

Provisional Survey of Aitutaki, Cook Islands Sites and Monuments

May-June 2017



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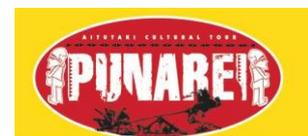
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List of Contents:

Preface

1. Introduction

2. Research Context

3. Methods

4. Locating the Aitutaki *ara metua*

5. Orthostatic *marae* of Aitutaki

5.1 Paengariki (AIT 26)

5.2 Toku Pu Moana (AIT 1)

5.3 Orongo (AIT13)

6. Settlement

6.1 Maramanui (AIT 43)

7. Schools outreach

8. Conclusion

Bibliography

Appendix 1: Cultural Heritage Record

Appendix 2: Small Finds Register

Appendix 3: Teachers notes: 'Today we are Archaeologists'

List of Figures:

Figure 1. Sites on Aitutaki recorded by Bellwood in 1969 (after Bellwood 1978).

Figure 2. Sites recorded on Aitutaki by GPS.

Figure 3. Complete plan of Paengariki showing the location of stones concealed by vegetation in the 1969 survey, the position of 2008 excavation trenches are also shown by dashed lines.

Figure 4. Fluxgate gradiometer survey of Paengariki, top shows raw data and bottom processed data.

Figure 5. View of Paengariki complex from the north.

Figure 6. Plan of stone rows at Paengariki showing the six irregular alignments, note the variability between each row in terms of number of stones and orientation.

Figure 7. Photogrammetric model of named stones 1, Rare Korero (right) & 2, Kapua-te-rangi (left).

Figure 8. Large scale plan of visible features at Toku Pu Moana.

Figure 9. Detailed plans of specific areas at Toku Pu Moana

Figure 10. Photogrammetric model of the small *atarau* at Toku Pu Moana.

Figure 11. Geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) survey of Toku Pu Moana.

Figure 12. Geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) plot of Orongo.

Figure 13. View of Maramanui from the south.

Figure 14. Geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) plot of Maramanui, showing areas of high magnetic anomalies and small-find location (see Fig. 15 for corresponding artefacts). Note the magnetically enhanced area directly downslope of the 'platform'.

Figure 15. Artefacts collected from cultivated surface at Maramanui.

Figure 16. School pupils at Araura School undertaking archaeological activities

Preface

The archaeological survey work detailed in this report was undertaken by Colin Richards and Jane Downes (University of the Highlands and Islands, UK), Kate Welham (Bournemouth University, UK), Francisco Torres Hochstetter (MAPSE, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Chile) and Lawrence Shaw (New Forest National Park Authority, UK), working with Ngaakitai Pureariki (Punarei Aitutaki), with the permission of the Aitutaki Council, and Cook Islands Research Permit (Ref. 15-16a), working between 23rd May and 2nd June 2017.

The archaeological work comprised site survey and location using GPS, geophysical survey, and surface collection of artefacts. A database of the sites has been produced as a Cultural Heritage Record, and lodged with the Aitutaki Islands Council. All artefacts have been left on the island with the Aitutaki Islands Council.

1. Introduction

The island of Aitutaki is part of the Southern Cook Islands, situated c. 130 miles north of the largest island, Raratonga. Aitutaki is formed of one large island and a series of smaller islands (motus) running down its eastern side. The archaeology of Aitutaki was initially brought to wider academic attention through the publication of 'The material culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)' by Te hangī hiroa (Buck 1927). However, it was only through the 1968-9 survey work of the University of Auckland team, headed by Peter Bellwood, that a more systematic and detailed site record was produced (Bellwood 1978). Since this time little further fieldwork has occurred on Aitutaki, the exceptions being smaller interventions such as the unpublished partial excavations at the substantial *marae* of Paengariki (see section 5.1), and Melinda Allen's research into adze production, for example, on Moturakau (Ditchfield et al. 2014). As part of the current survey, the adjacent island of Motu Rapota was visited and as Ditchfield *et al.* (ibid) report, clear evidence of adze (*toki*) production was detected. Spatial differentiation of production was discernible with a number of large hammer-stones being visible amongst at least two areas of basalt outcropping. Between the two outcrops, approximately 20m from each, a level area of c. 10-15m diameter was littered with small flakes and had clearly provided the context for secondary flaking. No evidence in the form of polishing stones or grooves on the outcrops for final polishing was observed.

erected and more areas of cultivation established. Consequently, as a prerequisite for a new programme of archaeological research it was considered important to re-evaluate the archaeological resource and re-survey the known sites to modern standards, specifically to accurately record site locations with GPS, visually assess the condition of sites (in particular to note whether sites had deteriorated since the Bellwood survey of 1969), and finally to add any further sites discovered since the late 1960s. This fieldwork also provides a detailed indication of the level of destruction of the archaeological heritage of Aitutaki over a c. 50 year period, presented within the Aitutaki Cultural Heritage Record (Appendix 1).

2. Research context

In the wider context of the Southern Cook islands as an integrated Polynesian entity, the interesting element of the Aitutaki *marae* structures is the frequent employment of orthostatic architecture in their construction, as exemplified by the substantial rows of monoliths at Paengariki (AIT26), and probably at Mata o tane (AIT36). This architecture is not paralleled at *marae* structures on the larger island of Raratonga (Duff 1974, 20), which tend to conform to an elevated platform arrangement recognised more widely across eastern Polynesia (see Emory 1933; Wallin 1993, 34-6). Alternatively, some Rarotongan *marae* do employ monoliths, but not taking the form of stone alignments seen on Aitutaki. Although a broad range of topographic locations for different *marae* is apparent on Raratonga, the dominant spatially (and socially) structuring element determining *marae* location was the Great Road of Toi (*ara metua*); a basalt rock-surfaced road which once encircled the island (Campbell 2006, 103-5). It was at intervals along this road that the larger *marae* were situated.

If the architecture of the *marae* on Aitutaki are different from those present on Raratonga, should the ceremonial monuments be considered as equivalents? Equally, were the locations of *marae* and *paepae* on Aitutaki predicated on the route of a circuit road (*ara*) that previously existed on the main island? Furthermore, how does settlement relate to the location of *marae* on Aitutaki? It is by addressing these questions that an appreciation and knowledge of the ordering of settlements, and communities and religious life in ancient Aitutaki may be attained. They also

provided a framework for the short period of fieldwork undertaken in 2017, and that planned for further years.

3 Methods

All site locations, small finds and geophysics grids were geolocated using a using a Leica Viva GS05 Zeno survey grade Global Positioning System (GPS) in the coordinate system UTM 4S. Plans were produced in ESRI ArcGIS v10.2.2 using base map layers provided by Land Information New Zealand (LINZ).

Geophysical survey was conducted at four locations on Aitutaki: Bellwood AIT01 Toku pu moana, Bellwood AIT13 Orongo, Bellwood AIT26 Paengariki, and Bellwood AIT43 Maramanui. All sites were surveyed using a fluxgate magnetometer, and AIT01 and AIT43 were also surveyed using electromagnetic techniques. All grids were 20m by 20m.

The electromagnetic survey (AIT01 and AIT43) was conducted using a Geonics EM38B instrument in horizontal mode. Readings were taken at 1m intervals along north-south traverses spaced 1m apart. Data were accessed in Geonics DAT software. Unresolvable problems with the Geonics download software have meant that the results of these surveys cannot be reported here and will be sent on at a later date.

Fluxgate gradiometer survey at all sites was conducted using a Bartington Grad601b with readings taken at 0.125m intervals along north-south traverses spaced 1m apart, at a resolution of 1nT, range 1000nT, readings were taken in parallel. All data were subjected to minimal processing (e.g. zero median traverse, and clip) in Terra Surveyor v3.0.27.0, and imported into ArcGIS v10.2.2 for display and production of interpretation plots.

Artefacts that were visible on the surface were collected and a GPS co-ordinate taken. Artefacts have been listed (Appendix 2) and photographed.

4. Locating the Aitutaki *ara metua*

There is no current written record of a ceremonial *aranui* (equivalent to the *ara metua* on Raratonga) on Aitutaki. However an examination of the island-wide distribution and location of sites and monuments through archaeological survey could reveal whether there once existed such a monumental route on the island. The assumption here is that the location of a number of *marae* (particularly coastal) would be determined by the island circuit of an *aranui* or *ara metua*. To examine this possibility each site identified by the 1969 survey by Bellwood, together with new sites, was recorded by GPS (Fig. 2).

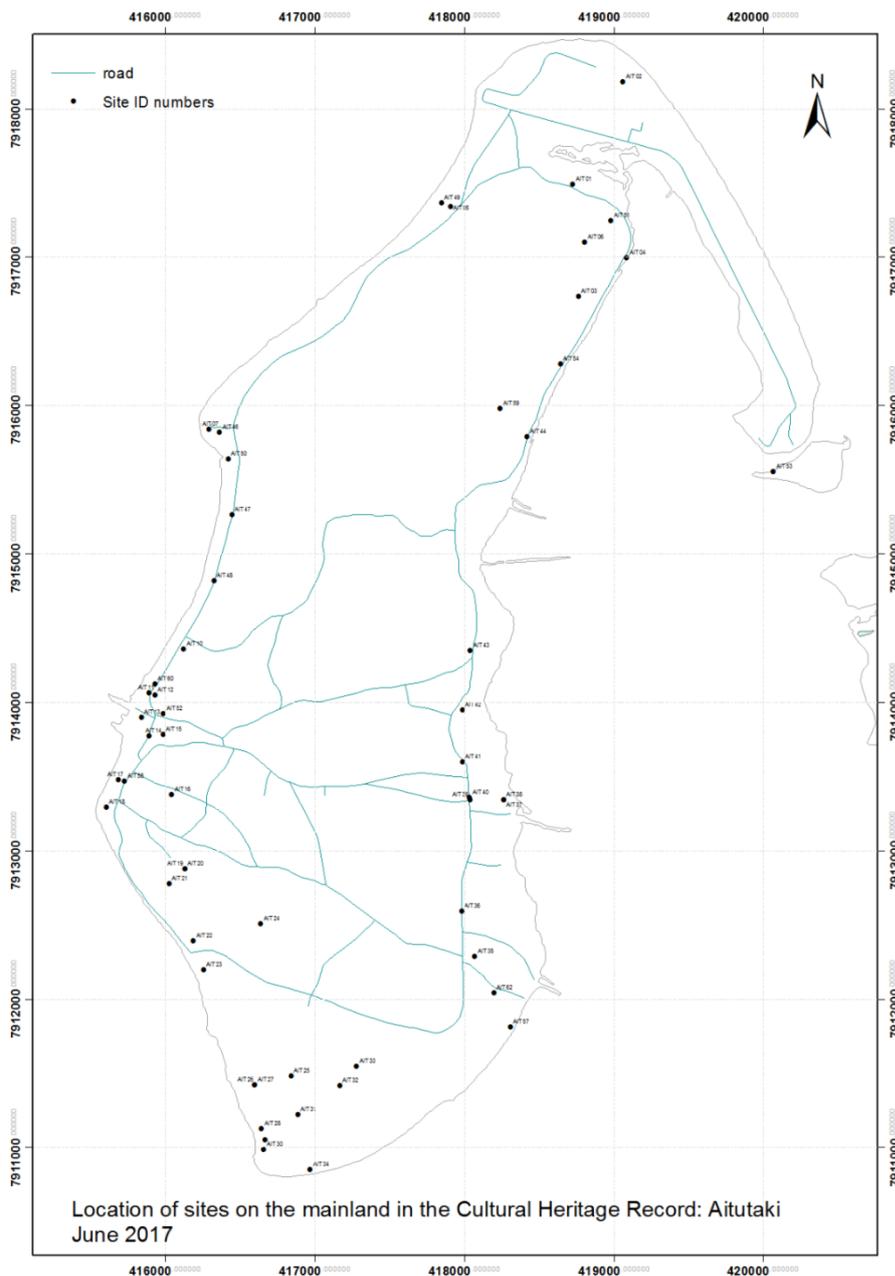


Figure 2. Sites recorded on Aitutaki by GPS.

The distribution of sites recorded (Fig. 2) reveals an interesting distribution pattern that partially coincides with the route of current coastal roads on Aitutaki. Significantly, the only observable deviation is in the southern area of the island where, a number of sites appear to relate to the circuit of *ara metua* as it which once ran around the southern coast. From the overall distribution of sites, mainly *marae*, at intervals along the coast, it seems reasonable to conclude that originally there was an ancient *ara metua* running in a circuit adjacent to the coast around the entire island.

5. Orthostatic marae of Aitutaki

Accepting a degree of diversity (Campbell 2006, 106), as mentioned above, the architectural variation between the platform *marae* on Raratonga and the orthostatic *marae* on Aitutaki has been commented on in the past (e.g. Duff 1974, 20).

However, these differences have been attributed to the presence of different ‘people’ as represented by canoes from various locations across Polynesia landing on Aitutaki:

The founder of all these [orthostatic marae at Paengariki] was said to have been Kakeroa, who sailed to Aitutaki in his canoe Ka-topatuma from Avaiki (Bellwood 1978, 107).

Whilst there may well have been numerous canoe landings throughout the Southern Cook Islands over several hundred years in the pre-contact period, the architectural differences of *marae* noted between Raratonga and Aitutaki clearly relate to different social practices as much as the relocation of specific external Polynesian island architectural traits or traditions. Moreover, the final morphology of Aitutaki *marae*, as seen today, may represent the culmination of a series or process of monumental construction, or even the superimposition of quite different ceremonial monuments. Consequently, as part of the new survey two *marae*, Paengariki (AIT 26) and Tokupu moana (AIT01), were selected for more detailed evaluation (see Fig. 2 for location).

5.1 Paengariki (AIT 26)

Although of considerable size, the *marae* site of Paengariki, located in the southern part of the main island was not recorded by Buck (1927) in ‘The material culture of

the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)'. In 1974, Duff described Paengariki as 'four parallel rows of massive five feet uprights spaced ten feet apart' forming 'great avenues over one hundred in length' (1974, 20). When Bellwood surveyed the site in 1969, the site was divided into two components. First, a *marae* or *atarau* (AIT26) consisting of two close-set rows of basalt uprights covering an area approximately 7 x 2.50 meters (1978, 107). It was suggested that a second small *atarau*, situated 9m to the north, may be represented by three standing monoliths. Second, five roughly parallel alignments of basalt monoliths (AIT27), ranging up to 1.90 meters in height, and positioned on average about 2 meters apart (ibid). It was also noted that overall there is no regularity about the placement of monoliths. Bellwood observes the existence of flat stone seats at the bases of three stones in the western row, facing the *atarau*, with another adjacent to the most northerly standing monolith in the eastern row. Two rows of smaller horizontal stones (referred to as curbing by Bellwood) were observed running from the alignments to the east and north, with the later having a right-angle section at the end. These two rows puzzled Bellwood who considered the possibility of their being structures:

The two lines of stone curbing are anomalous, as they both cut across the eastern line of uprights. It is possible that these curbings are remnants of dwelling platforms from a period before the construction of the *marae*, when a few curbstones were left in place. While there is no certainty on this matter, the obvious alternative is unacceptable. That is, if each dwelling platform had a house over its full length when the *marae* was in use, both houses would have had *marae* uprights inside them, and this circumstance is rather unlikely. Furthermore, the northern facing is on a different alignment than that of the *marae* uprights (ibid).

It was the eastern row of curb-stones that provided the focus for small-scale excavations undertaken at the site in December 2008 by Mark Eddowes and Ngaakitai Pureariki (Fig. 3). The main trench was rectangular (later extended to the east) and positioned to run across the stone row. A number of small pits and features were revealed within the trenches with little evidence that the row of stones constituted a building. A number of smaller test-pits were excavated at various locations across the site. One test-pit south of the *marae* or *atarau* produced fragments of human skull. Of further interest was the observation of three sunken substantial pit-like features running in a linear manner to the west of the *marae* or *atarau*, these remained unexcavated (see Fig. 3). Despite their clear sunken visual appearance, the geophysical survey failed to detect these features as magnetic anomalies (see Fig. 4).

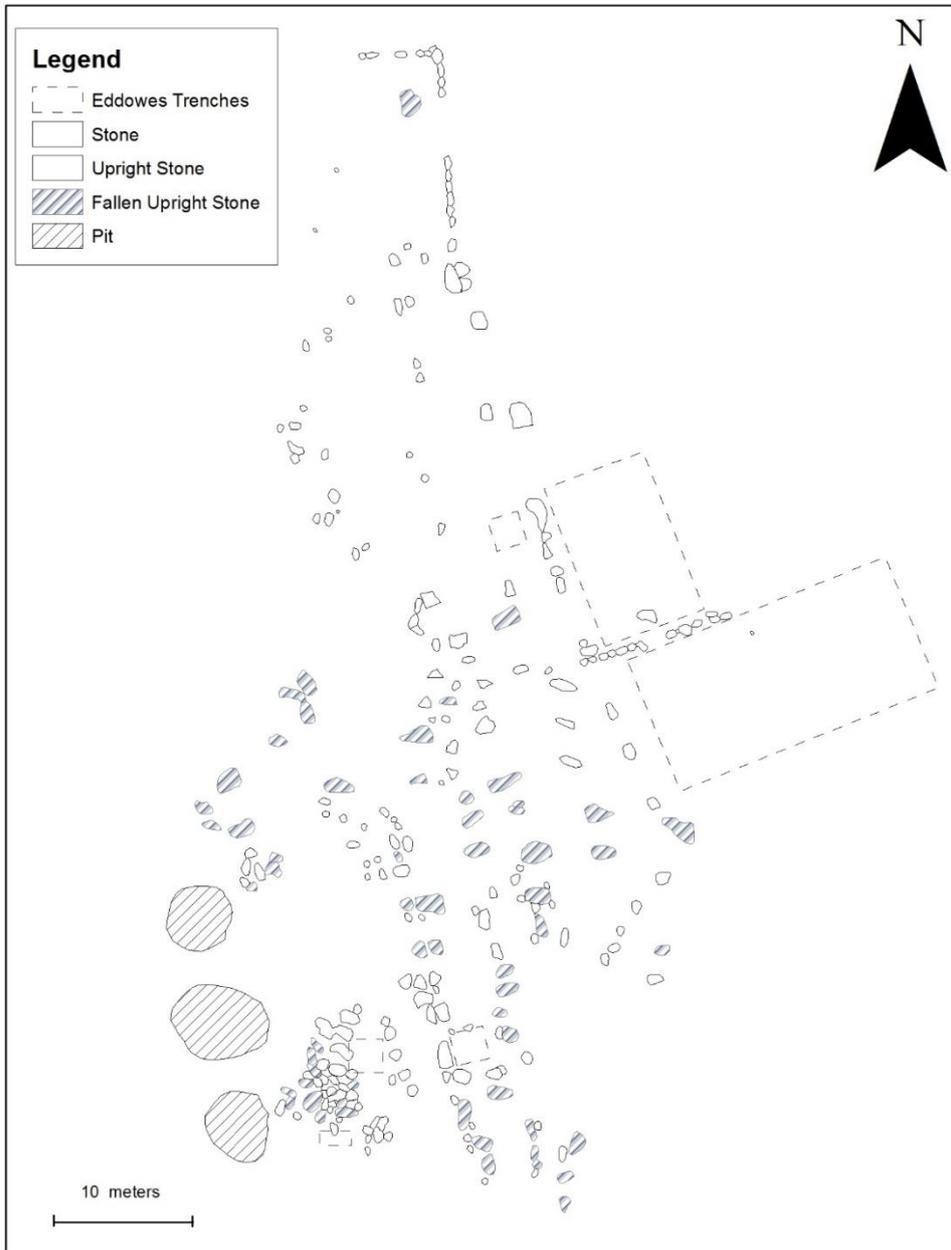


Figure 3. Complete plan of Paengariki showing the location of stones concealed by vegetation in the 1969 survey, the position of 2008 excavation trenches are also shown by dashed lines.

In 2017, as part of the new survey of Aitutaki sites and monuments, further fieldwork was undertaken at Paengariki. Initially, the site was cleared of vegetation to enable the location of stones previously concealed when Bellwood undertook planning in 1969. Geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) survey was also undertaken across the entire site. Unfortunately, the high magnetism of the basalt monoliths masked any smaller magnetic anomalies representing sub-surface features (Fig. 4). However, an exception to this was the presence of a positively enhanced sub-rectangular anomaly, approximately 5 x 2m, situated in the far northwest extent of the survey.

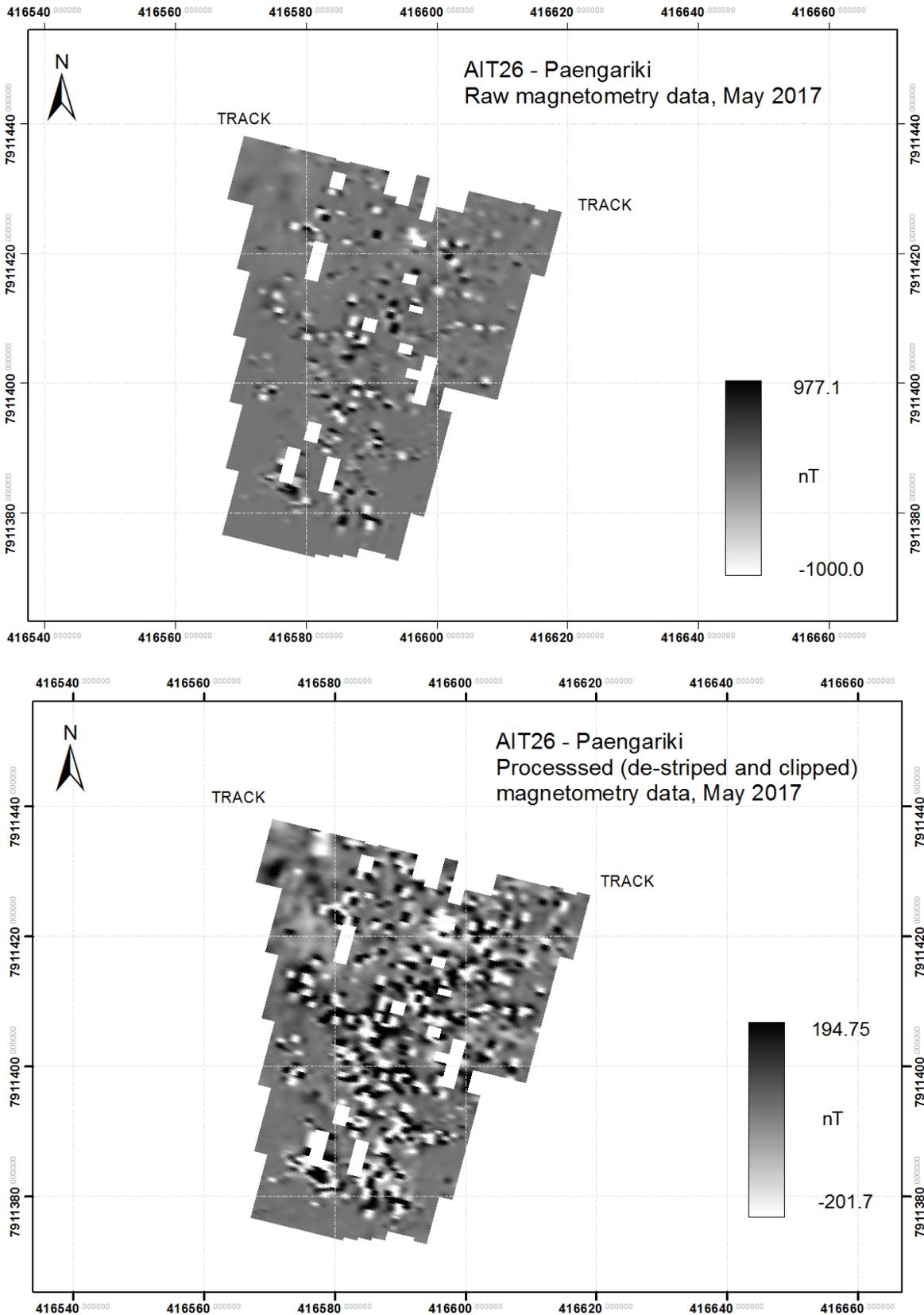


Figure 4. Fluxgate gradiometer survey of Paengariki, top shows raw data and bottom processed data.

The clearing of vegetation from the site revealed the extraordinary scale and architecture of the Paengariki complex. Although many stones have fallen, a number of irregular rows or alignments of basalt monoliths were clearly visible (Fig. 5). Careful observation of the complex revealed a number of interesting characteristics missed by earlier surveys.

Even taking into account the rather haphazard appearance caused by the fallen monoliths it is clear that the site is constituted of six rows of basalt monoliths (Fig. 6). Each alignment is dissimilar, both in orientation and number of stones. In alignment, each stone row splays in from the north, thereby giving the impression of an architecture that leads to a particular point in the south of the site. Finally, the intervals between stones in each of the rows are irregular. Taken together these field observations allow the site to be reinterpreted.



Figure 5. View of Paengariki complex from the north.

The irregularity of both rows and individual stones is suggestive of the site being a product of a process of construction, as opposed to an initial total construction. In this scheme stones (and rows) would be gradually added over a potentially long period of time. The implication of this is that there was never an overall concept of a completed *marae*, but rather the site was understood as a product of an ongoing process or a monumental project stretching over several generations. Interestingly, Bellwood (1978, 107-8) noted that some stones were actually named which changes the complexion of the site from being constituted of a series of stone rows to that of a series of stone rows *comprising discrete and individually named monoliths* (Fig. 7).

Here we can recognise a material homology between the famous Rarotongan staff gods, with side notches that acted as mnemonics for genealogical recitation (see Campbell 2006, 106) and the rows of individually named stones comprising Paengariki. Here, rather than running the hand down the notches of the staff god, walking along the rows, passing individual stones, provides a material manifestation and mnemonic of named ancestors – a series of genealogies mapped into the stone architecture and fabric of the site.

It is therefore no coincidence that the stone rows begin to converge in the south of the site. This is where the *marae* or *atarau* is positioned; the most sacred part of the monument. It was at this location that pieces of a human skull were recovered in a test-pit.

Overall, rather than being a large *marae* facing the west, an alternative interpretation sees the site as being a series of discrete stone rows running north-south, produced or constructed over a long period of time with individual stones being added in a piecemeal sequence. Each stone is named and relates to an ancestor in one form or another. To walk along down the row (north - south) is to pass back through the generations and the movement of the human body effectively recites a genealogy as each stone is passed. The passage south along the stone row runs from the everyday world back through time to the clan founders, and in taking this path there is a gradual increase in sanctity or *tapu*. At the end of the path is the sacred *marae* or *atarau*; a dangerous and highly *tapu* place where people and deities interact.

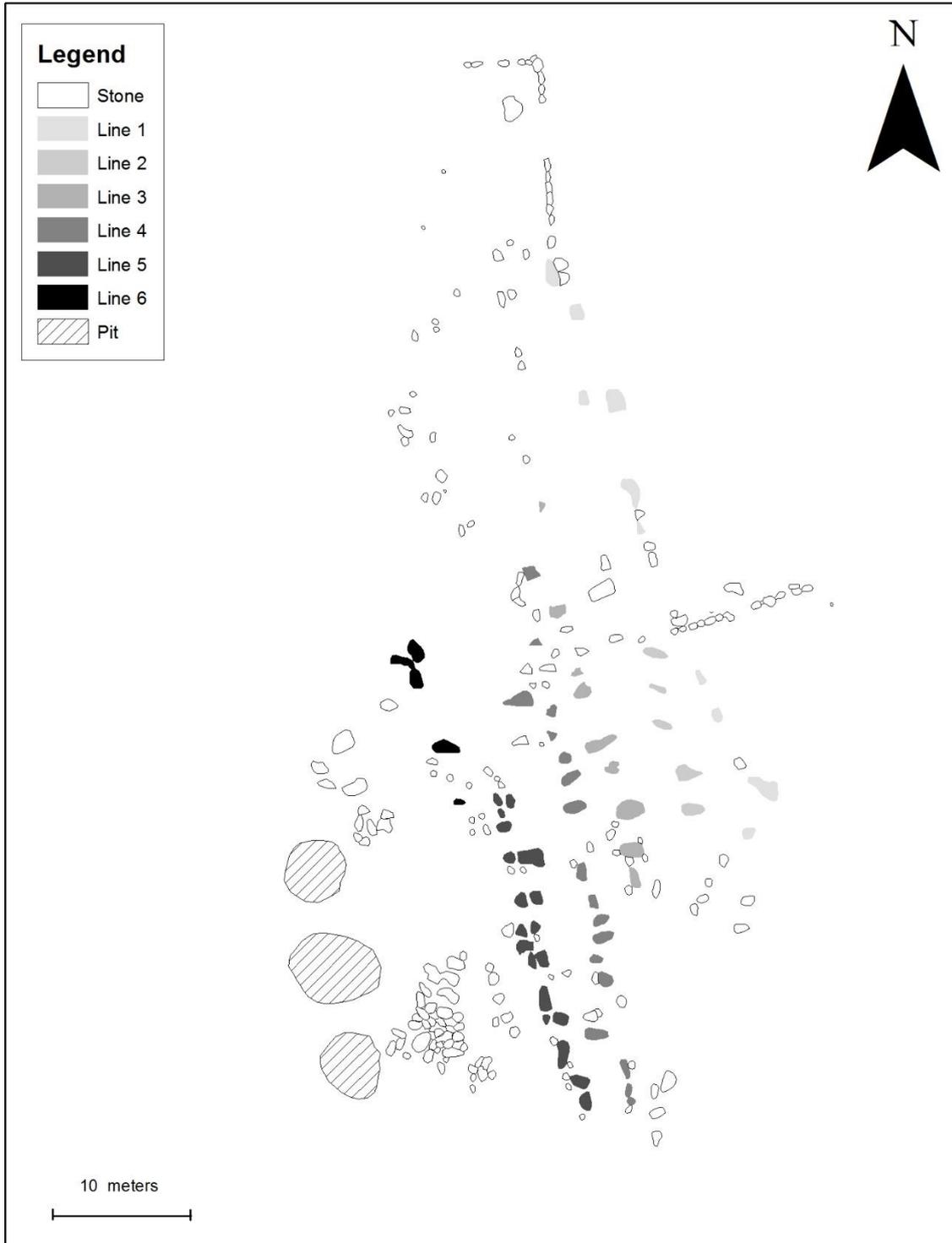


Figure 6. Plan of stone rows at Paengariki showing the six irregular alignments, note the variability between each row in terms of number of stones and orientation.



Figure 7. Photogrammetric model of named stones 1, Rare Korero (right) and 2, Kapua-te-rangi (left).

5.2 Toku Pu Moana (AIT 1)

Like Paengariki, the *marae* of Toku Pu Moana was not identified by Buck (1927) in 'The material culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)'. Bellwood's 1969 survey provides a description of the site:

This site consists of an *atarau* with two parallel rows of close-set[^] unworked, upright basalt stones, ranging in height from 40 to 85 cm. The two rows cover an area of 4 x 1.20 meters, and the irregular space between the two rows has been left empty, as in all other examples of this class (Bellwood 1978, 93).

Bellwood (ibid) also notes the presence of small stone slabs c. 7m to the north which are provisionally interpreted as a second *atarau*. New fieldwork undertaken in May 2017 comprised geophysical survey (fluxgate gradiometer) and re-planning areas of the site. The condition of the *marae* or *atarau* was good and a large area to the north and west had been cleared and grassed over. It soon became clear that the site was more extensive than reported by Bellwood, being apparently dispersed over an area exceeding 50m to the north – north-east.

The description and plan of the small *atarau* diverged little from that given by Bellwood (ibid). However, two discrete groups of stones (one recorded by the 1969 survey) were present due north of the *atarau* (Fig.7). In the far northeast corner of

the grassed area, portions of paving were visible on the surface extending across a slightly elevated piece of ground (Figs. 8 & 9). The paving could be seen to extend further to the north beyond the grassed area. The overall impression of Toku Pu Moana is of a *marae* complex extending over a considerable area. Architecturally, this marae is extremely different to that of Paengariki, being constituted by a focal point of the parallel low monoliths of the small *atarau* (Fig. 10), and a series of outlying components, one of which is a substantial area of paving.

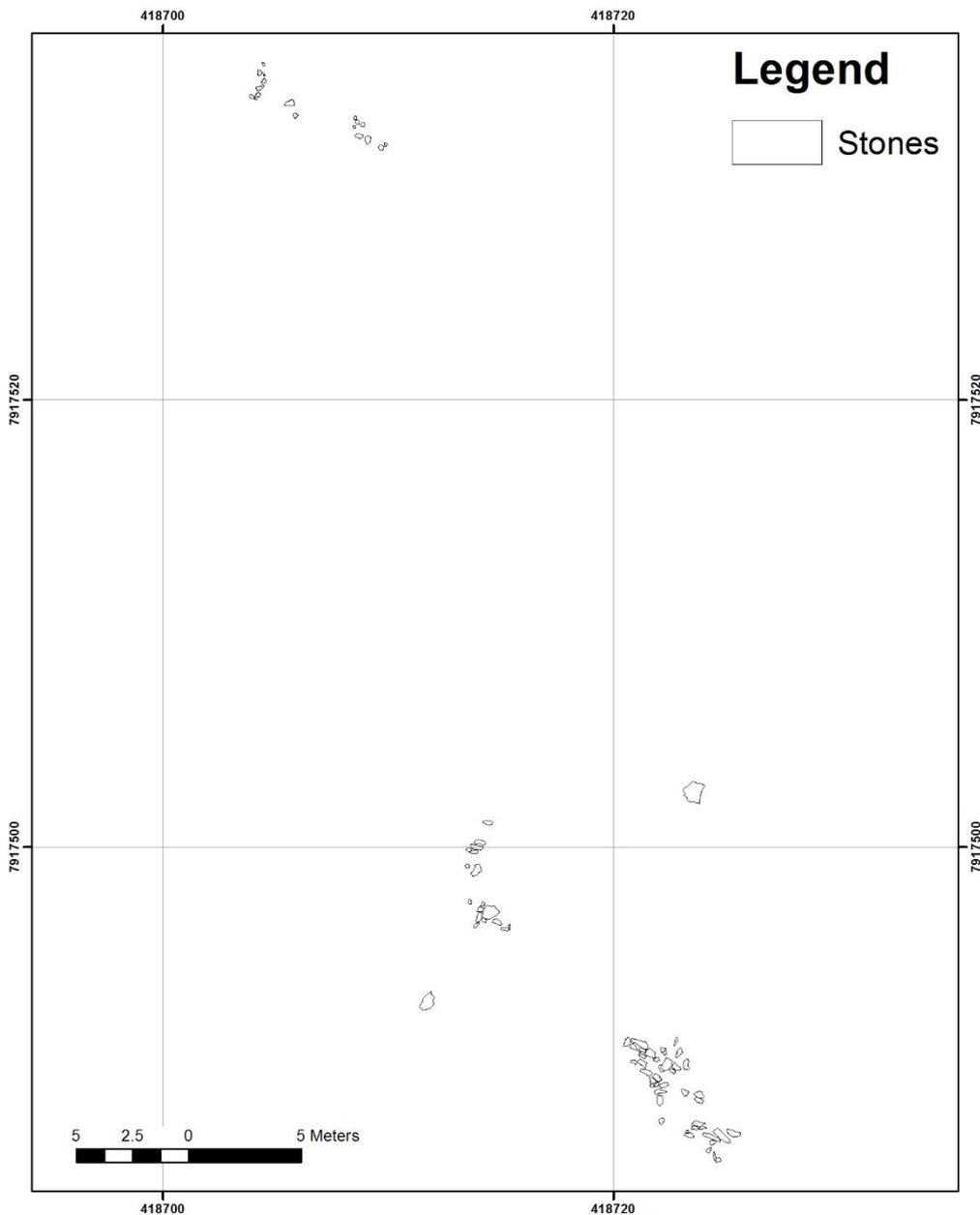


Figure 8. Large scale plan of visible features at Toku Pu Moana.

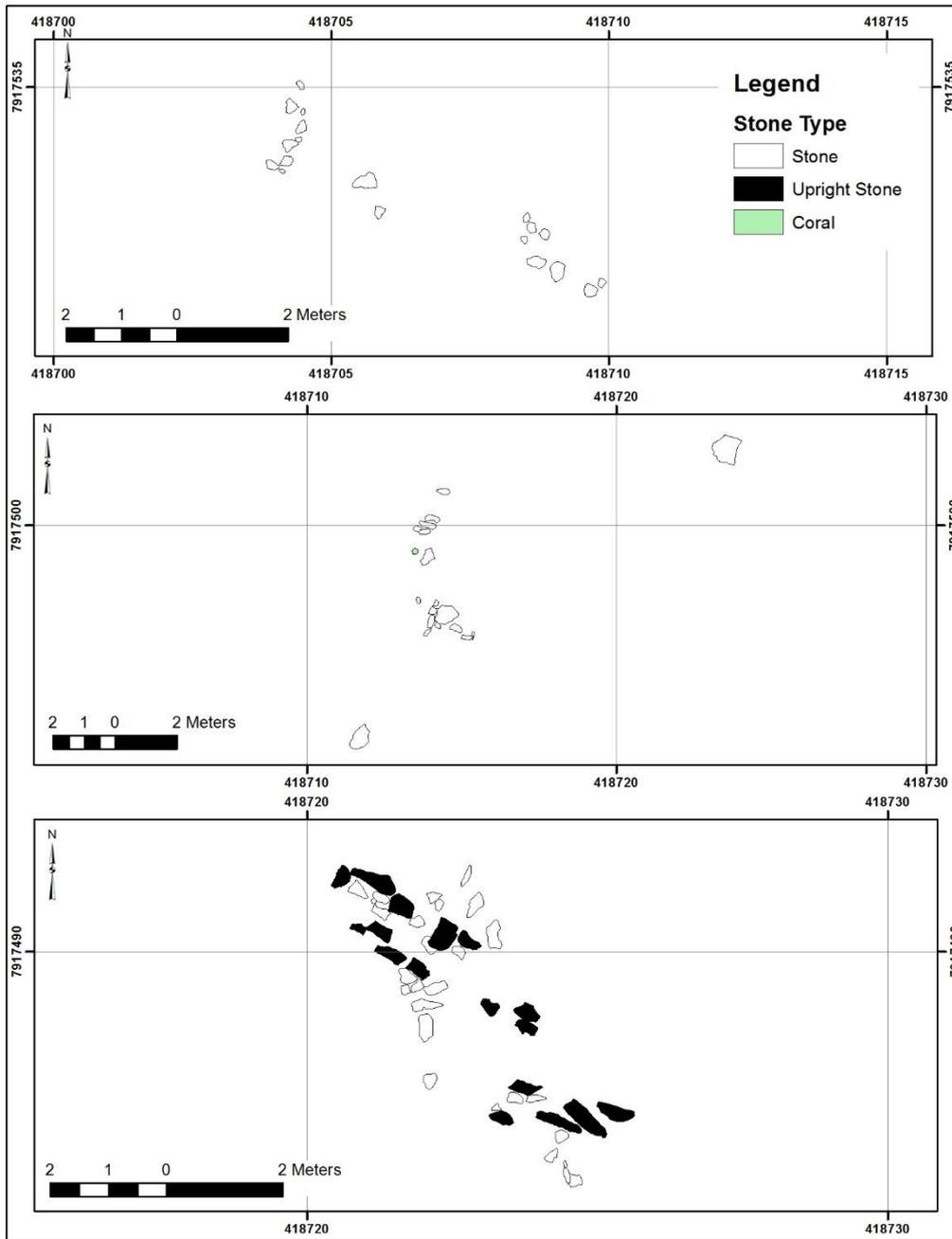


Figure 9. Detailed plans of specific areas at Toku Pu Moana



Figure 10. Photogrammetric model of the small *atarau* at Toku Pu Moana.

The most unexpected feature of this complex was discovered by the geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) survey (Fig. 11). A broad curvilinear feature, represented by a semi-circular positively enhanced anomaly, approximately 20m in overall diameter. No trace of this feature was observable on the surface and its presence as a sub-surface feature raises the interesting issue of the significance and continuity of 'place' and the temporal sequence of sacred architecture. Clearly, this feature relates to an earlier monument occupying and underlying the *marae* of Toku Pu Moana. Equally, curvilinear architecture is unusual in an ancient Polynesian context, particularly eastern Polynesia.

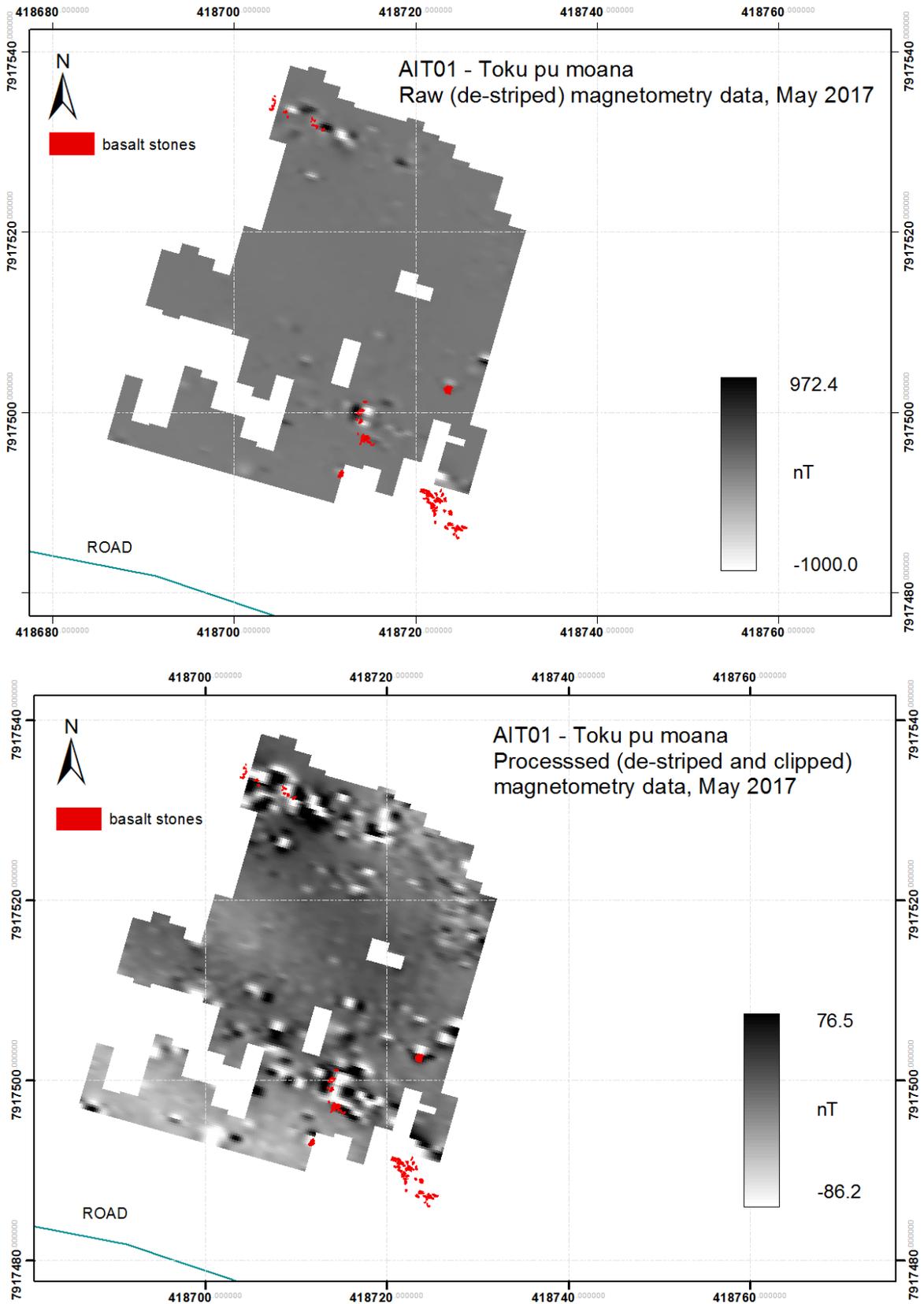


Figure 11. Geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) survey of Toku Pu Moana, top shows raw data and bottom processed data. The curvilinear feature is visible on the bottom plot running vertically in the right-hand area of the survey.

5.3 Orongo (AIT 13)

A parcel of ground directly behind the Mayor's Office is due to be developed in the near future (2017-8) and given its proximity to a reconstructed *marae* of unknown antiquity, which may relate to a previously destroyed *marae* (Orongo AIT 13) mentioned by Bellwood:

Informants state that basalt stones were buried beneath the concrete floor of the present shed when it was constructed, and nothing is visible today. Traditionally, it is said to have been founded by Ru, and two men who came to Aitutaki with him, by name Rongo-i-te-turuki'au and Rongo-te-pure-i'au. They were the first ta'unga to officiate at this *marae* (Bellwood 1978, 98).

The presence of another nearby *marae* Raikuriri (AIT 15) is suggestive of a larger ceremonial complex. Consequently, it was decided to undertake geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) survey. Unfortunately, due to modern amenities and services (and a steel reinforced concrete area), and recent landscaping of a park area, no archaeological features were detected (Fig. 12)

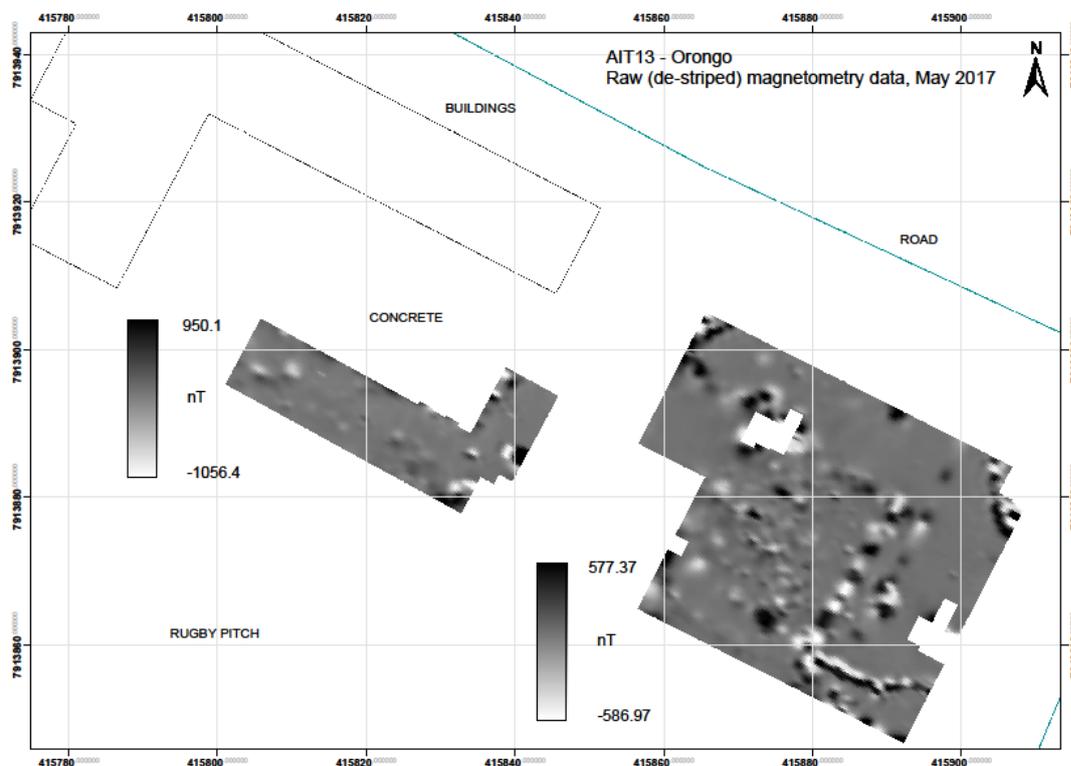


Figure 12. Geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) plot of Orongo.

6. Settlement

The location of prehistoric Polynesian settlement in relation to *marae* is a fairly under-researched area of enquiry in the Southern Cook islands (see however chapters in Trotter 1974). The 1969 Aitutaki fieldwork undertaken by Bellwood (1978) tended to concentrate on *marae*, as opposed to associated settlements.

6.1 Maramanui (AIT 43)

The site of Maramanui (AIT 43) was shown to Bellwood in 1970 after it had been bulldozed for a banana plantation (1978, 115-6). The remains are described in the following terms:

At present, two rows of uprights survive, partially..... The site may have had three rows of stones, and may have been a little under 25 meters in total length. To the east of the road are three other bulldozed uprights. To the south of the uprights, coral gravel is spread for a distance of 60 meters, and two other small areas of gravel were noted in a recently cleared field a little farther to the south. This may indicate that dwellings were once present in the vicinity. Coral gravel has also been spread around the uprights, although this is a feature of almost all Aitutaki *marae*.

The mention of settlement by Bellwood is significant as at the time of the site visit in 2017, although little trace of a *marae* was evident, an area of sloping ground corresponding with the noted 'recently cleared field a little farther to the south' was in a semi-cultivated state (Fig 13). In particular, a small platform area measuring c. 20m N-S x 22m E-W was present halfway down the slope (Fig. 13).

Geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) survey (Fig. 14), was undertaken over the cleared hillside together with unsystematic surface collection due to the partial state of ground cultivation. A number of basalt artefacts (Fig. 15) were collected from the field surface directly below the platform. The geophysical survey revealed enhanced magnetic anomalies also directly below the platform, concurring to some extent with the distribution of artefacts. The slope of the hillside would tend to create slippage and movement of soil and disturbed sub-surface deposits would travel downslope to some degree, however, there are numerous examples of household debris being discarded downslope from domestic contexts. We suggest the magnetic anomalies and artefact distribution reflect both of these occurrences and that a dwelling once stood upon the platform.



Figure 13. View of Maramanui from the south, note the level platform area halfway up the slope to the left.

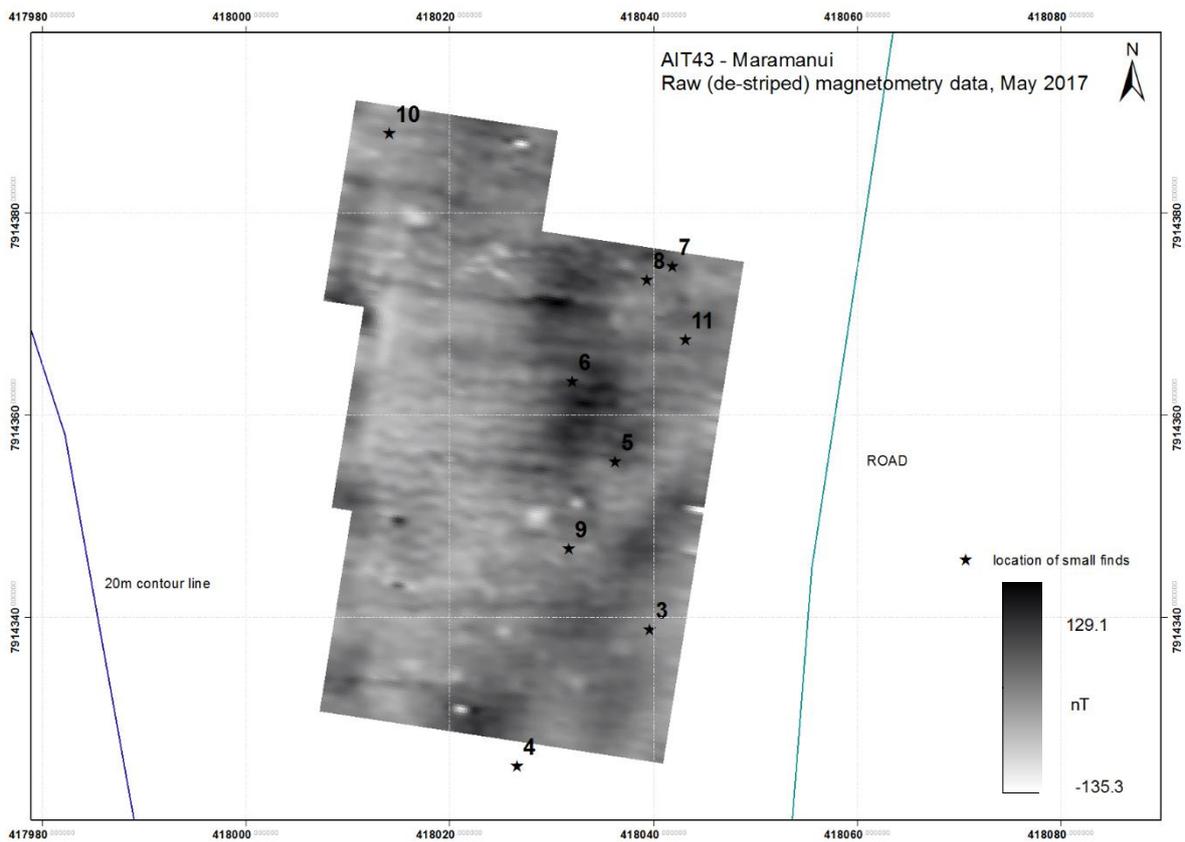


Figure 14. Geophysical (fluxgate gradiometer) plot of Maramanui, showing areas of high magnetic anomalies and small-find location (see Fig. 15 for corresponding artefacts). Note the magnetically enhanced area directly downslope of the paler shaded 'platform' at grid reference 418020/7814360.



Small Finds: 011, 005, 003, 010

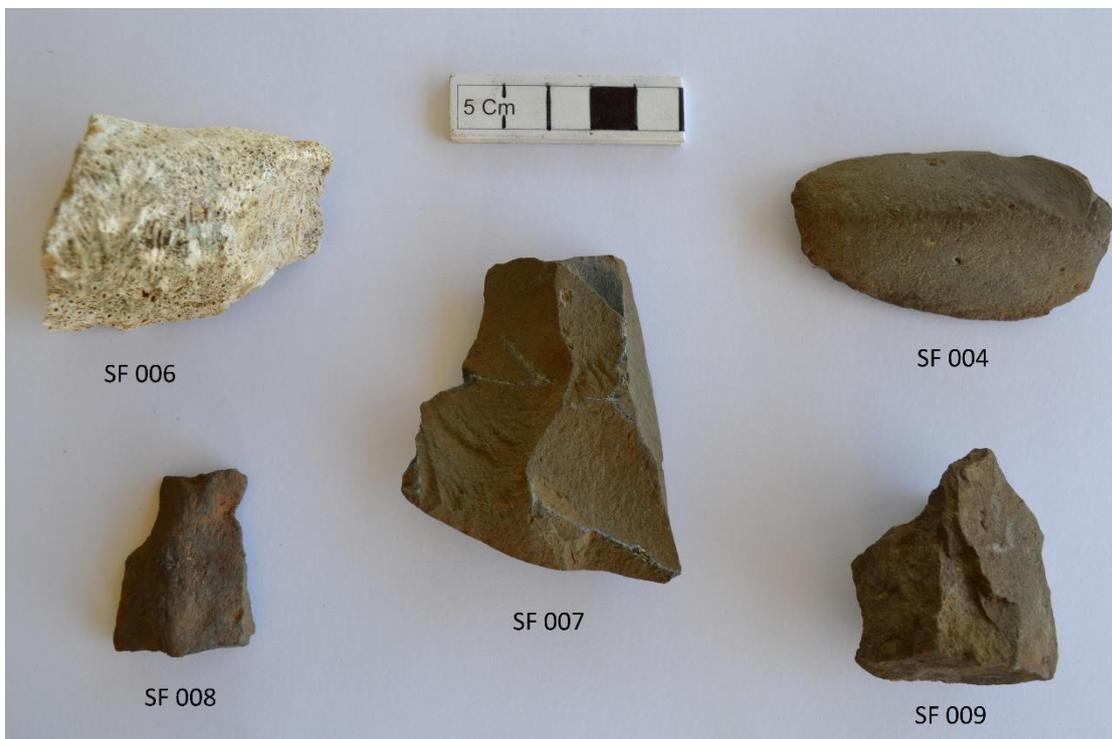


Figure 15. Artefacts collected from cultivated surface at Maramanui (location can be found in Fig. 14).

The small-scale fieldwork at Maramanui effectively demonstrates the potential of field survey (field walking for surface artefacts on recently cultivated surfaces) and geophysical survey for locating fairly ephemeral traces of habitation. The relationship between *marae* and settlement is little understood, but through the implementation of these basic techniques this situation could easily be remedied.

7. Schools outreach

Heritage education is perceived by this research team as being integral to research programmes (and a part of Learning for Sustainability more generally), wherein an interest in the tangible cultural heritage in the younger generation can help with the survival of the sites and monuments. Moreover, in an island context particularly it is important to build capacity and provide additional skilled career opportunities for younger people, contributing to conservation and to sustainable tourism development.

The research team worked with Tracey Spiers, Head Teacher of Araura School, to identify groups of school pupils to work with in learning about archaeology; all of Year 9 (35 pupils) and all of Year 10 (40 pupils) by year group in two sessions, from 9am to 1.25pm on 31st May 2017. Activities were devised by the research team based on experience elsewhere (UK and Rapa Nui) and made particular to Aitutaki, under the heading 'Today we are Archaeologists' (Appendix 3).

With each year group there was a short Powerpoint introduction after which the pupils were split into four groups and rotated around four activities:

- Activity 1 – Seeing beneath the soil
- Activity 2 – Making photos 3D
- Activity 3 – Mapping our heritage
- Activity 4 – Things and people

All the activities involved practical engagement and activities within the school grounds. The pupils were really engaged for the duration of the exercises and produced some excellent work and thoughtful insights.



Figure 16. School pupils at Araura School undertaking archaeological activities

8. Conclusion

Cultural Heritage Management

The Cultural Heritage Record (CHR) for Aitutaki (Appendix 1) can be further developed by adding more detail and information to each site entry, and by adding on additional sites as they are discovered. The CHR can form a model for the development of sites and monuments records for other of the Cook Islands. The CHR demonstrates the richness and variety of the tangible cultural heritage of the island and will be of interest to the Aitutaki community, and communities and researchers further afield. The information contained within the CHR can be used as a platform for the future development of the archaeological heritage for tourism.

Importantly, the CHR shows the condition and vulnerability of the archaeological sites. The principle causes of destruction of the sites such as *marae* and *paepae*, and the *ara metua*, have been development (housing, modern road and tracks), and agriculture (plantations, garden landscaping). Many of the sites have been in relatively stable condition during the fifty years since Bellwood undertook his survey and it is apparent that people care for and maintain a number of the monuments. However they are vulnerable to degradation and destruction and this Record will help in the management of the archaeological resource.

Heritage education and outreach

Schools work ties into Science, Technology and Maths, as well as Social Sciences – Geography and History. Heritage education provides transferable skills such as these, as well as an awareness of heritage can lead to better survival of the resource, and more career opportunities for islanders. It could be considered that all future researchers are required to engage in heritage education and training (outreach), following the example of the protocols for researchers being developed in Rapa Nui (Easter Island).

Wider significance

The work in developing the understanding of tangible cultural heritage, and the development of cultural heritage assets as a resource for education and tourism can be aligned with UNESCO's Small Developing Island States (SIDS

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sids/>), which gives routes for sharing of best practice, capacity building and potentially funding. Within the PACIFIC WORLD HERITAGE ACTION PLAN 2016 – 2020 (/activity-42-18.pdf), the Vision for 2020 is:

Pacific Island heritage is protected and enriched for current and future generations

Of the three aims of the Action Plan, the aim to

- increase community, national, regional and global awareness of the heritage of the Pacific nations and the contribution of Pacific Island and Ocean heritage to sustainable development is particularly relevant in this context, as are the goals:

1. Pacific communities are actively engaged in conserving their heritage.
2. Pacific heritage is valued and effectively protected and managed.

The creation of the Cultural Heritage Record for Aitutaki is an important achievement in the Activity Plan for the Regional Level Activities, in particular

2. Develop a Regional Cultural Heritage Register and Database or model for Heritage Registers to be adopted by national agencies

For which the Cultural Heritage Record for Aitutaki could provide a model, and

13. Promote the value of heritage in context of sustainable tourism

For which the information contained within the Cultural Heritage Record for Aitutaki could form the basis.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, the initiation of a list of sites (Cultural Heritage Record) for Aitutaki, including their attributes, continues a tradition of recording begun by Peter Bellwood (1978). Such a record fulfils many needs. First it provides an index of sites and their condition which can influence heritage resource management. Second, it provides a detailed record of the cultural heritage of Aitutaki, and finally it provides an excellent research tool.

The unique archaeology of Aitutaki requires to be researched in its own terms as opposed to simply applying labels and interpretations derived from other parts of Polynesia, or even other islands in the Southern Cooks. A good example is the re-

interpretation of the '*marae*' of Paengariki as offered earlier in the report. Equally, ancient Polynesian settlement patterns have tended to be neglected in research programmes, with *marae* assuming the dominant focus of archaeological enquiry. The small-scale cultivation of Aitutaki (following large scale banana plantations) provides good conditions for field-walking and surface survey. Overall, Aitutaki represents an ideal area for future research since it provides a pivotal location in ancient Polynesia, and a key island in the Southern Cooks.

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APPENDIX 1

Cultural Heritage Record: Aitutaki

**CULTURAL HERITAGE
RECORD**

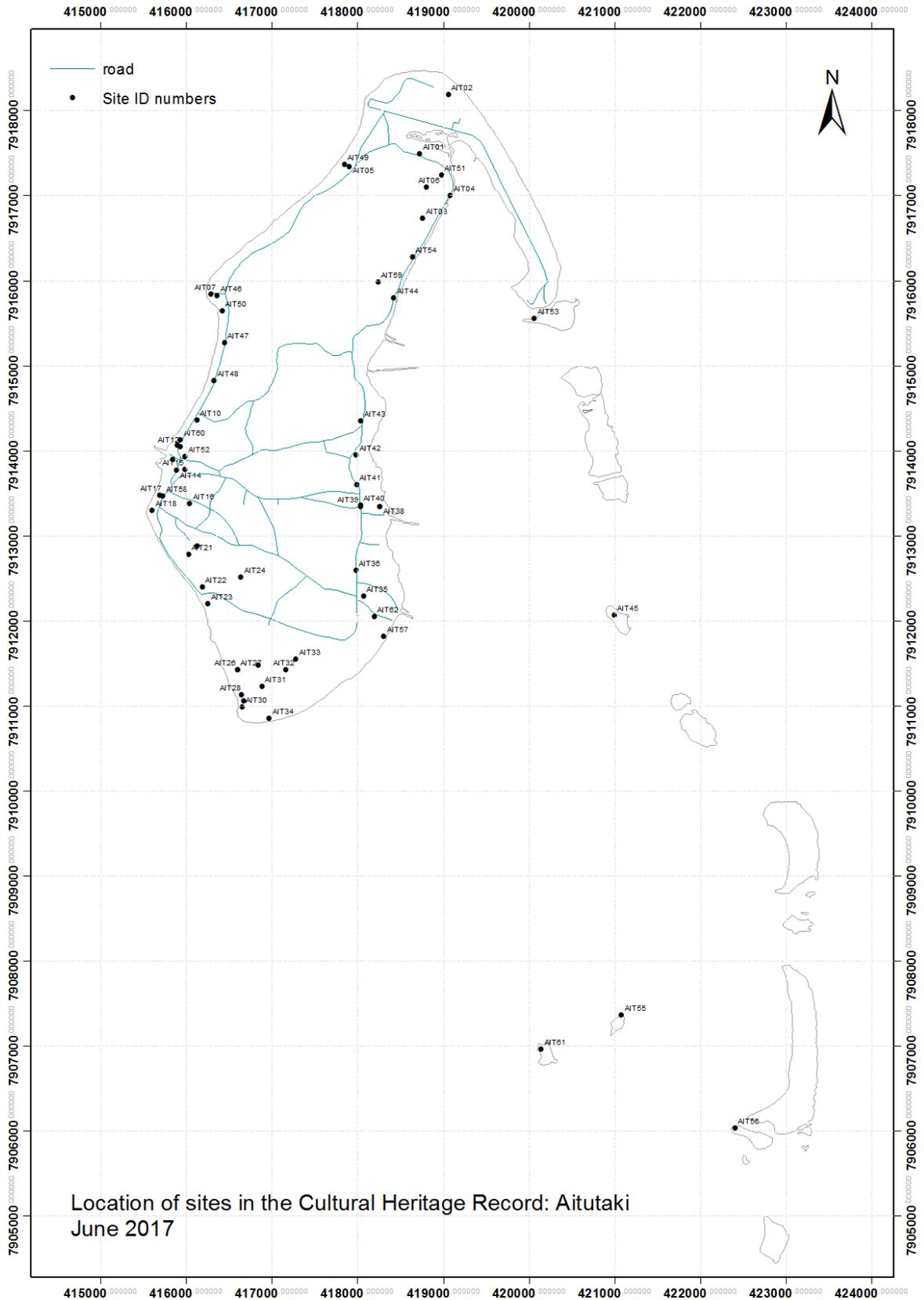
**AITUTAKI
COOK ISLANDS**



AIT 26 – Paengariki

DOCUMENT CREATED

01/06/17



Location map of sites in the Cultural Heritage Record: Aitutaki. Please see individual records for coordinate details.

Site ID	AIT01	Site name	Toku pu moana		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418728	Northing	7917486	Municipal district	Vaitupa
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	high	high		low	
Description					
<p>Large well preserved marae complex with a short double or treble row of upright basalt stones. Spreads of kiri kiri visible around the marae stones. Some partially buried basalt stones visible across the complex which covers an area under two large trees and a further open area. Site is located approximately 300m from a fresh water spring.</p>					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT01	Site name	Toku pu moana		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT01	Bellwood site name	Toka pu moana		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D3	
Bellwood location	Ta'akarere tapere, division number unknown (Fig. 56a)				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site consists of an atarau with two parallel rows of close-set, unworked, upright basalt stones, ranging in height from 40 to 85 cm. The two rows cover an area of 4 x 1.20 meters, and the irregular space between the two rows has been left empty, as in all other examples of this class (see Fig. 56a).</p> <p>To the northwest of the AIT01 atarau lie a number of stones, that may represent a destroyed second example, and also two short alignments of facing stones at right angles, that might have been facings for the foundations of a small house (see Fig. 56a). Similar facings have been preserved on the type D4 marae of AIT27 (see this paper, pp. 107-108). Immediately to the southeast of the atarau lies another cluster of fallen stones, together with a single upright. Tentatively, it might be suggested that this site originally consisted of two atarau, with a small god-house between them.</p> <p>The tradition for this site states that it was built by Maio, a voyager from an unknown homeland who settled on Aitutaki and married Te-aroitau, a woman who came to Aitutaki with Ru, 24 to 27 generations before 1900 (Table 6).</p>					

Site ID	AIT02	Site name	Itinga ra		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	419063	Northing	7918178	Municipal district	Vaitupa
Site type(s)					
Marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	High	low		low	
Description					
Large block of coral limestone located on Aitutaki golf course					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT02	Site name	Itinga ra		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT02	Bellwood site name	Itinga-ra		
Bellwood site type(s)	natural		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	Ta-akarere tap ere, land name Kara'ao, division number 54 (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site consists of a large block of coral limestone, 2.10 meters high and 2.35 x 1.20 meters at the base. Traditionally, this stone was erected by Maio as his god, Itinga-ra (rising of the sun). Casual inspection suggests that it is purely a natural feature, although it does stand out sharply from the surface of a flat area of land, and erection by human agency is not impossible.</p>					

Site ID	AIT03	Site name	are kari ori	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting	418766	Northing	7916730	Municipal district Vaitupa
Site type(s)				
Paepae				
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability
	High	high		medium
Description				
House of entertainment' large collection of stone structures in heavy undergrowth located approximately 100m up a steep slope from the main road.				
Notes				
Photo				
				
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT03	Site name	are kari ori	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT03	Bellwood site name	Are Karioi	
Bellwood site type(s)	paepae		Bellwood Classification	C1
Bellwood location	This site is situated in Vaitupa tapere, on land named Kororopu (Division No. 85)			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This site is situated in Vaitupa tapere, on land named Kororopu (Division No. 85), and was excavated over a period of 14 days in January 1970, with up to four workmen. This is the only site on Aitutaki which has a definite paepae of the pavement type, apart from one dubious example at AIT07. Because of its special function as a house for dancing and entertainment, it has been classified separately as paepae type CI (Bellwood 1969a:525), It would appear to be the only 'Are Karioi surviving on Aitutaki, although Buck (1927:37) claims that each district originally had one.</p> <p>The traditional story of the site was recorded briefly by Buck in 1926 (Buck 1927:36-38), and in 1970 the full tradition of the building of the house was recorded from Mourua loane of Reureu, and the related story of Otaua and Ikaroa (Buck 1927:37) was recorded from 'Are Tini of Amuri. The building of the house was commenced 13 generations before 1900 for a man named Maraeara, whose son was in charge of the construction work. The latter was unable to finish the structure because of difficulties with the roof, and the house was finally completed by Ra'ui, a ta'unga from Vaiau tapere (see traditions for AIT23, this paper p. 104). It is said that Ra'ui married the daughter of Maraeara. There are no missionary accounts known to the author concerning the 'Are Karioi, but the strength of the traditions concerning it suggests that it remained in use possibly until the arrival of Christianity.</p> <p>The site as it survives now consists of a rectangular pavement covering an area 25 x 9 meters, built on the top of a low ridge which runs in a north-south direction about 200 meters inland from the beach. The house itself is orientated approximately north-south, and the surface of the pavement slopes very gently downwards toward the west (Fig. 64), The structure of the pavement is unusual, and the only similar structure recorded in the southern Cooks occurs at marae Maungaroo, site MAN.7 on Mangaia. A discussion of possible links between the two sites is given in the Mangaian report for that site (this paper p. 146).</p> <p>The foundation of the pavement is of unworked basalt stones of fairly small size, and no stone appears to be so big that it cannot be carried by one man. These stones have been arranged in a series of "boxes," and have also been used for the outer faces of the platform. The stone "boxes" were filled with coral gravel (kiri-kiri. teatea). When the house was in use, it is unlikely that any of the inner basalt stones were visible. They appear to have functioned as retainers for the loose coral, which otherwise would have been scattered and washed down the slope to the west of the site. Today, the basalt stones are exposed, and the coral has evidently washed away in large quantities.</p> <p>At present, bananas and arrowroot are grown on the western and eastern sides of the site. In recent times it is fairly certain that cultivation has taken place all around the site and up to its edges. This means that the original stratigraphy has been truncated, a matter that will be referred to below. Because local residents were unwilling to allow any of the stones of the platform to be removed, the excavations took place only around its edges. It is very likely that earlier structures remain underneath the platform, and this has made interpretation of the excavations rather difficult. At present the platform itself is quite well preserved, but the faces of the northern and eastern sides have been extensively damaged. Buck (1927:37) refers to gaps in the facing that marked the positions of doorways. It seems more likely that the gaps, which are not regular, simply mark places from which stones were removed sometime after construction.</p> <p>The presence of several banana and coconut trees made a regular layout of the excavation trenches impossible, and resulted in gaps between trenches. The gaps shown in the plan (see Fig. 64) mark the positions of these trees. The presence of a small hut at the northeast corner of the site also hampered extension of the excavation in this area. The archaeological evidence from the excavations consisted almost entirely of postholes which marked positions of house posts. These postholes were found all around the platform immediately outside the facing stones. It is quite clear that the house was rebuilt at least twice, but the structural sequence is difficult to interpret because the area under the platform could not be excavated.</p> <p>The situation along the eastern side is the most complex, since there are postholes representing at least three periods. The stratigraphy is very simple, and unfortunately has not aided interpretation very much owing to its truncation by modern cultivation.</p>				

Site ID	AIT04	Site name	unamed		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	419088	Northing	7916992	Municipal district	Vaitupa
Site type(s)					
Natural					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	High	low		medium	
Description					
Large basalt rock lying in shallow water on the beach.					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT04	Site name	unnamed	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT04	Bellwood site name	unnamed	
Bellwood site type(s)	natural		Bellwood Classification	natural
Bellwood location	Vaitupa tapere, land name Paenga Manuiri, division number 5A (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This site is simply a large natural block of basalt lying on the beach. Traditionally, it is associated with a man called Rae, who stole two stones from the marae of Te Autapu (AIT06) for his marae in Taravao (possibly AIT25). He managed to remove one successfully, while the one referred to here was used as a seat by Ta'akura, a god associated with Te Autapu, and Rae was unable to move it. This, at least, is the legend; the stone is purely a natural feature.</p>				

Site ID	AIT05	Site name	Kaimoko		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	417909	Northing	7917336	Municipal district	Vaitupa
Site type(s)					
Marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	Low	low		medium	
Description					
Remains of a marae with upstanding basalt boulders located across a property boundary					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT05	Site name	Kaimoko		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT05	Bellwood site name	Kaimoko		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	Possibly type D2	
Bellwood location	Ta'akarere tapere, division number unknown (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site consists of a scatter of stones, located close to a road junction. No traditional information is available and the site resembles a destroyed version of a D2 marae</p>					

Site ID	AIT06	Site name		Tea tapu		Aitutaki
Location						
Easting	418808	Northing	7917097	Municipal district	Vaitupa	
Site type(s)						
Marae						
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability	
	Low		low		low	
Description						
Area of flat ground with heavy vegetation. No evidence for marae now evident.						
Notes						
Photo						
						
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham			

Site ID	AIT06	Site name	Tea tapu		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT06	Bellwood site name	Te Autapu		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D5	
Bellwood location	Vaitupa tapere, division number unknown (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>The only surviving description of this marae is given by Buck (1927:209), who refers to it as Te-Hautapu-o-nga-Ariki, the marae of Ru (Koro 1934:22).</p>					

Site ID	AIT07	Site name	Ka keu o rangi		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416295	Northing	7915838	Municipal district	Anaunga
Site type(s)					
Marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	Medium	medium		high	
Description					
<p>Marae complex situated in the grounds of the entrance to the Pacific Resort Hotel. The site has been partially destroyed by building work and large stones are embedded in the walls of the garden.</p>					
Notes					
<p></p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/24/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT07	Site name	Ka keu o rangi		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT07	Bellwood site name	Kakeute rangi		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae	paepae	Bellwood Classification	Unclassifiable complex	
Bellwood location	Anaunga tapere, land name Perekiatu, division numbers 76, 77, and possibly 1 (Fig. 56b).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site has no clear structure and is difficult to classify accurately. Of the two western enclosures (Fig. 56b), enclosure 1 covers an area 3.50 x 1.50 meters, and the rectangular area enclosed is filled with kiri kiri. (coral gravel) . Enclosure 2 is similar, covering an area 3x3 meters. The stones of these enclosures are not upright, as are those of the D3 atarau although enclosure 1 does have two small uprights on one side. Instead, they are lined by slabs set on edge at ground level. At AIT20 such enclosures were found to be Christian graves. Otherwise, this marae consists of the few uprights averaging 1 meter high, together with paepae 1, which is a stone-faced terrace 3 meters long; and paepae 2, which is a badly disrupted pavement covering an area 10 x 3 meters. Both these paepae might be classified as type C2. Traditionally, this is said to be one of the marae built by the ancestral figure Te Erui :(Koro 1934:78).</p>					

Site ID	AIT08	Site name	unnamed	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting		Northing		Municipal district Anaunga
Site type(s)				
natural				
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability
	unknown	low		unknown
Description				
unlocated 2017				
Notes				
The locations of these sites is not recorded by Bellwood and have not been able to be located, therefore no coordinates are given.				
Photo				
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT08	Site name	unnamed	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT08	Bellwood site name	unnamed	
Bellwood site type(s)	natural		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	land name Perekiatu (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
Both these sites are natural boulders on the beach close to AIT07. Traditions concerning them are on record, but are of no archaeological significance				

Site ID	AIT09	Site name	unamed	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting		Northing		Municipal district Anaunga
Site type(s)				
natural				
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability
	unknown	low		unknown
Description				
unlocated 2017				
Notes				
The locations of these sites is not recorded by Bellwood and have not been able to be located, therefore no coordinates are given.				
Photo				
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT09	Site name	unnamed	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT09	Bellwood site name	unnamed	
Bellwood site type(s)	natural		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	land name Perekiatu (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
Both these sites are natural boulders on the beach close to AIT07. Traditions concerning them are on record, but are of no archaeological significance				

Site ID	AIT10	Site name	Aurape te rangi		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416127	Northing	7914356	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	medium	medium		medium	
Description					
<p>Marae complex situated in the grounds of a property. The marae has been moved about and contains an oval grouping of stones said to be original. Melinda Allen excavated in this region and uncovered human remains.</p>					
Notes					
<p>This site is thought likely to be a marae noted by Bellwood called AIT10.</p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT10	Site name	Aurape te rangi		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT10	Bellwood site name	Aurupe te rangi		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	Ureia tapere, land name unknown, but in section immediately to south of Siloa Free Church.				
Bellwood Description					
<p>Nothing survives of this marae, which was traditionally built by Matareka, brother of Te Erui (Pakoti 1895:67). One cist is lined with basalt stones laid longitudinally, as in the enclosures of AIT07 and AIT20. This is almost certainly a Christian grave (see AIT20 this paper p. 101).</p> <p>The excavation of the underlying deposits at AIT.10 is described in a later section (this paper pp. 133-140) .</p>					

Site ID	AIT11	Site name	Paepae nui tuavaru		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	415897	Northing	7914063	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
paepae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		low	
Description					
Location of a modern meeting place, no archaeological remains visible.					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT11	Site name	Paepae nui tuavaru	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT11	Bellwood site name	Paepae Nui Tuavaru	
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	Arutanga tapere, near the main Arutanga crossroad, division number probably 37 (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>Archaeologically, no remains survive, but traditions indicate that a structure was built here by Marouna, an Aitutakian ancestral figure. The function of the site, whether sacred or secular, could not be clearly determined.</p>				

Site ID	AIT12	Site name	Tangaroa		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	415934	Northing	7914045	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	medium	medium		medium	
Description					
<p>A collection of large basalt boulders that are adjacent to a very steep outcrop of basalt opposite paepae nui tuavaru.</p>					
Notes					
<p>This is thought likely to be the remains of marae 'Tangaroa' noted by Bellwood who recorded the presence of two basalt boulders</p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT12	Site name	Tangaroa		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT12	Bellwood site name	Marae Tangaroa		
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	Arutanga tapere, division number probably 41 (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>On top of the hill immediately to the north of the Arutanga crossroads stand two basalt stones about 1.50 meters high and apparently of natural origin. These are claimed to represent the gods Tangaroa and Rongo, who were originally brought to Aitutaki from Ra'iatea (Rangiatea) in the Society Islands</p>					

Site ID	AIT13	Site name	Orongo		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	415844	Northing	7913893	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		low	
Description					
<p>A few basalt boulders remain in the area of an old packing shed behind the Mayor's Office and directly adjacent to the park in the centre of Arutanga. Much of the area is covered with concrete.</p>					
Notes					
<p>Bellwood notes that this is located below a modern packing shed on the harbour wharf</p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT13	Site name	Orongo	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT13	Bellwood site name	O Rongo	
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	Arutanga tapere, beneath the modern packing shed on Arutanga wharf (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>Informants state that basalt stones were buried beneath the concrete floor of the present shed when it was constructed, and nothing is visible today. Traditionally, it is said to have been founded by Ru, and two men who came to Aitutaki with him, by name Rongo-i-te-turuki'au and Rongo-te-pure-i'au. They were the first ta'unga to officiate at this marae</p>				

Site ID	AIT14	Site name	Kautea		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	415894	Northing	7913768	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
paepae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		low	
Description					
No visible archaeological remains, area is now the site of a central building used for investitures					
Notes					
Bellwood noted that this site was known as paepae kautea but that nothing survives					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT14	Site name	Kautea		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT14	Bellwood site name	Paepae Kautea		
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	Arutanga tapere, site immediately on the seaward side of the Arutanga CICC wall (land division number 4; not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site has been destroyed, but informants state that a line of upright stones once stood here. Traditionally, it is of considerable interest, for it is described as the resi-dence of a ta 'unga to whom refugees could flee for safety. One extant tradition states that the site was guarded by a warrior (toa) named Tu'iti. He is said to have given refuge to two brothers from Taravao, named Uma and Rongoroa (or Rongorongono from a second informant). The brothers had been forced to flee their home after a dispute over fishing rights between the people of Tautu and Taravao. Tu'iti had the power to refuse access to these brothers once they were in his care. The tradition parallels the description by Ellis (1969:166-169) of certain functions of the pu'uhonua (cities of refuge) of Hawaii. While institutions for the protection of refugees who are able to present their persons to the guardians of a certain sacred area are fairly well described for Hawaii, they would appear to be only on record from Mangaia and Tongareva in the Cooks (Anell 1956). My evidence for the site consists solely of a tradition committed to writing in 1882, and related to me by Tepaki Mokotupu of Arutanga, but there would seem to be no reason to doubt the prior existence of such a protective institution in Aitutaki.</p>					

Site ID	AIT15	Site name	Raikuriri		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	415990	Northing	7913779	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
marae			paepae		
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability
	medium		high		high
Description					
<p>The marae is under the location of the old mission church (are pure atua - house where God is worshiped). The surviving paepae runs for approximately 30m downslope from the church towards the modern road and Orongo.</p>					
Notes					
<p>Bellwood noted this as a site 'are pure atua' immediately north of the mission church</p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT15	Site name	Raikuriri		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT15	Bellwood site name	Are pure atua		
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	Arutanga tapere, immediately to north of old CICC Mission House, land division number 30 (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
Traditionally said to have been constructed by Ru; nothing now survives of this marae.					

Site ID	AIT16	Site name	Kai onu		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416046	Northing	7913373	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	medium	medium		medium	
Description					
<p>The remains of a marae located in the garden of a domestic dwelling, some of the basalt blocks are in-situ, but many appear to have been moved.</p>					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/23/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT16	Site name	Kai onu		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT16	Bellwood site name	Kai onu		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	Type D2	
Bellwood location	Reureu tapere, land name Ta'araki, division number possibly 211, 212 or 213 (Fig. 57).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This is a good example of a D2 marae, with two parallel rows of uprights 30 meters long, the rows being about 10 meters apart. The stones of the eastern row have all fallen, but six in the western row still stand, the largest being 1.55 meters high. Fifteen meters to the east of this site stands one upright, 90 cm high, with a fallen partner close by. The D2 marae of AIT.35 (this paper p. 111) is similar, as it also has a single upright standing alone to the east of the main cluster. In general, the uprights of Kaionu stood between one and two meters apart, although there is clearly much irregularity. To the south of the two rows of uprights are a number of stone-lined enclosures, which are probably Christian burial enclosures, similar to those at AIT.20 (this paper, p. 101). One example was built between the two rows of uprights, and covered with four capstones (see feature A, Fig. 57). At first this structure was taken to be an atarau, and the site classified as a D4 marae. Excavations at AIT.20 in 1970 suggest that a D2 classification might be more realistic, unless structure A is a prehistoric atarau that has been converted into a grave in post-contact times.</p> <p>Traditionally, this marae belonged to Teurukura-kare, an ariki of the Reureu district at a time not long before the arrival of the first Christian missionaries in 1821.</p> <p>Also attributed to Teurukura-kare is a wooden chief's seat (atamira), 254 cm in total length, and 49 cm wide. This seat is in the possession of Mourua Ioane of Reureu, and was evidently seen by Buck in 1926, although the length measurement that he gives appears to be wrong (Buck 1927:44). In shape it closely resembles that pictured by Buck (1927: plate 43), and the decoration along the side is similar to that shown in his plate 45. At present, the seat is in good condition</p>					

Site ID	AIT17	Site name		Kopu nga rangi		Aitutaki
Location						
Easting	415690	Northing	7913474	Municipal district	Arutanga	
Site type(s)						
marae						
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability	
	low		low		low	
Description						
<p>A local elder, Mr Puna notes that the location of this site is under his house. A few basalt boulders are visible within the grounds, along the road.</p>						
Notes						
Photo						
						
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham			

Site ID	AIT17	Site name	Kopu nga rangi		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT17	Bellwood site name	Kopu te rangi		
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	not securely located (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
This was another marae said to have been built by Te Erui (Pakoti 1895:67). It has now been destroyed					

Site ID	AIT18	Site name	Tai pu tera		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	415609	Northing	7913290	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	medium	medium		medium	
Description					
Large marae complex situated in the garden of a domestic home.					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/23/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT18	Site name	Tai pu tera	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT18	Bellwood site name	Tai pu tera or Ta'i pu tera	
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	Reureu tap ere, land division number unsure, but on land of Take'u Ngani of Nikaupara (Fig. 56c).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>Traditionally, this marae was said to have been built by a man named Koutu, who came from the Arorangi district of Rarotonga. No genealogies for him survive. Another tradition associates the marae with a woman named Te'etu-ariki-ki-te-marama, who is claimed to have come from Rimatara, in the Austral Islands.</p>				

Site ID	AIT19	Site name	Umu nukunoni		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416134	Northing	7912873	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
umu					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	medium		medium	
Description					
Part of the nukunoni marae complex					
Notes					
Approximate location of the 'cannibal pit' excavated by Bellwood.					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/23/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT19	Site name	Umu nukunoni	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT19	Bellwood site name	Umu Nukunoni	
Bellwood site type(s)	umu		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	Nukunoni tapere, division number unknown (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>After a woman from Vaipae district named Matai-kakau visited her parents at Nukunoni, she was raped by some young men from the latter district. In retribution, the people of Vaipae attacked and killed all but two of the people of Nukunoni. The bodies of the dead were cooked in a large earth oven, and a brief version of this story is recorded by Gill (1912:131-132). Today, the story is still remembered, and informants indicated the spot where they thought the oven had been placed (Gill's story suggests that there might have been more than one oven). A small trench, 3x2 meters, was excavated on this spot, 59 meters from trench A excavated at AIT20 (see below) on a bearing of 78 degrees east of north. No archaeological features were uncovered.</p>				

Site ID	AIT20	Site name	Nukunoni		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416134	Northing	7912873	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		low	
Description					
Large overgrown area with evidence of dispersed basalt boulders.					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/23/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT20	Site name	Nukunoni		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT20	Bellwood site name	Nukunoni		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae	paepae	Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	Nukunoni tapere, division number unknown (Fig. 58a).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site, about which no traditions survive, was of interest because of Buck's references to curbed paepae at Nukunoni (1927:2). Unfortunately, it has been badly damaged by the bulldozing of a road right through its center, but a few patterns of curbing stones are still visible among the chaotic piles of displaced stones. In the plan of the site (see Fig. 58a), overall plans of structures are shown rather than individual stones.</p> <p>The complex extends for a length of about 50 meters. Positions of three undisturbed uprights are shown on the plan, and there may have been more in the past. Hence, this site may once have been a D2, or perhaps even a D4 marae. However, when it was destroyed it is clear that this site had many slab-line enclosures of the type already referred to in connection with other sites, such as AIT07 and AIT10. It would seem that these enclosures were the ones referred to by Buck, and identified by him as paepae enclosures in front of a house site. From the plan, it will be seen that ten such enclosures still survive partially or fully, but none appear to be in pairs as were the ones Buck described. Most have two or three large stones along their sides, and one or two across their ends.</p> <p>To determine the function of the enclosures, the one denoted A on the plan (see Fig. 58a) was excavated by means of a trench covering 2 x 2.5 meters. This enclosure was quite small, with internal dimensions of 2 x 1 meters, and was lined by basalt slabs set on edge at ground level. The enclosure contained a Christian burial at a depth of 1.10 meters, fully extended, with feet to the southeast, and placed in a wooden coffin held together with iron nails. As soon as this circumstance was discovered, the trench was backfilled, and nothing was removed. A second, similar burial had been placed alongside the enclosure to the southwest, with the same orientation. This lay at a depth of 0.80 meter, but was not in a stone-lined enclosure.</p> <p>It would thus appear that this site was turned from a D2 or D4 marae into a Christian burial ground in the early 19th century (no one today seemed to know anything about the burials), and some of the marae stones were presumably used for the enclosures. It seems very possible that the structures identified by Buck as paepae were in fact burial places, and the only dwelling paepae in use on Aitutaki were those that consisted of coral gravel floors, or sometimes of earthen terraced faced with stone. The basalt pavement of AIT07 appears to be unique, and the Aitutaki situation generally contrasts with that on Rarotonga, where pavement paepae were quite common.</p> <p>From the evidence of AIT20, similar basalt enclosures, at AIT07, AIT10, AIT16, AIT25, and AIT36 are identified as Christian burial places. From the point of view of cultural change after the arrival of missionaries, this is interesting, because it indicates that marae continued to be used, if only for burials. Despite missionary persuasions, those places must have continued to be respected, as they are today by many people. The introduction and acceptance of Christianity did not necessarily mean that an immediate and complete break was made away from the old places of worship.</p>					

Site ID	AIT21	Site name		Footprint of Tane	Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416030	Northing	7912774	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
unclassified					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	medium		unknown	
Description					
unlocated 2017					
Notes					
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map.					
Photo					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT21	Site name	Footprint of Tane	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT21	Bellwood site name	The Footprint of Tane	
Bellwood site type(s)	unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	Nukunoni tapere, exact location not recorded (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This is simply a block of basalt, with an unusual indentation in the top resembling a large human footprint. A light-hearted tradition recorded in 1969 attributes the footprint to Tane, a son of Marouna. No previous account of Tane has been recorded, but his father, Marouna, is a noted figure in Aitutaki tradition's (Koro 1934:260; Large 1903: No. 49 in fold - out genealogy, in the line descended from Tauria-te-Ao).</p>				

Site ID	AIT22	Site name	Parataito		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416192	Northing	7912389	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		low	
Description					
unlocated 2017					
Notes					
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map. Bellwood notes this as the location of a badly damaged marae 'Parataito'.					
Photo					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT22	Site name	Parataito	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT22	Bellwood site name	Parataito	
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D2
Bellwood location	Vaioarea tapere, land division number 209 (not figured)			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This marae has, been badly disturbed, but appears to have consisted of three parallel rows of uprights, running roughly in a north-south direction, the rows being about 2.50 meters apart It is impossible to reconstruct the original positions of the stones with accuracy, but the tallest may have stood 1.80 meters high. As has AIT16, this site also has a single upright offset 9 meters to the west of the alignments, and it still stands 75 cm high. The D2 marae, of which another example is AIT35 at Tautu, do seem to conform to a pattern of 1 to 4 rows of up-rights, with a single or pair of uprights to one side, AIT16, AIT18, AIT22, AIT35, and possibly AIT31 and AIT43, belong in this group.</p> <p>Traditionally, the marae is credited to Eumi, he is said to have married a woman named Are kaponga e kava, who came to Aitutaki on the canoe of Ru (Pakoti 1895:67). This makes Eumi a genealogical contemporary of Ru.</p>				

Site ID	AIT23	Site name	Toko nga rangi		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416260	Northing	7912196	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability
	low		low		low
Description					
unlocated 2017					
Notes					
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map. Bellwood notes this as the location of 'Toko-nga-rangi' marae illustrated in figure 58b					
Photo					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT23	Site name	Toko nga rangi		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT23	Bellwood site name	Toko nga rangi		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D2	
Bellwood location	Vaiau tapere, probably land division number 6 (Fig. 58b).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>Rob in Duff (1974:85) gives the name Aremango (house of the shark-god, see below) for this site. This site is interesting, in that it has two distinct clusters of uprights about 16 meters apart. The western cluster consists of six basalt uprights, three of which (D, E, and F) have flat stone seats in front of them. The layout is fairly clear: uprights labelled C, D, E, and F face east, and A and B are separate uprights located behind them. The eastern cluster is not so clearly preserved, and may possibly represent a partially demolished atarau. None of the uprights appear to have had seats. Clearly this site is not a typical example of a type D2 marae, and if the eastern cluster does in fact represent an atarau, it might better be classified as type D4.</p> <p>The traditional story for this site is rather interesting. The builder was named Te muna korero, who was led to Aitutaki by a shark god (Mango) from Savai'i Avaiki. His canoe had two anchor stones, named Oropou-te-anuanua and Te-kina-kina-tupu-tera. These names were given to the two uprights A and B, respectively. Upright C was named Toko-nga-rangi, upright D, Teua- tuauau, and upright F, Te-atua-apaipai. These three names were taken from the complete name for his canoe, which was Teua-tuauau-te-atua-apaipai-toko-nga-rangi.</p> <p>A genealogy for Te-muna-korero given by Jacob Benioni lists 12 generations to the present. However, Benioni has suggested that several generations may have been lost, a process which is well-recorded for genealogical transmission after the period of European contact (e.g. Piddington 1956:202). Apart from this, tradition states that Te-muna-korero married a woman named Tutapuiva, who arrived with Ru. This would make him a contemporary of Ru, but it might be noted that the very frequent marriages between traditional voyagers to Aitutaki and women of Ru stretch credulity, for they mean that a very high proportion of arrivals arrived within a period of 30 years or so. This matter is discussed further below.</p> <p>Finally, Benioni mentioned that Rauj, who completed the building of the 'Are Karioi in Vaitupa tapere (AIT03), was a priest of this marae. Buck (1927:37) was also told that he came from Vaiau tapere.</p>					

Site ID	AIT24	Site name	Kaimoko		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416643	Northing	7912506	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		low	
Description					
Site is very overgrown and no archaeological remains can be seen.					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT24	Site name	Kaimoko		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT24	Bellwood site name	Kaimoko		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D1	
Bellwood location	Vaioarea tapere,. land division number 224 (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site consists of two uprights of basalt, 100 meters apart, each with a little coral gravel round its base. Both lie on a southwest to northeast line, and the flattest vertical surfaces of both uprights face north. Traditionally, these stones are said to have been erected by the same Eumi who built AIT22.</p>					

Site ID	AIT25	Site name	Te poaki o rae		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416844	Northing	7911478	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability
	medium		high		medium
Description					
<p>Bellwood records this marae as being located much further inland, c. 1.5km further to the north than it is actually located, records it under the name Te Tapere. Bellwood records 4 rows and 2 atarau and a paepae (Fig. 59) extending over 90m. The site was excavated or restored by Earthwatch in the 1980s. Many uprights were visible in the 2017 visit including the Stone of Rae (2.8m high) but much of the site is obscured by undergrowth. It s recommended that the site is checked against Bellwood's plans, and the records from Bellwood's and the Earthwatch excavations are made available. Better interpretation could then be provided at the site.</p>					
Notes					
<p>Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map. Bellwood notes this as the location of an excavated large marae, 'Te tapere' illustrated in figure 59</p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/23/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT25	Site name	Te poaki o rae		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT25	Bellwood site name	Te Tapere		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D4	
Bellwood location	land division number: unsure, but could be 256 (Vaiorea tapere) or 270 (Vaiau tapere) (Fig. 59).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site covers a total of 90 x 35 meters, and is thus, with AIT27 and AIT36, one of the largest on the island. The heights for the basalt uprights that are still standing are given in Figure 59. It would appear that these uprights, with associated structures, are grouped in four lines, an arrangement similar to that at AIT27. In AIT25 the lines do not consist of continuous rows of uprights, whereas they are continuous at AIT27.</p> <p>To commence with the northern row, this consists of seven surviving standing uprights in a rather irregular line, with an atarau (see Fig. 59b, atarau 1) at the western end. This atarau has two, or possibly three rows of uprights. A photograph of this structure has already been published (Bellwood:1969a:plate 1C).</p> <p>The second and third rows from the north are very discontinuous, and the second has only three stones standing. The third row has a paepae facing of basalt blocks 9 meters long, which faces south. If contemporary with the marae, this might have formed the facing of a low earthen terrace for a god house.</p> <p>The southern row is the most interesting. To the west is a row of seven uprights, separated by a gap of 40 meters from what clearly formed the main structural focus of the marae. Atavau 2, if this cluster be correctly identified as an atarau, is drawn in detail (see Fig. 59c). One gigantic stone, measuring 2.80 meters high, is traditionally attributed to a man called Rae, who is said to have brought it from the marae Te Autapu (see AIT04 and AIT6, this report, p. 96). The genealogical position of Rae is given in Table 6 (see this paper, p. 95).</p> <p>This atarau seems to have two sections. The western section consists of three very large stones grouped in a triangle. The eastern section resembles a square enclosure with one stone- paved threshold that leads into it from the north, and a second from the south.</p> <p>The enclosure to the east of atarau 2 (see Fig. 59d) has a lime mortar cover, and two small uprights at its western end. There is little doubt that this is a Christian grave, and in form it is a stone-lined cist exactly like those of AIT7, AIT10, AIT16, AIT20, and possibly AIT36.</p> <p>A track has been bulldozed right through the marae between the two southern alignments, and scattered debris indicates that the third row may have had more uprights than it has now.</p> <p>In December 1969, a small excavation of 2 x 1.50 meters was carried out close to atarau 2 (see Fig. 59a, TI). This trench was excavated to a depth of 50 cm, and produced interesting results. The uprights of the marae clearly stood originally on a ground surface only about 5 cm below the present surface. In the trench, the coral gravel scatter belonging to the marae was found to a depth of only 5 cm, and the depths of the stones below present ground level can be observed easily by merely removing a little soil from their bottom edges. In other words, this whole complex is stratigraphically recent, and may predate by only a few years the arrival of missionaries. Its recentness may have enhanced its sacredness in the minds of those who had toiled to build it, and this may be one reason why it was not demolished after 1821.</p> <p>Beneath the coral gravel lies the natural soil of the area, which is a deep red loam. Between 5 to 25 cm depth this soil is of a red-brown colour, and in this layer were found two shells and six opercula of the edible reef gastropod <i>Turbo petholatus</i>, which had clearly been deposited by human agency. Below 25 cm the red loam grades into a lighter colour and coral gravel disappears. Below 5 cm coral gravel was clearly carried down by root activity rather than purposefully deposited. However, at a depth of 50 cm, two small, but definite postholes were found. These by themselves give no indication of the structure which occupied the spot, and to recover this information, one would presumably have to remove the stones of the marae. Both postholes had also very clearly been truncated, perhaps by horticultural activity carried out in the area before the construction of the marae. Few conclusions can be drawn from this small trench, but it is clear that some kind of building activity preceded marae construction at AIT25. The date of this activity is unknown, but there was no evidence for any activity preceding the postholes.</p>					

Site ID	AIT26	Site name	Paengariki		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416602	Northing	7911419	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	high	high		high	
Description					
<p>Large marae complex excavated by Ngaakitai Pureariki and Mark Eddowes in 2009. geophysical survey and Bellwood's plan updated in 2017. Bellwood divides site into two components; a marae platform (AIT26) and orthostat alignment (AIT27), although it was considered to be a single site.</p>					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT26	Site name	Paengariki	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT26	Bellwood site name	Paengariki	
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D4
Bellwood location	Taravao tapere, land division number 324 (Fig. 60).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This site was given two numbers when surveyed, although it may be regarded as a single marae. The atarau has been numbered AIT26, and has a traditional name of Te Ivi Aitu. The alignments compose AIT27, and the land name is Paengariki.</p> <p>Commencing with the alignments, these appear to be five in number. The uprights range up to 1.90 meters in height, all are of basalt, and they are placed on average about 2 meters apart, although there is no regularity about placement. Three stones in the western row, facing the atarau, appear to have had flat stone seats at their bases, as does the most northerly upright in the eastern row.</p> <p>Overall, the alignments cover an area of 80 x 20 meters. The plan shows that these rows are not all of the same length, nor are those of AIT25 described above. The eastern row extends much farther to the north than any of the others, and also has, on average, much larger stones. The two westerly rows, which are about 25 meters long, appear to be focused on the atarau. The other two rows, that is, second and third from the east, are about 20 meters long. The area marked as thick bush contains no stones. The two lines of stone curbing are anomalous, as they both cut across the eastern line of uprights. It is possible that these curbs are remnants of dwelling platforms from a period before the construction of the marae, when a few curbstones were left in place. While there is no certainty on this matter, the obvious alternative is unacceptable. That is, if each dwelling platform had a house over its full length when the marae was in use, both houses would have had marae uprights inside them, and this circumstance is rather unlikely. Furthermore, the northern facing is on a different alignment than that of the marae uprights.</p> <p>The main atarau to the west (AIT26) once consisted of two close-set rows of uprights covering an area approximately 7 x 2.50 meters. The uprights are large, with heights up to 1.40 meters. Nine meters to the north of this structure stand three uprights of what may once have been a much smaller atarau.</p> <p>Traditions for this site, and for sites AIT28-31, were related by Jacob Benioni. The founder of all these was said to have been Kakeroa, who sailed to Aitutaki in his canoe Ka-topa- tuma from Avaiki. Easter Island and Tonga were volunteered by other informants as candidates for the Avaiki concerned, but these suggestions appear to represent afterthoughts. On arrival at Aitutaki he Carried Ruano'o, a woman from Ru's canoe, although an extant genealogy for Kakeroa contains only 10 generations from the present (recorded in 1968). Many place names given by Kakeroa were related by Benioni, and many of the Aitutaki traditions are full of legends about place names, which would make an interesting study in themselves. However, at this point the names of the stones, as related by Benioni, must take precedence. All named stones are numbered on the plan, and are as follows: (1) Are Korero; (2) Kapua-te-rangi; (3) A-rangi-rea; (4) Rautea; (5) Nuku; (6) Anau-moko; (7) Papanui; (8) Rokoku; (9) Karani; (10) Kumuonua; (11) Kapiri; (12) Kava; (13) Aniani; (14) Uri-ta'aki; (15) Kaiorangi; (16) Ruanuku; (17) Kaikai-iri; (18) Ema; (19) Poukaina; (20) Kara-aniani; (21) Ua-te-kere; (22) Te-make; (23) Teruea (this name refers to the whole structure); (24) Te-atu-ivi-metua; (25) Te-rua-metua; (26) Rei; (27) Tuararo.</p> <p>The general similarity of this marae to AIT25 needs no emphasis, and a tradition: was collected associating Kakeroa with the construction of atarau 1 on AIT25. There is no reason to doubt the existence of Kakeroa, or for that matter of any of the Aitutaki traditional ancestors, and it is most likely that he was responsible for the original construction of both these sites.</p>				

Site ID	AIT27	Site name	Paengariki	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting	416602	Northing	7911419	Municipal district Taravao
Site type(s)				
marae				
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability
	high	high		high
Description				
<p>Large marae complex excavated by Ngaakitai Pureariki and Mark Eddowes in 2009. geophysical survey and Bellwood's plan updated in 2017. Bellwood divides site into two components; a marae platform (AIT26) and orthostat alignment (AIT27), although it was considered to be a single site.</p>				
Notes				
Photo				
				
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT27	Site name	Paengariki	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT27	Bellwood site name	Paengariki	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	D4
Bellwood location	Taravao tapere, land division number 324 (Fig. 60).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This site was given two numbers when surveyed, although it may be regarded as a single marae. The atarau has been numbered AIT26, and has a traditional name of Te Ivi Aitu. The alignments compose AIT27, and the land name is Paengariki.</p> <p>Commencing with the alignments, these appear to be five in number. The uprights range up to 1.90 meters in height, all are of basalt, and they are placed on average about 2 meters apart, although there is no regularity about placement. Three stones in the western row, facing the atarau, appear to have had flat stone seats at their bases, as does the most northerly upright in the eastern row.</p> <p>Overall, the alignments cover an area of 80 x 20 meters. The plan shows that these rows are not all of the same length, nor are those of AIT25 described above. The eastern row extends much farther to the north than any of the others, and also has, on average, much larger stones. The two westerly rows, which are about 25 meters long, appear to be focused on the atarau. The other two rows, that is, second and third from the east, are about 20 meters long. The area marked as thick bush contains no stones. The two lines of stone curbing are anomalous, as they both cut across the eastern line of uprights. It is possible that these curbings are remnants of dwelling platforms from a period before the construction of the marae, when a few curbstones were left in place. While there is no certainty on this matter, the obvious alternative is unacceptable. That is, if each dwelling platform had a house over its full length when the marae was in use, both houses would have had marae uprights inside them, and this circumstance is rather unlikely. Furthermore, the northern facing is on a different alignment than that of the marae uprights.</p> <p>The main atarau to the west (AIT26) once consisted of two close-set rows of uprights covering an area approximately 7 x 2.50 meters. The uprights are large, with heights up to 1.40 meters. Nine meters to the north of this structure stand three uprights of what may once have been a much smaller atarau.</p> <p>Traditions for this site, and for sites AIT28-31, were related by Jacob Benioni. The founder of all these was said to have been Kakeroa, who sailed to Aitutaki in his canoe Ka-topa- tuma from Avaiki. Easter Island and Tonga were volunteered by other informants as candidates for the Avaiki concerned, but these suggestions appear to represent afterthoughts. On arrival at Aitutaki he Carried Ruano'o, a woman from Ru's canoe, although an extant genealogy for Kakeroa contains only 10 generations from the present (recorded in 1968). Many place names given by Kakeroa were related by Benioni, and many of the Aitutaki traditions are full of legends about place names, which would make an interesting study in themselves. However, at this point the names of the stones, as related by Benioni, must take precedence. All named stones are numbered on the plan, and are as follows: (1) Are Korero; (2) Kapua-te-rangi; (3) A-rangi-rea; (4) Rautea; (5) Nuku; (6) Anau-moko; (7) Papanui; (8) Rokoku; (9) Karani; (10) Kumuonua; (11) Kapiri; (12) Kava; (13) Aniani; (14) Uri-ta'aki; (15) Kaiorangi; (16) Ruanuku; (17) Kaikai-iri; (18) Ema; (19) Poukaina; (20) Kara-aniani; (21) Ua-te-kere; (22) Te-make; (23) Teruea (this name refers to the whole structure); (24) Te-atu-ivi-metua; (25) Te-rua-metua; (26) Rei; (27) Turaro.</p> <p>The general similarity of this marae to AIT25 needs no emphasis, and a tradition: was collected associating Kakeroa with the construction of atarau 1 on AIT25. There is no reason to doubt the existence of Kakeroa, or for that matter of any of the Aitutaki traditional ancestors, and it is most likely that he was responsible for the original construction of both these sites.</p>				

Site ID	AIT28	Site name		Are Teruea		Aitutaki
Location						
Easting	416648	Northing	7911126	Municipal district	Taravao	
Site type(s)						
unclassified						
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability	
	low		low		low	
Description						
unlocated 2017 - Bellwood notes they are destroyed						
Notes						
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map. Bellwood notes this as the location of marae 'Te Ruea'						
Photo						
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham			

Site ID	AIT28	Site name	Are Teruea	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT28	Bellwood site name	Teurea	
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	Taravao tapere, and division numbers 329, 330 (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>These are three sites, each having a place name given by Kakeroa. AIT29 was traditionally a settlement area founded by Kakeroa. The names are Teruea (AIT28), Are Tere (AIT29), and Are Korero (AIT30). No archaeological features survive.</p>				

Site ID	AIT29	Site name		Are tere	Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416673	Northing	7911051	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
unclassified					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		low	
Description					
unlocated 2017 - Bellwood notes they are destroyed					
Notes					
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map. Bellwood notes this as the location of marae 'Are Tane(?)'					
Photo					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT29	Site name	Are tere	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT29	Bellwood site name	Are tere	
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	Taravao tapere, and division numbers 329, 330 (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>These are three sites, each having a place name given by Kakeroa. AIT.29 was traditionally a settlement area founded by Kakeroa. The names are Teruea (AIT.28), Are Tere (AIT.29), and Are Korero (AIT.30). No archaeological features survive.</p>				

Site ID	AIT30	Site name	Are Korero		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416661	Northing	7910986	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
unclassified					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		low	
Description					
unlocated 2017 - Bellwood notes they are destroyed					
Notes					
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map. Bellwood notes this as the location of marae 'Area Korero'					
Photo					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT30	Site name	Are Korero	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT30	Bellwood site name	Are Korero	
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified
Bellwood location	Taravao tapere, and division numbers 329, 330 (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>These are three sites, each having a place name given by Kakeroa. AIT.29 was traditionally a settlement area founded by Kakeroa. The names are Teruea (AIT.28), Are Tere (AIT.29), and Are Korero (AIT.30). No archaeological features survive.</p>				

Site ID	AIT31	Site name	Nukumanini		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416889	Northing	7911221	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	medium		unknown	
Description					
Remains of a marae located at the top of a hill.					
Notes					
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map.					
Photo					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT31	Site name	Nukumanini		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT31	Bellwood site name	Nukumanini		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D2	
Bellwood location	Taravao tapere, land division number 76 (Fig. 58c). Robin Duff (1974:85) calls this marae Te Ikutakiri, a name known also to my informants.				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This is a second marae reputed to have been founded by Kakeroa, and called by him Kapua-te-rangi. He also gave the same name to AIT26/27, although the names Paengariki and Nukumanini are in normal use today as land names. The layout of this marae is, somewhat irregular. To the north is an alignment 12 meters long, of which four uprights still stand. To the south is an unusual V-shaped enclosure delimited by two stone lines, within which is a cluster of four, or possibly five uprights. This may be an atarau consisting of a single row of uprights. Two additional uprights stand at the head of the eastern arm of the V, While this marae is classified as type D2, it is conceivable that it may be a very simplified D4, with a single alignment and a single-row atarau.</p>					

Site ID	AIT32	Site name	A'u aitu		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	417170	Northing	7911416	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	medium		unknown	
Description					
unlocated 2017					
Notes					
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map.					
Photo					
					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT32	Site name	A'u aitu		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT32	Bellwood site name	A'u-aitu		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D1	
Bellwood location	Taravao tapere, no land division number recorded (Fig. 61a).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This is a very simple marae which consists of three, possibly 4, uprights, two of which have fallen. The traditional builder was Tuatonga, who is said to have come from Tonga, via Rarotonga, to Aitutaki. He married Ina-raurea, the daughter of Uitariro and Ruano'o. Ruano'o was a woman who came with Ru, the same who is given as the wife of Kakeroa (see Table 6).</p>					

Site ID	AIT33	Site name	Paepae te rongo	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting	417282	Northing	7911545	Municipal district Taravao
Site type(s)				
marae				
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability
	unknown	medium		unknown
Description				
unlocated 2017				
Notes				
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map.				
Photo				
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT33	Site name	Paepae te rongo	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT33	Bellwood site name	Paepae-te-Rongo	
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	C2
Bellwood location	Taravao tapere, land name Puroroua, land division number 342 (Fig: 62a).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This structure is simply an earthen terrace faced with basalt blocks for a length of 16 meters, and is fairly typical of the few dwelling platforms which have survived on Aitutaki. According to Turi Tama, it was built by Uitariro, who came to Aitutaki from Tahiti, and married Ruano'o. Their daughter married Tuatonga (see above, AIT32).</p>				

Site ID	AIT34	Site name	Paoki Matangi		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416972	Northing	7910847	Municipal district	Tautu
Site type(s)					
standing stone					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	medium		high	
Description					
A large standing basalt boulder situated approximately 25m from the sea.					
Notes					
Bellwood refers to this site as Atetava, Ngaakitai Pureariki gives the name Poaki Matangi.					
Photo					



**Date of
survey**

5/23/2017

Recorded by

Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki,
Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham

Site ID	AIT34	Site name	Paoki Matangi	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT34	Bellwood site name	Atetava	
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D1
Bellwood location	Tautu tapeve, land name Matieau, division number 215 (Fig. 62b).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This simple structure apparently once consisted of a line of three uprights, with a fourth standing off to the northeast. It is classified as D1, because there can be no absolute certainty that all four stones were actually once standing. The tradition for the site states that the builder was Po-ta-anua from Mangaia, who married a woman named Tepaku-o-avaiki, who was from Ru's canoe.</p>				

Site ID	AIT35	Site name	Tuki tai		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418073	Northing	7912283	Municipal district	Tautu
Site type(s)					
marae			burial		
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability
	medium		medium		high
Description					
<p>Ngaakitai Pureariki gives the name Tuki tai to this marae site, and says Bellwood was mistaken in saying this was also the burial site of Te-kura-i-vaia (which is to the east, AIT52). The marae is situated to the south east of the church, and survives as fragments of two rows of uprights and some fallen uprights lie around. Max height c. 1m. Adze blade found (SF 02). Bellwood Fig 62C.</p>					
Notes					
<p>This site would benefit from a more detailed record including a plan. The site has been diminished significantly since Bellwood's survey, and has banana plantation and other trees encroaching upon it, and a deep freshly dug rubbish pit immediately adjacent</p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/24/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT35	Site name	Tuki tai		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT35	Bellwood site name	Vai-roro- (or roroko)-i-te-mata-o-Ai		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D2	
Bellwood location	Tautu tapere, land name Tukita'i, division number 153 (Fig. 62c).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This is a well-preserved example of a D2 marae, and its situation in Tautu village makes the degree of preservation rather remarkable. There are three, and possibly four lines of uprights over an area of about 15 x 10 meters (see Fig. 62c). The uprights are of basalt, and up to 1.20 meters high. A single upright stands alone about 8 meters to the east, and in typological terms, links this marae with the other D2 marae, AIT16, AIT18, AIT22, and possibly AIT31 and AIT43. Tradition names the builder of this site as Ai-te-vananga, who came to Aitutaki from Tonga with his sister Te-kura-i-vaia. The latter died at sea, but was buried on Aitutaki. Like other traditional figures, Ai is associated with a large number of place names.</p>					

Site ID	AIT36	Site name		Mata o tane		Aitutaki
Location						
Easting	417985	Northing	7912589	Municipal district	Tautu	
Site type(s)						
marae						
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability	
	medium		high		medium	
Description						
<p>Marae, large stones either side of road. Extends 85m as Bellwood has it (Fig 61b), but of the three rows seen by Bellwood, the two on the north side of the road are obscured by undergrowth so the survival is undetermined. The main surviving part is on the east side of the road; in the north part is a big upright next to three modern graves which is probably Bellwood's 1.55m high stone noted. Bellwood's 'enclosure 1' still survives: now a noni orchard extends up to stones in this grouping. This site would benefit from a new survey/plan.</p>						
Notes						
Photo						
						
Date of survey	5/24/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham			

Site ID	AIT36	Site name	Mata o tane	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT36	Bellwood site name	unnamed	
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	Probably type D4
Bellwood location	north of Tautu village. Mataotane tapere, land name Te Ariarua, division numbers 107, 108, 120, 121 (see Fig. 61b).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This is a very large marae, with three rows of irregular uprights extending for 85 meters. The uprights, all of basalt, which still stand are quite large, being up to 1.55 meters in height. As it survives, this marae is rather confusing, for the two western rows have large gaps. Unfortunately, part of the area has been cleared for a banana plantation and a modern house immediately to the south of the marae has many large stones bordering its front lawn.</p> <p>With some degree of certainty, however, this site may be reconstructed as having three alignments, covering an area of 85 x 20 meters. Twenty meters to the east lie a number of large basalt slabs which may be the remains of an atarau. The enclosures numbered 1 and 2 on the plan (see Fig. 61b) look suspiciously like modern graves, although no one today seems to remember their function. It is possible that they could be atavau, especially enclosure 2, which has two lines of close-set uprights from 10 to 90 cm in height that cover an area of 3 x 2 meters. Enclosure 1, however, is similar in size and shape to the cement-sealed enclosure of AIT25, except this one contains coral gravel. It may be a grave, although the stones which line it are set upright, and not on edge as they are at AIT25.</p> <p>No traditions of consequence are known for this site.</p>				

Site ID	AIT37	Site name	Nukupure		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418266	Northing	7913341	Municipal district	Vaipae
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		medium	
Description					
<p>Bellwood records this marae as being partially on dry land, and c. 12m into the high tide zone (Fig 63a). The basalt stones observed in 2017 could be part of what is described by Bellwood, but lie c. 50m from the shore. So this remains unresolved. Ngaakitai Pureariki gave us the nukupure name for AIT37/38 whereas Bellwood uses Pokotutu, but NB Bellwood uses the nukupure name for AIT 39/40.</p>					
Notes					
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map.					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/24/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT37	Site name	Nukupure		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT37	Bellwood site name	Pokotutu		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D3	
Bellwood location	Vaipae tapere, land name Pokotutu, offshore from land divisions 23 and 35 (Fig. 63a).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site has suffered from marine erosion, and is now almost covered by the lagoon waters at high tide. Informants state that the site was dry land in the past.</p> <p>Of the two structures shown on the plan (see Fig. 63a), the smaller seems to represent a damaged atavau, the original dimensions of which would have been approximately 3.5 x 2 meters. The larger structure covers an area 10.5 by about 2 meters, and would have been fairly impressive with basalt uprights up to 1 meter high set close together.</p> <p>The traditions of this site, and of sites AIT38-40 and AIT45, were related by the late Rave Pitomaki of Vaipae. The builder was said to have been Muri-a-teao, who came from the Muri District on Rarotonga and is said to have married a woman from Ru's canoe. His family marae at Muri was named Nukupure, and Rarotongan traditions collected in 1969 confirm the existence of this marae somewhere near the Muri football ground, although no remains of it have survived. The canoe of Muri-a-teao was named Nukuatua, and he brought with him to Aitutaki three gods, named Pokotutu, Pare-kavakevake, and Rere-ki-ama. The last named god was a marine deity who could appear as a whale, a shark, or a swordfish. No identity was recorded for the other two gods. Site AIT37 was built for the god Pokotutu. Needless to say, if Muri-a-teao from Rarotonga did build this marae, he certainly did not build it according to Rarotongan norms, for it is of a perfectly acceptable Aitutaki form.</p>					

Site ID	AIT38	Site name	Nukupure		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418266	Northing	7913341	Municipal district	Vaipae
Site type(s)					
swimming pool					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	high		unknown	
Description					
<p>Nothing visible of this at Bellwood's visit, or in 2017. Ngaakitai Pureariki gave us the nukupure name for AIT37/38 whereas Bellwood uses Tuakoro, but NB Bellwood uses the nukupure name for AIT 39/40.</p>					
Notes					
<p>Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map.</p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/24/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT38	Site name	Nukupure		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT38	Bellwood site name	Tuakoro		
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	situated on shore slightly south of Pokotutu (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site has been buried by sediments, according to Rave Pitomaki, and is described as the stone-lined swimming pool of Muri-a-teao. Stone-lined bathing pools for chiefs are described for the Marquesas by Handy (1923:43).</p>					

Site ID	AIT39	Site name	Karu o te au		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418039	Northing	7913338	Municipal district	Vaipae
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	medium		low	
Description					
<p>Two large lumps of basalt (painted white) at the front of the church, said by local resident to be boundary marker not remains of marae. Marae recorded as destroyed by Bellwood.</p>					
Notes					
<p></p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/24/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT39	Site name	Karu o te au		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT39	Bellwood site name	Nukupure		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae	paepae	Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	Vaipae tapere, land name Vai'io'i, division numbers 21A and 21B (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>AIT39 now destroyed, was once the marae of Muri-a-teao, named Nukupure after his marae at Muri. A few yards to the north lies the site of his dwelling paepae, which was named Katara (site AIT40). Nothing survives of either of these structures</p>					

Site ID	AIT40	Site name	Karu o te au		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418038	Northing	7913356	Municipal district	Vaipae
Site type(s)					
paepae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	medium		low	
Description					
<p>Two large lumps of basalt (painted white) at the front of the church, said by local resident to be boundary marker not remains of marae. Paepae (dwelling) recorded as destroyed by Bellwood.</p>					
Notes					
<p> </p>					
Photo					
<p> </p>					
Date of survey	5/24/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT40	Site name	Karu o te au		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT40	Bellwood site name	Katara		
Bellwood site type(s)	paepae		Bellwood Classification	C2	
Bellwood location	Vaipae tapere, land name Vai'io'i, division numbers 21A and 21B (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>AIT39 now destroyed, was once the marae of Muri-a-teao, named Nukupure after his marae at Muri. A few yards to the north lies the site of his dwelling paepae, which was named Katara (site AIT40). Nothing survives of either of these structures</p>					

Site ID	AIT41	Site name	Te ue		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	417991	Northing	7913597	Municipal district	Vaipae
Site type(s)					
standing stone					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	high	medium		low	
Description					
<p>Single large basalt sanding stone in domestic garden, 1.85m as measured by Bellwood. Bellwood was told this was the burial place of the Mangaian warrior Ue, in 2017 it was said to be a boundary. A local resident said that there were two stones, but Bellwood only refers to one.</p>					
Notes					
Photo					
 <p>The photograph shows a large, dark, rounded basalt sanding stone in a domestic garden. The stone is covered in light-colored lichen or moss. It is surrounded by lush green vegetation, including palm trees and various tropical plants. The stone is situated on a grassy area with some smaller rocks and plants at its base.</p>					
Date of survey	5/24/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT41	Site name	Te ue		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT41	Bellwood site name	The Stone of Ue		
Bellwood site type(s)	Unclassified		Bellwood Classification	Unclassified	
Bellwood location	land name Areo'i, division number 28A, Vaipae tapere (not figured).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This is simply a single, large basalt upright, 1.85 meters high and 2.05 x 0.80 meters in cross section. It was erected as a memorial stone for the Mangaian warrior Ue, by his three sons, Arerao, Potiki and Parapu. According to Aitutaki tradition Ue married Pa'u-rua, the daughter of Pa'u, one of the women with Ru. Pa'u, according to Pitomaki (above), married Muri-a-teao.</p> <p>Ue was brought from Mangaia by Marouna to rid Aitutaki of the invading Aitu, who came from Samoa, according to W. W. Gill (1894:61). The Aitutaki traditions about Marouna and his remarkable adventures are related by Koro (1934:260-266), and are still well-known today. Ue is discussed in more detail in the report on the Mangaian marae MAN.7 (Maungaroa, see this paper, p. 146), and from Mangaian genealogies he was dated by Gill to c. A.D. 1660. A genealogy for Marouna, who was contemporary with Ue, is given by Buck (1934:47), which places Ue at 14 to 17 generations back from 1900. Buck's genealogy is from Mauke, but is the same as the relevant section in the Aitutaki genealogy given by Large (1903). The date of between A.D. 1500 and 1700 suggested by Buck, Gill and Large is at variance with the Aitutaki tradition that Ue married Pa'u-rua, who was one generation younger than Ru. For reasons given below, the Buck-Gill-Large date range is preferred, and this range fits well with the 14 generations before 1927 given by Buck for the building of the Aitutaki 'Are Karioi (AIT03). The possibility of a link between the 'Are Karioi and MAN7 is discussed more fully in the following report on Mangaia.</p>					

Site ID	AIT42	Site name	Paepae Arueia		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	417990	Northing	7913944	Municipal district	Vaipae
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	medium		unknown	
Description					
unlocated in 2017					
Notes					
Location estimated from Bellwood's original location map.					
Photo					
					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT42	Site name	Paepae Arueia	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT42	Bellwood site name	Paepae Arueia	
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D1
Bellwood location	land name Vai-taunga, Oako tapere, division number unknown (not figured).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This site consists simply of two uprights of basalt set side by side. One is still standing at 1.15 meters high, and the other, now fallen, was originally about the same height.</p> <p>According to informants this site was the paepae of Ra'opa and Pa-tapairu, two of the women from Ru's; canoe. Modern informants appear to have few criteria for use of the words marae and paepae and use both fairly frequently for ancient stone remains. The site is evidently not a dwelling paepae, and is here classified as a D1 marae.</p>				

Site ID	AIT43	Site name	Maramanui	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting	418042	Northing	7914344	Municipal district Vaipae
Site type(s)				
settlement		marae		
Status	State of Conservation	Significance	Vulnerability	
	low	high	high	
Description				
<p>Area of cleared ground in 2017, sloping down to the road on its west side. Some spreads of kiri kiri, and finds of basalt flakes and artefacts, and geophysical survey undertaken in 2017. Bellwood reported two rows of uprights along 25m to the west of the road (63B), and a possible third and kiri kiri spreads, as well as bulldozed uprights to the east of the road. It is possible that piled uprights around a pig shed c. 35m along the road to the north, and a large basalt stone in the garden of the house to the north could be elements of the marae Bellwood describes.</p>				
Notes				
Photo				
				
Date of survey	5/27/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT43	Site name	Maramanui	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	AIT43	Bellwood site name	Maramanui	
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D2
Bellwood location	land division unknown, but by the side of the Avanui- Vaipae road in Oako tapere (see Fig. 63b).			
Bellwood Description				
<p>This site has recently been bulldozed for a banana plantation. It was not shown to us in 1969, and was discovered by chance by the author in 1970. No traditions survive for it.</p> <p>At present, two rows of uprights survive, partially. The enclosed areas marked A and B denote bulldozed mounds of earth containing basalt stones that almost certainly were once uprights. The site may have had three rows of stones, and may have been a little under 25 meters in total length. To the east of the road (not shown on plan) are three other bulldozed uprights. To the south of the uprights, coral gravel is spread for a distance of 60 meters, and two other small areas of gravel were noted in a recently cleared field a little further to the south. This may indicate that dwellings were once present in the vicinity. Coral gravel has also been spread around the uprights, although this is a feature of almost all Aitutaki marae.</p>				

Site ID	AIT44	Site name	Putā i vairoa		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418424	Northing	7915787	Municipal district	Avanui
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability
	low		medium		medium
Description					
<p>The two uprights recorded by Bellwood (Fig. 63C) as comprising the marae were no longer standing, but three large basalt blocks in rough alignment observed in 2017 on the west side of the road could be the remains of this marae, although the proximity of the present metalled road may be a factor in disturbing the site. Further investigation recommended to update plan.</p>					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT44	Site name	Putā i vairoa		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT44	Bellwood site name	Putā-i-Vaerua		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D1	
Bellwood location	land name Putā-i-Vaerua, division number unknown Avānui tapere (Fig. 63c).				
Bellwood Description					
<p>This marae consists simply of two uprights of basalt, 2 meters apart. A cluster of four stones to the north may once have formed two pairs of uprights, but this is uncertain.</p> <p>The stories related about this site are the most confusing of any recorded on Aitutaki. The two uprights are said to have been memorial stones for two women, named Pua-te-Kiore and Vaerua-rengarenga. The former was a daughter of Pukiara, a woman who came with Ru. The latter's name means "yellow ghost," and the place name of the site means "the appearance of a ghost." Further traditions that this woman came from New Zealand make the story even more suspect, although the basic story probably has a respectable antiquity.</p> <p>However, one interesting story is related about this site, which concerns the arrival of a man named Tama'aro from Maupiti in the Society Islands. He was apparently chased away by the inhabitants of the area, and his final fate is unknown.</p>					

Site ID	AIT45	Site name	Te atua pare ka vakevake	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting	421000	Northing	7912058	Municipal district Motu Papau
Site type(s)				
marae				
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability
	low	medium		low
Description				
<p>The coral upright measuring 1.5m high as described by Bellwood has been surrounded by small coral pieces and has the name of the site inscribed in concrete at the base. Small basalt posts set in concrete (maximum height 30cm) with the names of the group who placed the stones, and have been arranged in a 3 sided rectangular formation measuring 4m wide by 6m long with an open end to the sea; this has been built fairly recently, probably since 2000.</p>				
Notes				
Photo				
				
Date of survey	5/30/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT45	Site name	Te atua pare ka vakevake		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	AIT45	Bellwood site name	Pare-ka-vakevake		
Bellwood site type(s)	marae		Bellwood Classification	D1	
Bellwood location					
Bellwood Description					
<p>This site consists of a single upright of coral, 1.50 cm high, and 80 cm square in cross section. It is the only upright of coral on any marae on Aitutaki, and also the only one which is not on the volcanic mainland. Motu Papa'u is entirely of coral. This is probably an excellent example of a voyager's marae, since there is no indication that Papa'u was ever settled permanently.</p> <p>The upright was erected by Muri-a-teao (see AIT37, above), who named it for his god Pare- ka-vakevake. Motu Papa'u was the landing place of Muri-a-teao on Aitutaki, and if he really was responsible for the upright, then it may have been erected in honor of the god who ensured his safe passage.</p>					

Site ID	AIT46	Site name	unknown	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting	416366	Northing	7915817	Municipal district unknown
Site type(s)				
unknown				
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability
	unknown	unknown		unknown
Description				
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.				
Notes				
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.				
Photo				
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT46	Site name	unknown	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT47	Site name	Poana	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting	416450	Northing	7915262	Municipal district unknown
Site type(s)				
unknown				
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability
	unknown	unknown		unknown
Description				
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.				
Notes				
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.				
Photo				
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

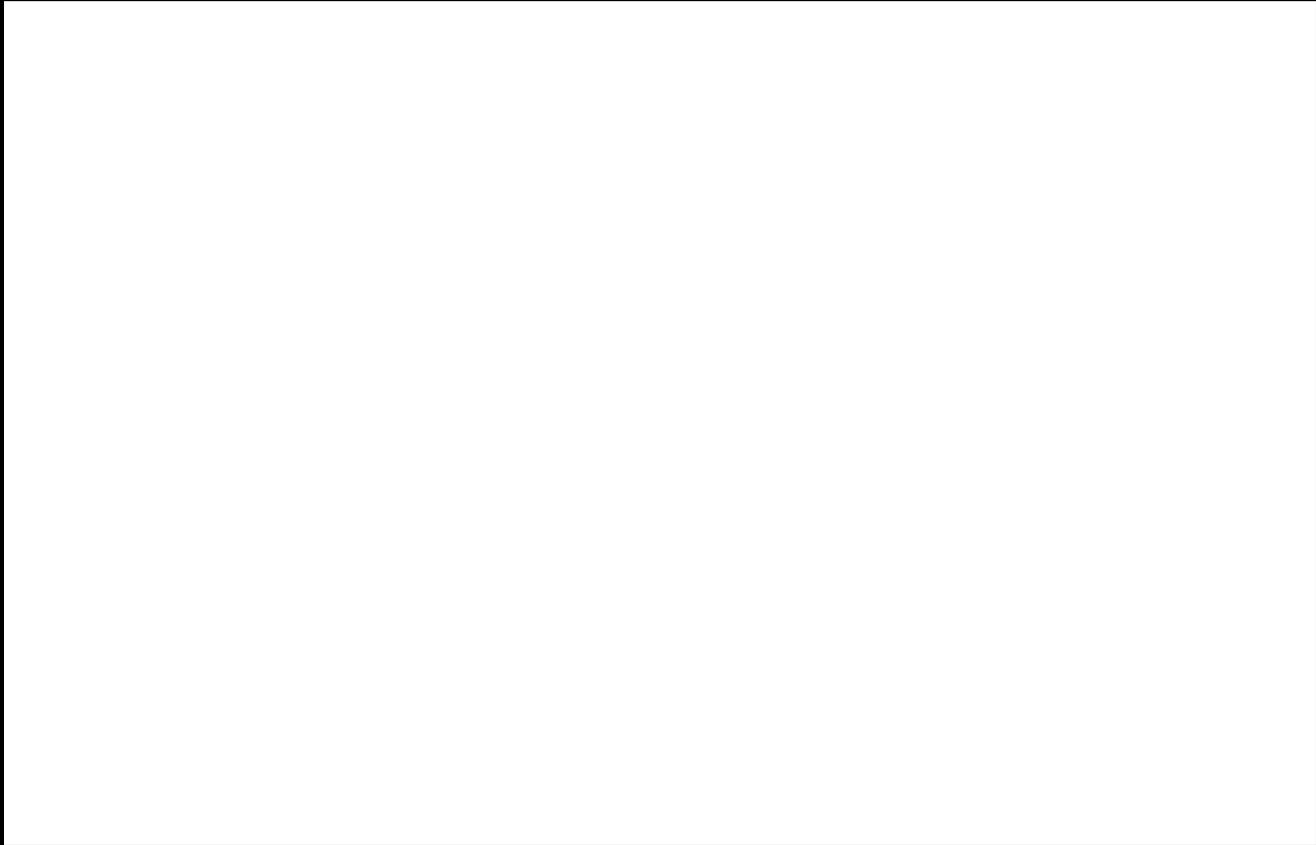
Site ID	AIT47	Site name	Poana	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT48	Site name	Mataki		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416329	Northing	7914816	Municipal district	unknown
Site type(s)					
unknown					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	unknown		unknown	
Description					
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.					
Notes					
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.					
Photo					
Date of survey			Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

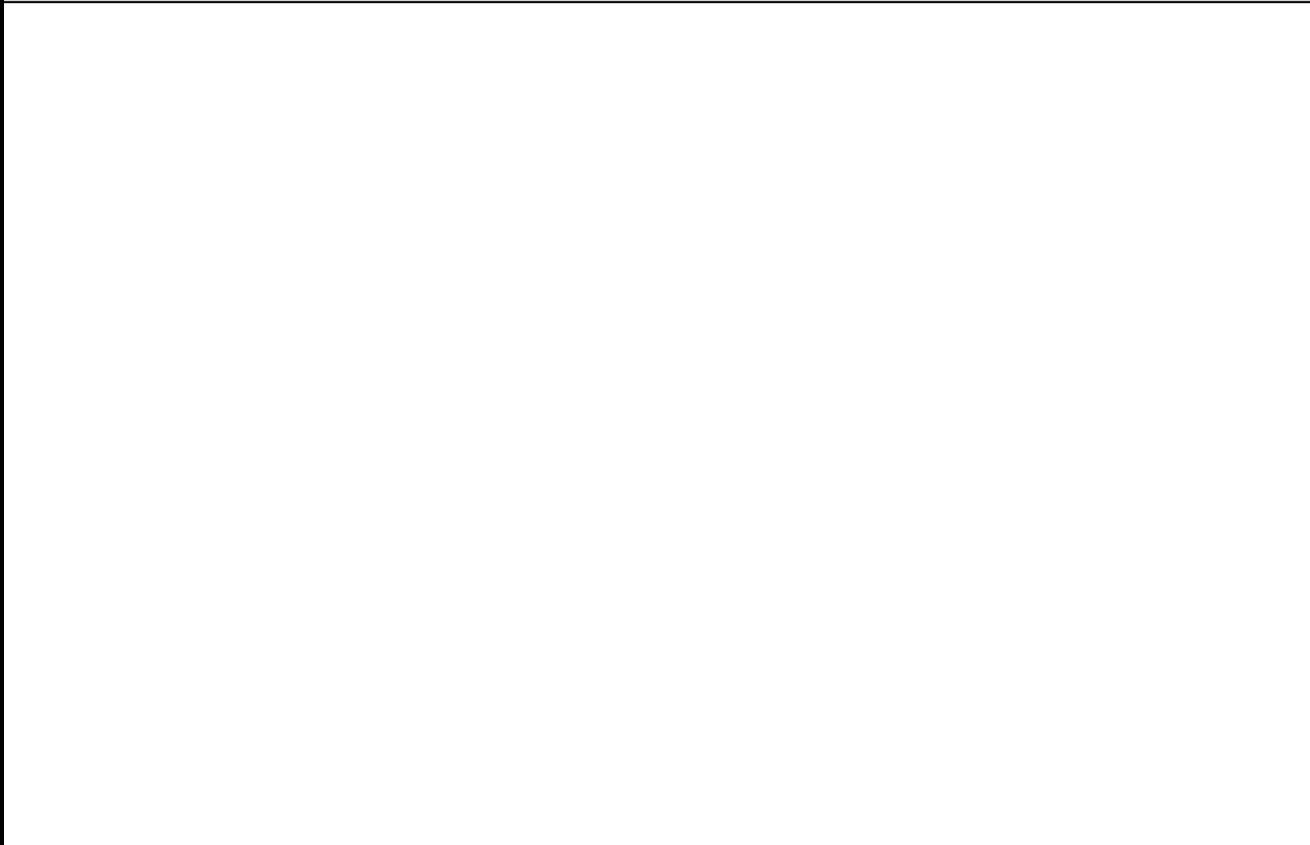
Site ID	AIT48	Site name	Mataki	Aitutaki
<i>Notes from Bellwood 1978</i>				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT49	Site name	Aretai		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	417849	Northing	7917361	Municipal district	unknown
Site type(s)					
unknown					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	unknown		unknown	
Description					
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.					
Notes					
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.					
Photo					
Date of survey			Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT49	Site name	Aretai	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT50	Site name	Hosea		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	416425	Northing	7915636	Municipal district	unknown
Site type(s)					
unknown					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	unknown		unknown	
Description					
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.					
Notes					
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.					
Photo					
					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT50	Site name	Hosea	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT51	Site name	unknown		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418982	Northing	7917240	Municipal district	unknown
Site type(s)					
unknown					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	unknown		unknown	
Description					
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.					
Notes					
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.					
Photo					
					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT51	Site name	unknown	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT52	Site name	unknown		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	415991	Northing	7913923	Municipal district	unknown
Site type(s)					
unknown					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	unknown		unknown	
Description					
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.					
Notes					
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.					
Photo					
Date of survey			Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT52	Site name	unknown	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT53	Site name	unknown		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	420068	Northing	7915549	Municipal district	Akitua
Site type(s)					
unknown					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	unknown		unknown	
Description					
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.					
Notes					
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.					
Photo					
Date of survey			Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT53	Site name	unknown	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT54	Site name	unknown		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418645	Northing	7916275	Municipal district	unknown
Site type(s)					
unknown					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	unknown	unknown		unknown	
Description					
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.					
Notes					
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.					
Photo					
Date of survey			Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT54	Site name	unknown	Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT55	Site name	Moturaku MR1		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	421082	Northing	7907358	Municipal district	Moturaku
Site type(s)					
rock shelter			quarry		
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability
	unknown		high		unknown
Description					
<p>Rock shelter excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.</p>					
Notes					
<p>Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.</p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT55	Site name	Moturaku MR1	Aitutaki
<i>Notes from Bellwood 1978</i>				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT56	Site name	Tapuaetai TE1		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	422408	Northing	7906032	Municipal district	Tapuaetai
Site type(s)					
unknown					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
Description					
Site excavated by Melinda Allen in the 1990's.					
Notes					
Site location estimated from the map given in Allen 1994.					
Photo					
Date of survey		Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT56	Site name	Tapuaetai TE1	Aitutaki
<i>Notes from Bellwood 1978</i>				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name	none	
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT57	Site name	missionary cross		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418310	Northing	7911809	Municipal district	Taravao
Site type(s)					
missionary cross					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	high	medium		low	
Description					
<p>First cross for missionaries c 1880 was located here, approx. 20m from track. Concrete cross to mark the place erected in 1990s.</p>					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/23/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT57	Site name	missionary cross		Aitutaki
<i>Notes from Bellwood 1978</i>					
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name			
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification		
Bellwood location					
Bellwood Description					

Site ID	AIT58	Site name	Tuki nga rangi	Aitutaki
Location				
Easting	415731	Northing	7913465	Municipal district Arutanga
Site type(s)				
marae				
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability
	low	low		low
Description				
<p>Destroyed marae, few basalt stones remaining at the back of a domestic dwelling. A local elder, Mr Puna notes that the location of this site is towards the seaward side of his house and linked to Kopu nga rangi (AIT17), on the opposite side of the road.</p>				
Notes				
Photo				
				
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham	

Site ID	AIT58	Site name	Tuki nga rangi		Aitutaki
<i>Notes from Bellwood 1978</i>					
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name			
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification		
Bellwood location					
Bellwood Description					

Site ID	AIT59	Site name	Tuarea		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418244	Northing	7915978	Municipal district	Avanui
Site type(s)					
marae					
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability
	low		medium		medium
Description					
<p>Marae of tai nui, represented by a line of basalt boulders c. 20m long, and some other basalt boulders in association. The area was clear at the time of 2017 visit, and so there doesn't seem to be any other part of this site apart from what was visible. This site needs planning as Bellwood did not include it in his report.</p>					
Notes					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT59	Site name	Tuarea	Aitutaki
<i>Notes from Bellwood 1978</i>				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name		
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT60	Site name		Paepae ko are kerī	Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	415935	Northing	7914121	Municipal district	Arutanga
Site type(s)					
paepae			marae		
Status	State of Conservation		Significance		Vulnerability
	low		medium		low
Description					
<p>This marae, or paepae as the sign on it indicates, is immediately adjacent to the road in Arutanga. The site comprises an natural basalt outcrop with a concrete tank on top, and large basalt blocks around it. The site doesn't have any obvious built elements, and could be partially or entirely natural.</p>					
Notes					
<p></p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT60	Site name	Paepae ko are keri	Aitutaki
<i>Notes from Bellwood 1978</i>				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name		
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT61	Site name	Motu Rapota		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	420148	Northing	7906963	Municipal district	Motu Rapota
Site type(s)					
adze quarry					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	high	high		low	
Description					
<p>Volcanic motu which rises to its interior with a basalt crag. The island has been extensively exploited for basalt quarrying for adze manufacture, and floors of basalt flakes of all sizes are present, as well as hammer stones and pre-form adzes.</p>					
Notes					
<p></p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/30/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT61	Site name	Motu Rapota	Aitutaki
<i>Notes from Bellwood 1978</i>				
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name		
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification	
Bellwood location				
Bellwood Description				

Site ID	AIT62	Site name	Vai-roro- (or roroko)-i-te-mata-o-Ai		Aitutaki
Location					
Easting	418200	Northing	7912040	Municipal district	Tautu
Site type(s)					
burial					
Status	State of Conservation	Significance		Vulnerability	
	low	low		medium	
Description					
<p>Unmarked place of burial of the sister of Ai, Te kura i vaia, in taro swamp, shown to us by Ngaakitai Pureariki</p>					
Notes					
<p></p>					
Photo					
					
Date of survey	5/25/2017	Recorded by	Jane Downes, Colin Richards, Ngaakitai Pureariki, Lawrence Shaw, Francisco H. Torres, Kate Welham		

Site ID	AIT62	Site name	Vai-roro- (or roroko)-i-te-mata-o-Ai		Aitutaki
Notes from Bellwood 1978					
Bellwood number	none	Bellwood site name			
Bellwood site type(s)			Bellwood Classification		
Bellwood location					
Bellwood Description					

APPENDIX 2

Aitutaki 2017 Small Finds Register

Site Code: AIT2017			Project Name: Aitutaki 2017 (Survey)		Context – all 'Surface' finds		
Small finds Number	Site Number	Site Name	Material	Date	Eastin g	Northin g	Photo (Y/N)
1	AIT20	Nukunoni	Basalt adze blade	23/5/17	416135	7912874	Y
2	AIT35	Tuk i tae	Basalt adze	24/5/17	418076	7912288	Y
3	AIT43	Maramanui	Basalt adze butt	27/5/17	418040	7914339	Y
4	AIT43	Maramanui	Basalt flake	27/5/17	418027	7914325	Y
5	AIT43	Maramanui	Basalt pre-form fragment	27/5/17	418036	7914355	Y
6	AIT43	Maramanui	Basalt chunk	27/5/17	418032	7914363	Y
7	AIT43	Maramanui	Basalt flake	27/5/17	418042	7914375	Y
8	AIT43	Maramanui	Basalt flake	27/5/17	418039	7914373	Y
9	AIT43	Maramanui	Basalt waste piece/chunk	27/5/17	418032	7914347	Y
10	AIT43	Maramanui	Basalt waste piece/chunk	27/5/17	418014	7914388	Y
11	AIT43	Maramanui	Basalt pre-form	27/5/17	418043	7914367	Y
12	AIT61	Motu Rapota	Basalt hammerstone	30/5/17	420148	7906963	Y
13	AIT61	Motu Rapota	Basalt flake	30/5/17	420162	7906966	Y
14	AIT61	Motu Rapota	Basalt flakes	30/5/17	420162	7906966	Y

15	AIT61	Motu Rapota	Basalt flakes	30/5/1 7	420162	7906966	Y
16	AIT61	Motu Rapota	Basalt flake	30/5/1 7	420162	7906966	Y
17	AIT61	Motu Rapota	Basalt pre-form	30/5/1 7	420238	7907007	Y
18							
19							
20							
21							
22							

APPENDIX 3

Teacher notes for outreach day at Ararua School, Aitutaki

Today we are archaeologists – Teacher notes

Araura School - Wednesday 31st May 2017

What is archaeology?

An archaeologist is someone who looks at the past through the material remains e.g. the remains of buildings, stone tools. Archaeology brings together many different subjects such as anthropology, history, geography, biology, chemistry, information technology etc.

Who are we and why are we here?

We are Jane, Colin, Kate, Lawrence and Francisco - archaeologists from the UK (England and Scotland), and Rapa Nui (Easter Island). We are here to help understand and interpret the cultural heritage of the Cook Islands.

What are we doing with the children today?

Today we will be doing four common archaeological activities that relate to our work on Aitutaki:

- *Activity 1 – Seeing beneath the soil*

Archaeologists use the physical properties of earth to try and understand what has been left behind by past peoples, and ‘see’ below the soil. This activity is about the magnetic properties of the rocks and soils on Aitutaki and how they help us understand the past.

- *Activity 2 – Making photos 3D*

Advances in information technology have helped archaeologists create better records of artefacts, sites and landscapes. This activity shows children how photos can easily be used to create a 3D model of an object.

- *Activity 3 – Mapping our heritage*

Accurate spatial information and understanding scales and coordinates is really important for archaeologists to locate sites and artefacts. This activity replicates how we plan an archaeological site.

- *Activity 4 – Things and people*

Objects tell stories, and archaeologists consider how things are made and how people used them in the past. This activity will look at stone tools and think about their meaning.