authority which he used to negotiate between warring factions bringing peace to the Society Islands.

EDMUNDO(?): In 1812 Captain Fodger, a notoriously dishonest sandalwood trader arrived to Raivavae. He kidnapped one of Raivavae's chiefs and ransomed him for 1¹/₂ tons of sandalwood. Acts like these became common following contact. With an increased population and fewer resources war broke out among the clans. Seeking protection of a sovereign nation and impressed by the Society Islands' harmony after conversion to Christianity, it seems Tubuai and Raivavae summoned the help of Pomare II. So in in October 1819, Captain Lewis, an American whaler-turned-sandalwood trader agreed to take Pomare II to Tubua'i and Ra'ivavae in exchange for a large amount of Ra'ivavae sandalwood. As soon as he arrived, Pomare II separately met the paramount chiefs of the Natirona and Humuri clans that were at war with each other over a land dispute involving Raivavae's opposing polities. The Hamuri chief told Pomare II that his clansmen were all sheltered in the Hatuturi palisade fort. Well, the next day Pomare II negotiated peace with the chiefs, and the same as Tubuaii. they ceded control of their island.

VOICEOVER: Pomare II returned to Tahiti, leaving a Tahitian missionary in Raivavae. In the next two years all but 25 of Raivavae's 800 or so inhabitants had converted to Christianity. Not fully aware of the implications of the island's cession to Tahiti, Raivavae became French territory when Tahitian queen Pomare IV signed her rights over to France in 1861.

155 Int Day MLS Steadycam inside an empty temple (not Anatonu)

156 Int Day MS The cross

156 Int Day CU the bible in Tahitian
(dark wood in bg.)

(157-159 *Optional*)

157 Ext Day Coffee plantation

158 Ext Day CU Coffee beans

158 Ext Day Coffee workers

159 Ext Day Raivavai Coffee package

160 Ext Day MLS to MS of Edmundo by first lime site.

161 Ext Day CU of the lime

Go to abrupt black

VOICEOVER: Because so little is known about ancient Raivavae, it is very difficult to determine what changed in the ten years following conversion to Christianity. However, one thing is clear, the new social system was incompatible with the old hierarchy and all traditions that validated ancient institutions had to be abandoned. The missionaries soon enacted a moral code that made dancing, singing, polygamy, and sexual activities sinful. The Bible replaced oral tradition and because it was translated into Tahitian, Tahitian replaced the local language. Pastors and preachers became the voice of the community, and it was through them that change took place.

(Optional)

VOICEOVER: The missionaries introduced many new plant species because they wanted to improve the local diet and grow exportable cash crops, which they considered vital for the island's development. They thought islanders would learn discipline by working for wages to buy goods. After experimenting with citrus, vanilla, and other products, it was found that Raivavae's climate was better suited for coffee. Plantations proliferated until coffee became Raivavae's main cash crop.

EDMUNDO: The newly-arrived missionaries started encouraging the construction of lime-plastered temples, houses, and other structures. Here just steps away from *marae* Pua Pua Tiare are pieces of lime belonging to Raivavae's first Christian temple. Lime is made by burning coral chunks in large pits at very high temperatures, so a lot of wood is required. The introduction of western building materials and forms quickly replaced all traditional ones, increasing the demand for European goods. Then something devastating occurred.

(Sounds of fearful masses)

162. Ext Night. CU Candlenut lamp...

... blows out

Fade to

163 Ext Night MLS Communal grave

Shots: Uncertain

Shot #: to be determined

164 Ext Day MLS Women showing up for church (with hats)

165 Ext Day MS Woman walking to church

166 Ext Day MLS Man hanging out

167 Ext Day MS Women in green hats

168 Ext Day LS to MS of Edmundo
Walking to camera outside Anatonu temple

169 Ext Day LS Anatonu temple

170 Ext Day LS Zoom to clock

171 Ext Day MLS Jehovah's witnesses
or Mormons canvassing/meeting

VOICEOVER: Polynesians had little resistance to the infectious diseases carried by Europeans. In April 1829 almost 20 years after Pomare II visited Ra'ivavae, the missionaries recorded that a highly infectious fever had become an epidemic. It had spread from Tubua'i to Ra'ivavae with devastating effects on both islands. Whole communities were instantly affected. During the first few days, entire families were buried in communal graves like this one. As few as 60 people may have survived.

VOICEOVER: After the epidemics, the few remaining survivors lived in a different world. Urged by the missionaries, islanders left their traditional houses and built new European-styled ones near the new temples. The missionaries helped locals build piers in front of the new settlements to improve trade and delivery of supplies. The introduction of tools of modern technology ended with ancient tools and their craftsmen. People changed the way they dressed and traditional skills were no longer valued. Cotton replaced bark cloth. The wives of the Tahitian preachers taught local women how to cut and sew European-style dresses and how to make hats that were used for mass on Sundays, and which are still used today.

EDMUNDO (*Off*): Men and women wear their best clothes for Sunday mass and the women wear different colored hats for each month of the year. In May the hats are white & green.

EDMUNDO: The Christian temples of Raivavae today are what the ancient *marae* were to the ancestors of the present-day worshippers. Like *marae* in the past, the temple building itself is the product of the community's greatest physical, material, and aesthetic labor, representing local status and pride. Raivavae's temples were built with local labor and funds reflecting the leadership of each village's pastors, deacons and mayors and just as it was in the past, religion dominates all social activities and behavior.

VOICEOVER: This temple was built by the men of Anatonu and Vaiuru. They worked half-a-day everyday for three months for forty years to complete it. Service starts at 10:30 each Sunday as indicated by the painted clock at front. Worship is restricted to married men and women of

good reputé, quite a turn from the past when people became members at birth. Locals feel it is very important to belong to a Church, so Seventh Day Adventists and Jehova's Witnesses have also found converts in Raivavae.

172 Int Day MLS Edmundo in the Pastor's quarter's pan to MS of Vanina Maitui

Interview with woman Pastor

Shot #: to be determined

MLS LS MS Vanina maitui

CU details hands, face, sacred objects

Shots: Uncertain

Shot #'s to be determined

EDMUNDO: Raivavaie has three villages each with its own temple even though there are only two pastors. Rairua has its own pastor, while Vaiuru and Anatonu share a pastor. This is Mrs. Vanina Maitui one of four female pastors of the Protestant Temple of French Polynesia.

Interview with Pastor Vanina

--Questions to be written

VOICEOVER: Mrs. Vanina XXXX is and one of Raivavae's most important citizens. This should not surprise us since we were told women won their parity in Vaiuru and Anatonu centuries ago.

EDMUNDO Our first day here we were approached by Lebert Mataura who is now our friend, and at some point my daughter asked him about this islet called Hotu Atua. He told us an oral tradition that Lynn quickly recorded.

The story says that many years ago, Toeno Hine representing the women of Anatonu challenged the men to a contest of strength and cunning to prove they were equal. Each had to somehow manage to move a great stone into the lagoon. The first one to succeed before the first cock's crow the next day was the winner. The men confidently accepted the challenge.

The women met early on the allotted day and started moving their stone even before the sun came up. The men were arrogant and had started celebrating their victory the night before. Confident they would win they slept late and started moving their stone after sunrise realizing too late that it was much more difficult than what they had anticipated. The women continued working at a steady slow pace without stopping to eat or sleep. The men had fallen asleep when the women reached the lagoon with their stone, well before the cock crowed. The women decided to guarantee their victory by urinating on the men's stone so the men wouldn't want to touch it when they woke up. The women began crowing like the roosters to wake up the men. The men all realized they had been beaten and the women had a great feast. The woman's stone is Hotu Atua. The man's stone Rua Tara.

Women in Raivavae today hold positions of power and have more schooling than the men.

Team working at Lebert's *marae*

Shot #: *o be determined*

Crossroads (house on *marae*)

Houses today

Canoes

Making
Changes
Competition

-----OPTIONAL-----

Pigs for status
Boat Carpenter's interview
Boat Carpenter's interview
French boat guy interview
Rairua City tour

Souvenir carver interview

--*Questions to be written*

Airport

--*Text to be written*

Carta de Opotu

--*Text to be written*
(read by someone in RVV)

Unurau

--*Text to be written*
(told by Edmundo)

Team working at Libert's *marae*

Crossroads (house on *marae*)

Houses today

Canoes

Making
Changes
Competition

-----OPTIONAL-----

Pigs for status
Boat Carpenter's interview
French boat guy interview
Rairua City tour

Souvenir carver interview

--*Questions to be written*

Airport

--Text to be written

Carta de Opotu

--Text to be written

(read by someone in RVV)

Unurau

--Text to be written

(told by Edmundo)

OPTIONAL TAKES

Edmundo's personal stories

 Wedding and dyes

 The funeral

Feedback song

Island of passion

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